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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY, POLITICS, AND LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1791.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

PREFACE.

IT is with extreme regret that we find ourſelves under the neceſſity of apologizing for the late appearance of the preſent Volume. In conſequence of MR. DODSLEY's advanced time of life (whoſe zeal and aſſiduity in effecting a regular publication of many preceding volumes will not, we truſt, be forgotten by the Public) we have been unwillingly compelled to engage with a new Publiſher, and that too at a period when the Volume ought to have been actually in the preſs. Reduced to the unpleaſant alternative, either of relinquiſhing the Work entirely, or of proſecuting it with redoubled and unremitting vigour, we heſitated not a moment to adopt the latter determination; but it was impoſſible to form a contract, and ſettle arrangements of ſome extent, without incurring a conſiderable delay.

The juncture, too, was peculiarly unfavourable to the recovery of our loſt time. Such was the importance of the ſubjects to be treated in the Hiſtory of 1791, that we could not in conſcience run them over lightly, nor confuſe them by an affected brevity. The parliament of this year was inceſſantly occupied by buſineſs of the utmoſt conſequence, not only to the individual intereſts of Great Britain, but to the general balance of power, as well in Europe as the Eaſt Indies, both which demanded not a little introductory explanation. We have alſo taken more than common pains to draw, from a minute compariſon of different authorities, a more faithful repreſentation, than any before given, of the diſpute between Mr. Fox and Mr. BURKE, becauſe it has been productive of a powerful influence on our domeſtic affairs, and becauſe we conſider it leſs as a breach between two friends, than as a political ſchiſm, involving public prin-

ciples of the firſt magnitude. But above all, that great conſtitutional queſtion, the abatement or non-abatement of Impeachments on a diſſolution of parliament, ſeemed to require the minuteſt inveſtigation. Not merely confining ourſelves to the ſtatement of the principal arguments advanced in parliament upon this long-agitated queſtion, we have traced the matter a little higher, and have had recourſe to the Rolls of Parliament for information, from whence we have ſpared no labour to collect what we flatter ourſelves may a little tend to the elucidation of an intereſting conſtitutional point, as well as of a remarkable period in Engliſh Hiſtory.—In addition to theſe impediments, which the nature of the ſubjects threw in our way, an unforeſeen circumſtance of ſome moment ſtill further retarded us. After our *State Papers* were printed, two material articles in them (the Declaration of the King of France on his leaving Paris, and the Anſwer

ſwer of the National Aſſembly) which had been copied from the beſt Engliſh channels of information, were found to be ſo extremely mutilated and inaccurate, ſo fabricated for the worſt purpoſes of fraud, that we could not, conſiſtent with our duty to the Public, permit the Volume to appear without giving a new tranſlation of them, and prefixing ſome introductory obſervations; a taſk, in the performance of which a greater portion of time was unavoidably conſumed, than could well be ſpared.

Such were the difficulties which we had to encounter, and the diligence which we have employed to ſurmount them, in the hiſtory of the current year. But we had alſo a heavy arrear in the affairs of the Netherlands, and the North and North-Eaſt of Europe. We omitted the whole of this ſubject in our laſt Volume, partly from neceſſity and partly from choice; for we view the progreſſive pacification of all the belligerent powers,

during

during the campaigns of 1790 and 1791, as one connected train of events; to which, notwithſtanding many ſubſequent battles of extraordinary carnage, the firſt opening was made by the death of the emperor Joſeph, in the beginning of the former year. We know the difficulty of this part of our taſk, and our Readers have had occaſion to know it too, in the frequency of our complaints reſpecting the poverty, confuſion, and contradiction of our materials, from the banks of the Dnieper, the Nieſter, and the Danube. We are ſure, however, that it is no departure from modeſty to ſay, that the Reader will find here a more intelligible, copious, and fair account than he has yet ſeen of events ſo ſeriouſly affecting the balance of Europe in that quarter.

We had prepared, and in part actually printed for this Volume (though already ſwelled beyond its uſual ſize) a narrative of the Poliſh revolution to the end of 1791; but on mature conſideration we

have

have thought it beſt to poſtpone this, together with the Hiſtory of France, to the enſuing Volume. Our reaſons of expediency for this diſtribution will be found at the end of our IXth Chapter; and we truſt they will prove ſatisfactory. We do not, therefore, mean to offer any apology on this head; and we hope to have little occaſion for apologies of any kind in future, as we are taking meaſures to bring forward our publication by degrees to the current year.

The Volume for 1792 is already in the preſs, and in ſuch a ſtate of forwardneſs as to enable us to promiſe it early in the following winter. But while we uſe every poſſible exertion to regain the ground which we have loſt, we ſhall not relax in our uſual endeavours, to ſelect with diſcrimination, and narrate with fidelity.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the YEAR 1791.

THE

HISTORY

OF

EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retrospective view of the affairs of the Netherlands in the years 1789 *and* 1790. *Emperor abolishes all the ancient privileges and immunities of Brabant, which increases the emigration of the principal inhabitants to the neighbouring countries in a prodigious degree. Several decrees at length issued against emigration, and the nobility and clergy charged to return under the penalty of forfeiture; but this proclamation produces no effect. City and lordship of Breda seem to become the head-quarters of the emigrants. Various causes which induced the neighbouring governments, as well as their subjects at large, to be much interested in favour of the Netherlanders. Emperor sequestrates all the abbeys in Brabant, and appoints civil officers for the administration of their revenues. Impolicy of this measure. Conspiracy in Brussels for blowing up the houses of the Counts Dalton and Trautmansdorff, and the seizure of that city, fortunately discovered. States of Brabant, assembled at Breda, vote themselves a regular and legal assembly, and pass a strong remonstrance to the Emperor, which they send by express to Vienna. Letter from the Archbishop of Malines to the Pope. Insurgents commence hostilities on the borders of Dutch Flanders, where they take the forts Lillo, &c. General Count Schroeder dispatched with a strong body of Imperial troops to repress the insurgents, who retreat to the small town of Turnhout. Action at Turnhout, in which the Austrians are defeated with much loss. Faults charged upon Schroeder's conduct, who is stripped of his military commands, and recalled to Germany. Indignation of the Emperor at this defeat. Savage cruelties charged upon the Austrians at Turnhout.*

This ſucceſs ſerves as a general ſignal for the recal of the exiles, who now burſt into the frontiers on every ſide, and aſſume the name of the Patriotic Army. Cauſes why the great exertions of the Generals Dalton and Bender produce no ſuitable effect. Extreme cowardice and profligacy of the veteran ſoldiers in the Netherlands, to be attributed entirely to the laxity of diſcipline in which they had been long indulged, through the miſtaken policy, and by the abſolute command of Joſeph. Auſtrians continually defeated, and the actions very bloody. General Bender's unſucceſsful attack upon Tirlemont, where great ſlaughter and many cruelties are ſaid to have taken place. Great caution to be obſerved in receiving as facts the horrible accounts of cruelty now publiſhed. Severe encounter in the open field, in which General d'Arberg is defeated by the Patriots. Army ſaved by the gallantry of the regiment of Bender. Prince of Anhalt Deſſau killed. Ghent recovered from the Auſtrians, after a courſe of ſevere conflicts which laſted ſome days, by a handful of the Patriotic troops. Conciliatory declaration iſſued by the Emperor to the inhabitants of the Low Countries. Sovereign authority aſſumed by the States of Flanders; who declare the Emperor to have forfeited all right and title to it. Signal and unaccountable expulſion of General Dalton and the Auſtrians from Bruſſels by a body of the burghers. That general obliged to capitulate, and to evacuate the town directly with the remainder of his troops. Moderation, good temper, and excellency of conduct, obſerved by the inhabitants of Bruſſels in this revolution. General Dalton abandons Namur, and retires with the remains of his baffled troops towards Luxemburgh. Count Cobentzel ſent from Vienna to endeavour to reconcile matters. Ultimatum of the States of Brabant. Act of union offenſive and defenſive between the States of Flanders and Brabant; which is ſoon acceded to by all the other provinces, except Limbourg. Ill effects produced in the Netherlands by the example of France, and the induſtry of the diſciples to its new doctrines. Fœderal union formed between the provinces; the confederacy to be diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the United Belgic States. Ill ſucceſs of the Brabanters in their unjuſt attack upon Limbourg. Citadel of Antwerp taken. Engliſh volunteers, and a Britiſh legion formed. Diſcord and faction appear early in the new commonwealth, and ſoon diſtract all the operations of government. Loſe by their ill conduct and diſſentions the friendſhip and protection of the allied powers. Luſt of power, and the contention for it, the great ſources of diſcord, and of all the evils that fell upon the country. Some account of the principal parties. Patriotic aſſembly in Bruſſels bears no ſmall reſemblance to the Jacobin Society in Paris. Death of the Emperor. Memorial from Leopold on his acceſſion, produces no effect. Some account of General Vander Merſch: he is appointed Generaliſſimo by his officers, but Congreſs refuſe to confirm the nomination. Vander Merſch arreſts the deputies who are ſent to the army by the Congreſs; and iſſues a declaration to the people. Violent reſolves of the officers. Appearances of a civil war. Army abandons their general, who is ſent priſoner to the caſtle of Antwerp. Diſcontents increaſe to the higheſt pitch. Government loſe all reputation, and fail in raiſing money at home and abroad. Towns of Flanders refuſe to aid Brabant in an expedition againſt the Auſtrians. Conſternation of Congreſs on receiving notice that the King of Pruſſia had acknow-

acknowledged Leopold as Duke of Brabant. Propoſals for raiſing a great patriotic army come to nothing. Manifeſto of the Emperor. Speedy downfall of the Congreſs evident; yet they obſtinately perſevere in carrying on a fruitleſs war on the borders, notwithſtanding all the repreſentations of the mediating powers. Convention at the Hague between the mediating powers and the Emperor, by which a new conſtitution is granted to the Auſtrian Low Countries. Obſtinacy of the Congreſs ſtill continuing, General Bender advances to Bruſſels, at whoſe approach they diſperſe, and fly, in the utmoſt terror, to the neighbouring countries. Inauguration of Leopold as Duke of Brabant.

THE French revolution, with other momentous affairs, which have ſo deeply engaged the attention of the public, and particularly the former, which has, in a leſs or greater degree, been the means of ſpreading conſternation and alarm through almoſt every ſtate in Europe, have been the involuntary cauſes which delayed for ſo long a time the purſuit of our obſervations on the broils, troubles, dangers, and war, in which our near neighbours, the Netherlanders, have been ſo deeply involved. During that interval, after bravely recovering, and for a time as bravely ſupporting their liberty, they ſhewed themſelves in the iſſue incapable of retaining the precious acquiſition, and of rendering the bleſſing in any degree permanent. When the foreign yoke was caſt off, no wiſe, diſintereſted, and equitable form of government being in readineſs to ſupply its place, but every man purſuing the vain imaginations of his own heart, diſcord and faction, with their numerous train of internal diſorders and evils, like noxious weeds in a rich but abandoned ſoil, ſprung up with ſuch rapidity, that they ſoon filled the void, and left no room for the growth of any thing uſeful or valuable.

We deſcribed in a former volume * the diſmay and deſolation which the harſh government of Trautmanſdorff, with the military executions of Dalton, operating under the imperious mandates and inflexible diſpoſition of Joſeph the Second, had ſpread through the Netherlands; and took notice, at the ſame time, of the great emigration of the ſuperior orders of the people to the adjacent countries, which was taking place in the ſummer of 1789. This emigration was particularly increaſed in conſequence of the decree iſſued by the emperor towards the end of June in that year, by which the convention of the ſtates of Brabant, then ſitting, was ſuppreſſed, or diſſolved; the council of Brabant aboliſhed; all the articles of the *joyeuſe entrée* revoked; a new ſupreme council, compoſed of members appointed by himſelf, eſtabliſhed at Malines for the conduct of the public buſineſs; and thus, ſo far as it was in his power to govern futurity, were all the rights, privileges, and immunities of that great and flouriſhing province for ever annihilated.

The exiles ſoon became very numerous along the frontiers, but were more particularly ſo in the lordſhip and neighbourhood of Breda (lying in the dominion of Holland, and a patrimony belonging to the prince

* Vol. xxxi. p. 37 to p. 52.

of Orange) which they ſeemed to conſider as their head-quarters; nor was the emigration long confined to the nobility, clergy, and people of property, for they were continually joined by great numbers of the moſt active and reſolute young men from the different provinces, all perceiving their own fate to be involved in that of Brabant. This latter claſs of emigrants could have had no other object in view than that of being ready at hand to ſupport their ſuperiors by their perſonal ſervice in whatever efforts they ſhould make for the redemption of their country; while it is not to be imagined but that they, on the other hand, provided freely for the ſupport and maintenance of thoſe patriotic refugees, on whoſe future exertions and courage all their hopes muſt have ultimately reſted. The government were ſo ſlack in the beginning in taking any meaſure to check the emigration, that it ſeems probable they deemed it a fortunate circumſtance, that the country was thus cleared, without any trouble, of ſo great a number of diſaffected perſons; but as they became formidable on the frontiers, this political idea was perceived too dangerous to be adhered to, and the conduct was accordingly changed. Severe decrees were then iſſued againſt emigration; the magiſtrates were forbidden to grant paſſports; and the exiled nobles and clergy were charged by proclamation to return within a limited time, under the penalty of forfeiture. Theſe decrees produced no effect. The magiſtrates were themſelves too much intereſted in the common cauſe, to lay any reſtraint, which could poſſibly be avoided, upon thoſe who were diſpoſed to take a more active part in it; while the nobility and clergy laughed at the threat of forfeiture, which they well knew no compliance could avert, if the emperor had power ſufficient to inflict the penalty; and to ſubject their perſons as well as their eſtates, without any reaſonable ground or motive for ſuch a riſque, to his capricious and arbitrary will, they could conſider only as abſolute inſanity.

The emigration accordingly continued as freely as it had done before, and conſiderable bodies of men aſſembled, and were daily augmenting, on different points of the frontiers. Indeed, nothing leſs than a powerful army, poſſeſſed of numerous and well-choſen poſts and garriſons, could in any degree have effectually reſtrained emigrations from provinces ſo peculiarly ſituated as theſe are; ſo open on all ſides; their noble fortreſſes, as we have formerly ſhewn, being long ſince deſtroyed, through the crooked, weak, and diſhoneſt policy of Joſeph; conſidering likewiſe, the freedom of intercourſe which their innumerable rivers and canals afford with all the neighbouring countries; and that uncommon variety of unconnected ſtates and ſmall governments with which they are every where ſurrounded. To which may be added, the ſtrong diſlike and jealouſy, with which the dangerous ambition, the violent attempts, with the ever-reſtleſs and inſidious policy of Joſeph, had inſpired all the neighbouring powers, who were eager to ſeize any opportunity that offered, for lowering his pride and interrupting his deſigns. And while the governing powers in the adjoining ſtates were, from motives of policy, thus favour-

favourably diſpoſed to the Netherlanders, their ſubjects, from long habits of commercial intercourſe, ties of blood and affinity, private friendſhips, and above all, a general commiſeration of the wrongs which they ſuſtained, were ſtill much more ſincerely and zealouſly intereſted in their behalf, generouſly affording them, in theſe days of their tribulation, every kindneſs, aſſiſtance and protection in their power.

A meaſure purſued by general Dalton, of drawing detachments from different garriſons to parade through and ſcour ſome parts of the country which were deemed the moſt diſaffected, with orders to take up all ſuſpected perſons, together with all thoſe whom they were pleaſed to conſider within the deſcription of idle vagabonds, the application of which reſted entirely with themſelves, produced as little good effect as moſt of the other plans adopted by that commander had long done; ſerving only to fill the priſons with unhappy perſons, who were cut off from all means and hopes of redreſs, and to increaſe to the higheſt poſſible pitch that general odium and abhorrence with which the Auſtrian government and miniſters were regarded.

In the mean time the emperor, glad of the favourable opportunity which was now preſented, of recurring to his old and darling ſyſtem of ſequeſtration, and, at the ſame time, judging rightly, that much of the ferment in the Low Countries proceeded from the clergy, and ſtill more particularly from the abbots, he iſſued a decree to ſequeſtrate all the abbeys of Brabant, and appointed civil officers for the adminiſtration of their revenues. We have, in our former accounts of the diſputes between that prince and the people of theſe provinces, ſhewn, that along with great eſtates, the abbots, by the long-eſtabliſhed conſtitution of Brabant, poſſeſſed a large ſhare in its legiſlation and government; and what rendered them ſtill more formidable, they poſſeſſed an unbounded influence on the minds of the people. Under theſe circumſtances it appears too evidently to admit almoſt of a queſtion, that nothing could have been more ill-judged and impolitic, in ſo very critical a juncture, than this meaſure of violence. But ſuch ſhort-ſighted, raſh, and improvident meaſures of policy were too common in the conduct of this monarch, for any particular inſtance, at this time, to excite much notice.

The peculiarly characteriſtic temper of the people, long brooding in ſullen ſilence over the contemplation of their injuries, which ſerved to render them the more determined in their reſolves, the more dangerous in their deſigns, and the more implacable in their reſentments, when urged to the laſt extremity, now began to diſplay its effect in the worſt manner. A conſpiracy, in which it was ſuppoſed, and from its nature, a very great number of perſons muſt have been concerned, was formed and conducted in the very ſeat of government, and in the heart of the capital city of Bruſſels; the deſign reaching to undermine the houſes of count Trautmanſdorff and general Dalton, together with the guard-houſe, and to blow theſe buildings, with their poſſeſſors, into the air with gunpowder. During the confuſion occaſioned by this exploſion, the deſign extended to the ſeizure of the ar-

ſenal, of the city-gates, and to the admiſſion of ſeveral ſmall bodies of emigrants, who were to be prepared and at hand for the purpoſe. The fortunate diſcovery of this new gunpowder plot, which was laid in the month of Auguſt, and intended to be ſpeedily carried into execution, poſſibly ſaved that beautiful city from being reduced to a heap of rubbiſh. Above twenty of the ſuppoſed conſpirators were immediately taken up, and the number would undoubtedly have been much increaſed, and a long ſucceſſion of ſevere puniſhments enſued, if the intervention of the coming troubles had not ſpeedily put an end to that and to all ſimilar enquiries.

About the middle of September, the duke d'Aremberg and d'Urſel, with the other nobles who had retired to Breda, being now joined by the primate, the archbiſhop of Mechlin or Malines, as head of the clergy, and by moſt, if not all, the ſtates of Brabant, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, as well as by the members of the lately ſuppreſſed high council, they adopted a meaſure which was well to be conſidered as a prelude to the moſt deciſive conſequences. They conſtituted and declared themſelves to be the regular and legal aſſembly of the ſtates of that province, endowed with all the powers which they at any time poſſeſſed, and in that character unanimouſly paſſed a ſtrong remonſtrance to the emperor; which was ſent off expreſs to Vienna. In that piece, after lamenting with the moſt melancholy regret, the ſad neceſſity which compelled them to aſſemble in a foreign land, under the deplorable character of a baniſhed legiſlature, they entered, with a freedom, which could not but be galling and painful in the extreme to a man of his temper and diſpoſition, into a rigid examination of various parts of his conduct. They ſtated, in clear and expreſs terms, the rights and privileges which the province of Brabant had enjoyed from the moſt remote times; rights ſanctioned, confirmed, and extended by a long ſucceſſion of ſovereigns; they reminded him, without ceremony, of the ſolemn oaths by which he was himſelf bound to maintain and defend them; and then repreſented, with as little ſcruple, the wanton and oppreſſive infractions of them, with the lawleſs and ſhameful ſubverſion of their conſtitution, which had taken place during his reign.—They concluded with a declaration, "That inheriting the loyalty and the "ſpirit of their anceſtors, although "they were ready to ſacrifice their "lives and fortunes for the proſpe-"rity and glory of their ſovereign, "they were by no means prepared "for a daſtardly and perfidious "ſurrender of thoſe rights which "they held in truſt for their fellow "citizens and their poſterity; they "therefore earneſtly adjured him, "that by an immediate revocation "of his illegal edicts, and rein-"ſtatement of the province in its "rights, he would abſolve them "from the cruel neceſſity, which "the moſt ſacred duties muſt im-"poſe upon them, of an appeal to "God and their ſwords."

Sept. 14, 1789.

This manifeſto, (which it truly in all points is) if the circumſtances and ſituation of the reſpective parties is thoroughly conſidered, will, perhaps, appear among the boldeſt meaſures which hiſtory has preſented to us, as having been adopted by any ſimilar body of men. To form

form a due eſtimate of its degree, it will be neceſſary to keep in view the immeaſurable diſparity of power between the parties, and to conſider the immenſe landed property which the ſtates themſelves and their adherents ſtaked upon this deciſion. If they failed, their great eſtates, their ancient hereditary titles, honours and dignities, were loſt for ever, themſelves baniſhed from their country and conſidered as outlaws, and their poſterity ſcattered over the earth without home or name. While, to render the meaſure ſtill more deſperate, the probabilities then were, upon every rational ſcheme of calculation, that they never could have an opportunity of once even uſing thoſe ſwords to which they appealed in the laſt reſort. This was ſo well underſtood by Joſeph, that upon the firſt rumour of their intentions at Breda, he obſerved, in a letter to general Dalton, that the certain conſequences of forfeiture of their eſtates, and baniſhment from their country, afforded a full certainty of their not hazarding ſuch a meaſure.

Such was the virtue diſplayed by the Brabanters, while neceſſity, and common danger, cemented their union, and exalted their minds to a genuine love of their country! We ſhall hereafter ſee how unable the ſame men were to reſiſt the ill effects produced by proſperity, and to withſtand the faſcination of thoſe illuſions to which it gave birth.

Some particulars relative to the enſuing revolution, and to the conduct of the emperor, which were communicated to the pope in a letter written by the cardinal Archbiſhop of Malines, although a few months poſterior in order of time to the events of which we are immediately treating, will not be miſplaced by their inſertion here, during the pauſe which took place on both ſides previous to their recourſe to the laſt extremities.

That prelate aſſures his holineſs, that every effort had been uſed by the biſhops and clergy to prevent the revolution; and lays the whole blame of it directly upon the emperor, who, he ſays, by the fluctuation of his councils, the unſteadineſs of his meaſures, and the general inconſtancy of his conduct, precipitated affairs into their preſent ſituation—That his laws and his decrees, which were perpetually ſucceeding, and in continual variance with each other, if they had any object at all, were intended not only to overturn the diſcipline of the church, and to efface from the minds of the people every trace of their native piety and religion, but likewiſe to annihilate the national cuſtoms and uſages, the rights of the cities, and the liberties of the citizens.

Towards the end of October, the firſt acts of hoſtility were exhibited on the borders of Dutch Flanders, where a body of inſurgents having appeared ſuddenly in arms, they attacked and took, with little difficulty, the two ſmall forts of Lillo and Liefenſhock; in the former of which, beſides the military ſtores, we find, by a publiſhed letter of the emperor's, that they ſeized a conſiderable ſum of the public money. They likewiſe ſeized a frigate, which, in a vain parade, of appearing to protect a navigation that was not permitted to exiſt, that prince had ſtationed off Lillo. We have formerly ſhewn, that theſe fortreſſes had been originally conſtructed by the Dutch, to prevent all intercourſe between Antwerp

and the ſea, and that being of little value or importance, as the paſſage of the river was ſufficiently barred without them, they had been part of the peace-offering made to gratify the vanity of the emperor, in adjuſting the late conteſt which he had with that republic relative to the navigation of the Scheldt.

General Dalton, upon the firſt intelligence of this invaſion, immediately diſpatched general count Schroeder, (an officer then in conſiderable military reputation) at the head of 4,000 diſciplined Imperial troops, to chaſtiſe the inſurgents, and if he could not reach completely to deſtroy, at leaſt to chace them entirely out of the country, under ſuch impreſſions of terror and danger, as ſhould ſerve ſufficiently to deter them from venturing ſoon again upon ſimilar predatory incurſions. The inſurgents, upon the advance of this force, immediately relinquiſhed the two forts which they had ſo lately acquired; and it being underſtood that they were retreating towards the ſmall town of Turnhout, which lies about eight miles to the north of the Scheldt, the Imperialiſts, who wiſhed for nothing ſo much as to come up with them in the open field, which would afford them ſuch ſuperior advantages over raw undiſciplined troops, beyond what they could derive from a blind conflict in the narrow ſtreets of a town, and undoubtedly placing no truſt in the favourable diſpoſition of the inhabitants, purſued them with the utmoſt expedition. But with all their diligence they could barely obtain ſight of a ſmall party, which probably brought up their rear, and who were immediately received within the gates, before they could come within reach. The flying inſurgents being admitted, the gates were immediately faſt cloſed; but the Imperialiſts were not long in Oct. 27th. forcing them, and in making good their way into the town.

The Brabanters, as they retreated along the main ſtreet, not only did it with a degree of order which could not fail to ſurprize the regulars, but they maintained a hot fire, not without execution upon their enemy. In this manner the purſuers were led on, until Schroeder, with his whole force in a compact body, arrived at the market-place. Here a new and unexpected ſcene was ſuddenly opened. The Auſtrians were ſaluted by a roar of artillery from different openings; but this was a trifling impediment, compared with the tremendous fire of ſmall arms which was poured inceſſantly upon them from the roofs and windows of all the ſurrounding houſes. Every houſe from the cellars to the top was armed and hoſtile. The ſtrength and number of the aſſailants was now their misfortune, and afforded a ſevere and inſtant chaſtiſement to the miſconduct of their commander, in wedging his whole force in a body, within the blind and dangerous toils, which croſs ſtreets, houſes, lanes, and unknown paſſages, had every where ſpread for him. In this dangerous ſituation, general Schroeder diſplayed great perſonal courage, and no leſs preſence of mind, under circumſtances ſo unfortunate as to render them uſeleſs. Two horſes were ſhot under him, and he was beſides ſeverely wounded. But all his efforts were fruitleſs in endeavouring to preſerve order among his troops, or in inſpiring

ſpiring them with ſufficient conſtancy to withſtand the intolerable fire to which they were expoſed. They fell into irremediable confuſion, and were compelled to make a moſt diſorderly retreat out of the town by the gate at which they entered. Their loſs was very ſevere, being eſtimated at no leſs than ſeven hundred men, beſides, at leaſt, two pieces of cannon; for the reports given in of this unfortunate affair were ſo confuſed and inaccurate, that the emperor himſelf could not make out from them, whether two or four pieces of artillery had been loſt. The rage of the Auſtrians at this unexpected defeat and loſs was ſo extreme as to tranſgreſs all bounds of reaſon and humanity; and they are charged with the moſt ſavage cruelties in the ſtreets through which they retreated, where they are ſaid to have broke open the doors of the houſes, and to have maſſacred man, woman, and child, without diſtinction or mercy.

Nothing could exceed, or indeed well equal, the indignation of the emperor at receiving intelligence of this, as he conſidered it, moſt ſhameful affair. The defeat of ſuch a body of regular forces, in whom he placed his pride and confidence, by an undiſciplined rabble, whom he held in the utmoſt contempt, beſides the dangerous conſequences which in example, as well as immediate effect, it was capable of producing, and the ſevere wound which it gave to his pride, was rendered ſtill more inſupportable, from its being totally ſubverſive of all his military ideas, and overthrowing all the ſettled opinions of his life. Schroeder immediately felt the effects of his indignation, being ſtripped of all his military commands, and ordered to return to Germany: where, it is more than poſſible, that the death of his maſter, which took place not long after, was to him a matter of no ſmall good fortune. Even the great favourite, general Dalton, now, for the firſt time, was deſtined to experience a change in the countenance of his maſter; and to ſubmit to ſevere cenſures, as well with reſpect to his conduct in general, as to ſeveral diſtinct parts, which were animadverted on in ſo pointed a manner, as could not but be ſenſibly felt by a man ſo long uſed to the moſt unbounded approbation, and who undoubtedly valued himſelf upon the poſſeſſion of conſiderable talents and abilities.

Schroeder's misfortune evidently aroſe from the contempt in which he held the enemy, the overweening confidence which he placed in the number and diſcipline of his forces, which he thought muſt produce ſucceſs under any circumſtances of diſadvantage, and his eagerneſs to monopolize entirely to himſelf the praiſe and renown, which he concluded to a certainty were within his graſp, of cruſhing the inſurrection in the bud, and being the means of reducing the provinces to their wonted ſtate of obedience. For there were two other columns of troops marching at the time to join him; ſo that by only encloſing the inſurgents in the town, the want of proviſions muſt, in a few days, have compelled them to ſurrender; and that probably without the loſs of a man, or even firing a ſhot.

This ſucceſs at Turnhout ſerved as a general ſignal for the recal of the exiles, who henceforth aſſuming the name and diſtinction of *patriotic* troops, and *patriotic* army, penetrated

trated the open frontiers, in bands more or leſs numerous, on every quarter, full of indignation, well armed, and eager for action; while the diſaffection of the people to government was ſo ſtrong and univerſal, that almoſt every man who felt vigour and ſtrength ſufficient for the purpoſe in his compoſition, burned with impatience for the moment which could afford him an opportunity of joining them, ſo that he might claim ſome ſhare of the praiſe due for the deliverance of his country from foreign tyrants, which were among the kindeſt terms now applied to the Auſtrians.

The generals Dalton and Bender, (the latter of whom, with his regiment, were juſt arrived from Luxemburgh) were by no means ſlack or remiſs in their endeavours to check that ſpirit of inſurrection which was now becoming too potent to be ſubdued by any force in their poſſeſſion. But they were not by any means men well calculated for the conduct of any buſineſs which required other means than the point of the ſword for its completion. They were both, haughty, ſevere, arbitrary, and cruel in the extreme; and as ignorant of the means, as they were incapable through nature and education of the practice, of mollifying the rough edges of authority by any ſkill or addreſs in the manner or circumſtance of application. What ſeems very extraordinary was the total lack of diſcipline which prevailed, and which became every day more viſible, in thoſe veteran troops which they commanded, and which had been ſo long inured to ſervice. This could only have proceeded from the long ſcope of licentiouſneſs in which they had been, upon ſyſtem, ſo freely indulged ſince the commencement of the troubles in the Netherlands. For it had been a maxim long and cloſely preſſed by the emperor upon his commanders in that country, to render the duty of the ſoldiers as light and as pleaſant to them as poſſible; particularly directing that they ſhould not be wearied or diſguſted by an attention to the trifling parts or minutiæ of diſcipline; as if he intended to transform them from ſoldiers into an heterogeneous mixture of civil and military officers, who were to be dedicated ſolely to the ſervice of the police. From this miſtaken principle, and dangerous military indulgence, operating along with the habits they had been in of frequently maſſacring a defenceleſs people without danger or reſiſtance, the troops ſeemed to change their nature as well as character; and as ſoon as they were engaged in real ſervice, and compelled to face an enemy upon equal terms, they ſhewed themſelves to be as baſe and cowardly, as they were in all inſtances profligate and cruel. This only can account for their being now frequently and ſhamefully beaten, with equal, and even inferior forces, by the raw Brabanters, who had ſo newly taken arms into their hands.

The conflicts which took place at the commencement of the revolution were accordingly bloody and cruel in the extreme. The exorbitances committed on one ſide drawing forth ſevere retaliation from the other, and every encounter ſerving to increaſe the animoſity and ſanguinary diſpoſition of the hoſtile parties.

The large town of Tirlemont was deſtined

deſtined to preſent one among the earlieſt and the moſt horrid of theſe bloody ſcenes. It appears that a weak body of patriots being cloſely purſued by the Auſtrians under general Bender, had taken refuge in that place. The town being open, Bender forced his way ſword in hand into the place, where the inhabitants univerſally taking part with their countrymen, generouſly determined to protect or to periſh along with them. In this ſtate of things, Tirlemont ſeemed for ſome hours to exhibit a repetition of the affair at Turnhout, with, however, theſe material differences, that there were no artillery in the former, that the inhabitants were in all other reſpects badly provided and armed, and that the patriotic troops were few in number. Yet notwithſtanding theſe eſſential defects, the defence was obſtinately maintained; the inhabitants and the patriots keeping up as conſtant a fire, from the roofs and windows of the houſes, as their proviſion of arms and ammunition could poſſibly ſupply, and defending every houſe, ſtreet, and avenue with the utmoſt intrepidity. On the other hand, the aſſailants broke open the houſes, and even the churches are ſaid to have afforded no ſanctuary or protection, from the indiſcriminate maſſacre of every man, woman, and child that came within their reach.

The reſiſtance being ſtill continued with unabated obſtinacy, and the deſign of carrying the town being in no degree of completion, the approach of night put an end to this cruel conflict. General Bender, being moſt unwillingly compelled to ſubmit to the diſgrace of relinquiſhing his enterprize, found it neceſſary to draw off his troops in the duſk of the evening. The loſs of lives, in this paltry affair, was ſaid to amount to thirteen hundred on both ſides, including in that number both ſexes, with all ages and conditions.

If the following circumſtances be true, it would ſeem as if diſaſter and misfortune had been deſtined to follow or to meet the Auſtrian troops wherever they directed their ſteps. It is ſtated, that on Bender's retreat from Tirlemont by night, he met general Dalton full in his way, who was marching a ſtrong detachment with great diſpatch to his aſſiſtance. That under the double miſtake of each party miſtaking its oppoſite for the enemy, they fired upon each other in the dark; and that a furious encounter took place, in which ſeveral hundreds were killed and wounded on both ſides, before the error was detected. Although ſuch fatal miſtakes have too often happened to admit any doubt of their poſſibility, yet the peculiar circumſtances of the time tended ſo much to the fabrication of falſe and intereſted reports, that the fact in this inſtance may well be conſidered as doubtful.

Preciſion and truth are, indeed, little to be hoped for in the reports of ſuch a warfare as the preſent, and under ſuch peculiar circumſtances of violent prejudices, animoſity, and rage, as thoſe which at this time prevailed in ſpreading deſolation through the Low Countries. Great allowances muſt therefore be made for exaggeration on that ſide, which alone publiſhed any detail of theſe tranſactions; for the Auſtrians were entirely ſilent under their misfortunes. It is neceſſary likewiſe to receive, with the moſt guarded caution,

caution, the charges of horrible cruelties which are continually made upon the Auſtrians, as if they had been more particularly inhuman and ſavage than other nations. For it is to be obſerved, and ſhould be conſtantly kept in mind while reading theſe atrocious charges, that much the greater part of the Imperial troops which at this time ſerved in the Netherlands were compoſed of regiments raiſed in the country, and that the ſoldiers were conſequently natives. Great cruelties were undoubtedly committed; and they are probably, in a certain degree, inſeparable from civil wars. It muſt likewiſe be acknowledged, however it may be lamented, and however flattering the denial might be to our vanity, that cruelty is a much more general ingredient in the compoſition of mankind, and, when it can be exerciſed with ſafety, diſplays itſelf openly with all its horrors in a much greater number of individuals, than can be conceived or imagined by thoſe, who have happily paſſed their lives under the ſmiling auſpices of peaceful ſeaſons.

The affair at Tirlemont happened early in the month of November, and only a few days after the action at Turnhout; but dates and many other eſſential particulars are very imperfectly given in many of theſe details. They were, however, ſoon followed by the defeat of general d'Arberg, to whom the Brabanters gave battle in the open field. We are here left without any direct ſpecification of the time, or even the place of action; it, however, appears to have been very bloody to the Auſtrians; and it is ſaid, that they would have been entirely cut off in their diſorderly flight over the Scheldt, if it had not been for the noble ſtand made by the regiment of Bender, who bravely formed an impaſſable body on the banks of the river to cover their retreat. This corps, which from its manners had probably been drawn from ſome of the rough and untamed nations bordering on Turkey, were univerſally abhorred and deteſted by the Netherlanders, who, at the ſame time that they deſcribe them as being the moſt ſavage, ferocious, and cruel of mankind, acknowledge that they were by far the braveſt of all the Imperial forces. A prince of Anhalt Deſſau, ſaid to be a near relation to the empreſs of Ruſſia, fell in this action; and as he had been lately guilty of ſome peculiar acts of cold-blooded cruelty, the Brabanters conſidered his death as nothing leſs than an immediate judgment from Heaven.

The Auſtrians are ſaid to have loſt a thouſand men in this action and purſuit; and they are charged with the moſt inhuman cruelties in every part of the country which they paſſed through after the defeat; particularly the inhabitants of Vilſſingen, a village not far from Aloſt, are ſaid to have expiated, by a general conflagration and maſſacre, thoſe patriotic diſpoſitions, and emotions of joy at the ſucceſs of their countrymen, which they had imprudently been too forward in ſhewing. It is even ſaid that their curé, a very old, helpleſs, and inoffenſive man, was dragged from the altar, whither he had fled for refuge, and put to death without mercy. It may not perhaps be unworthy of remark, that the ſtriking contempt for religion, and for every thing appertaining to it, which at this time ſo flagrantly marked the

conduct

conduct of the ſoldiery, had entirely ſprung up in the Auſtrian armies under the auſpices of Joſeph II.; for under the government of his predeceſſors, and particularly of his mother, whatever their diſorders and irregularities in other reſpects might have been, they were at leaſt Chriſtians in appearance.

The peaſants were now embodying, without waiting for particular orders, or even for leaders, in every part of Brabant and Flanders, where the immediate preſence of the Auſtrians did not reſtrain their motions; and large detachments from Namur, Hainault, and other neighbouring provinces, were every day arriving to join in the common cauſe. In the mean time the patriots gained poſſeſſion of Oſtend, Bruges, Louvain, and ſome other conſiderable places, without any conteſt. The ancient and turbulent city of Ghent, fallen and depopulated as it now is, was deſtined to become once more, what it had been ſo often in better days, a ſcene of blood, ruin, and maſſacre.

Early in the morning of the 13th of November 1789, a ſmall body of patriotic troops, amounting, it is ſaid, only to about ſeven hundred men, marched with unparalleled boldneſs and audacity to attack the city of Ghent, which contained, including the citadel, a garriſon of between three and four thouſand regular troops. They directed their courſe to the gate which takes the name of Bruges, and which after ſome conflict they forced. During this time the bridges within the walls were all taken up, and every other meaſure of precaution adopted, which could tend to retard or prevent their progreſs when they entered the town. A battle enſued in the ſtreet, immediately upon their entrance, which continued for ſome hours; until the patriots at length drove the Auſtrians before them with ſuch impetuoſity, that one part of them fled for refuge to the citadel, and the remainder retired for ſhelter to their barracks, which they, however, prepared reſolutely to defend. Theſe buildings muſt have been of conſiderable ſtrength, and well ſtored with ammunition, for the ſiege, if ſo it may be called, continued from Friday to the following Monday. On that day they hung out a white flag, and colonel Lunden, who commanded, with a garriſon of five hundred men, were obliged to give up their arms, and to ſurrender priſoners of war.

We have no information what part the inhabitants took in theſe conflicts; they are not even once mentioned in the details, with reſpect to any part of what we have yet ſtated. It ſeems, however, not to admit of a doubt that they eſſentially aſſiſted the patriots; for, without reckoning on the general temper and diſpoſition of the people, it would not otherwiſe be reconcileable to reaſon, that ſuch a handful of men, who ſeemed loſt in the magnitude of ſo great a city, ſhould, by a ſeries of fierce and continued attacks, keep it for ſeveral days in a ſtate of the utmoſt uproar, and finally triumph over and reduce a garriſon ſo vaſtly ſuperior in ſtrength, number, and all military advantages to themſelves; even ſuppoſing that all the charges of notorious cowardice, with which the aſſailants branded the regular troops, had been well founded.

During the time of the attack upon the barracks, inſtead of any vigorous attempt to relieve the beſieged,

ſieged, the citadel was wholly occupied in throwing bombs and combuſtibles of different ſorts into thoſe parts of the city which were the beſt inhabited, and where the buildings were cloſeſt or moſt valuable, with a full view of cauſing ſuch a general conflagration as ſhould entirely deſtroy it. Whether they were not furniſhed with a ſufficient ſtock of combuſtibles, or from whatever other cauſe it proceeded, this fire produced only a partial, and comparatively very ſmall effect to what was to be expected. About thirty capital houſes, with undoubtedly a greater number of others, were totally deſtroyed, many damaged, ſeveral of the ſtreets rendered impaſſable by the ruins, and the inhabitants kept in a ſtate of conſtant terror and confuſion by the fires which were continually breaking out in different quarters. The cowardly garriſon of the citadel, who dared not venture to the relief of their diſtreſſed fellows in the barracks, were, however, ſufficiently alert in taking advantage of the diſorder and confuſion which prevailed in the town. They made frequent ſallies into the ſtreets, particularly by night, where, beſides rapine, rapes, murders, and the moſt horrid crimes, were ſaid to have marked their footſteps.

The patriots obliged colonel Lunden to write an order to the commandant of the citadel for the immediate ſurrender of that fortreſs, which the commandant very properly refuſed to obey; ſo that the aſſailants found the worſt and moſt difficult part of their work was ſtill to be done, eſpecially as it does not ſeem that they poſſeſſed any artillery. But the cowardice of the commander, augmented by a ſtrong ſenſe of the puniſhment due to his cruelty and crimes, operating, probably, with a deſire of preſerving the pillage he had obtained, ſerved to ſupply all theſe defects. For in the dead of the night he evacuated the citadel, and marched off with his whole garriſon, bag and baggage; having at his departure rendered himſelf, if poſſible, more infamous than before, by the cruel pillage and maſſacre of which he was guilty in all the houſes and ſtreets which lay within reach of the fortreſs.

Such were the circumſtances under which Ghent and its citadel, poſſeſſed by a powerful and numerous garriſon of regular forces, were moſt unaccountably reduced by a handful of raw inſurgents, who could ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to know the uſe of the arms which they carried. The inhabitants, as ſoon as they were freed from the preſence and terror of the enemy, took immediate meaſures for the re-eſtabliſhment of order, and for its further preſervation. One of their earlieſt determinations was the taking a body of three thouſand men into immediate pay, who were to be provided and armed for the protection and defence of the city. The taking of this place was a matter of the greateſt conſequence to the patriots; the more particularly as it removed the reſtraint which diſabled the ſtates of Flanders from aſſembling there, which they eagerly wiſhed to do, for the purpoſes of legalizing their public proceedings, as thoſe of Brabant had done, for giving a form to their intended new conſtitution, and to conclude a league and federal union with the other provinces.

The rapid and brilliant ſucceſſes

of the patriots were ſo aſtoniſhing to general Dalton, that he ſeemed in a great meaſure to be confounded and over-powered by them. Perhaps the painful taſk of recounting ſo many ſhameful defeats to the emperor, and of endeavouring to account for or excuſe the failure of the troops in every inſtance, which implied ſo much cenſure on his own conduct, judgment, and deſigns, was not the leaſt of the vexations which he then endured. Thus involved, ſunk in hope, and diſtreſſed, he ſhut himſelf up in Bruſſels, where for ſome time the gates were kept cloſe ſhut, and ſtrongly guarded by day as well as by night; but perceiving at length that this novel meaſure was underſtood as an open confeſſion of his weakneſs and apprehenſion, and was become a ſubject of ſtanding jeſt and ridicule among the people, he thought it convenient to admit the gates to be again opened by day. But even in theſe untoward circumſtances, he ſtill perſevered to the laſt in the ſame haughtineſs and ungraciouſneſs of manner, and purſued the ſame harſh and arbitrary conduct, which had already rendered him ſo univerſally odious. Among the numerous inſtances of this kind, was the ſending above forty of the principal inhabitants of Bruſſels, merely upon ſuſpicion, priſoners to the citadel of Antwerp, which was then juſtly conſidered as the Baſtille of the Netherlands.

The preſent alarming ſtate of affairs induced the emperor, notwithſtanding his haughtineſs and natural obſtinacy, and notwithſtanding the total want of faith in his promiſes or engagements, which he could not but know was univerſally prevalent, to commit himſelf, as a laſt effort, to paper, and to publiſh, what in ſome degree might be conſidered as a penitentionary declaration, addreſſed to the inhabitants of the Low Countries. In this piece, which was dated at Vienna, on the 20th of November 1789, along with expreſſing great ſorrow for the preſent troubles, and ſome ſurprize at the violent meaſures which were purſued, he exhorts the mal-contents to lay down their arms, and to truſt to his clemency and paternal affection, for the redreſs of any real grievances which they ſuſtained. He places in a ſtrong light the deſtruction which muſt enſue to their country, and the inevitable ruin to its inhabitants, if by their obſtinacy they ſhould compel him to relinquiſh the great line of conqueſt which he was now purſuing, and to pour in for their ſuppreſſion thoſe numerous and conquering armies, which were now ſo ſucceſsfully employed againſt a foreign enemy. He endeavours partly to juſtify, and partly to apologize for and explain, ſeveral of the moſt obnoxious parts of his paſt conduct. He expreſſes much ſurprize that they ſhould abuſe the holy name of religion, by repreſenting that as the motive of their conduct; and ſtates, that the eſtabliſhment of a general ſeminary at Louvain was to add to the glory of the clergy and of religion. He has, however, he ſays, already re-eſtabliſhed the epiſcopal ſeminaries; and he promiſes that the new ſeminaries at Louvain ſhall from that moment ceaſe. He likewiſe ſuſpends the teaching of theology at Louvain, and the operation of the eccleſiaſtical laws at Bruſſels, until the preſent diſorders are quelled, and the neceſſary arrangements made. He concludes by an order, that

that no perſon ſhall be arreſted for any cauſe, or under any pretence whatever, but according to the exiſting laws and eſtabliſhed uſages; and by granting a general, full, and perpetual amneſty to all who ſhall return to their duty within a certain ſpecified but conſiderable portion of time, the leaders of the revolt alone excepted.

But the ſeaſon for negociations to ſucceed, or for promiſes or conceſſions to produce effect, was now totally paſt. The ſtates of Flanders, without waiting for the interpoſition of any conciliatory propoſals from the emperor, boldly ſeized, without heſitation, the ſovereign authority in their province; and in imitation of their Dutch neighbours, aſſumed the ſtyle of *High and Mighty* States.

Nov. 20th, 1789. At their firſt meeting they paſſed ſix reſolutions, by the firſt of which they declared the emperor to have forfeited all right and title to the ſovereignty of Flanders. By the others they agreed to raiſe immediately an army of 20,000 men, including a thouſand who were to be armed with rifles, but excluſive of the quotas which were to be furniſhed by the towns. They appointed commiſſioners for raiſing and organizing this army, with authority to purchaſe ſufficient arms and ammunition from the neighbouring powers for their ſupply. And they laſtly reſolved to unite themſelves with the ſtates of Brabant and Hainault; and decreed, that the council of Flanders ſhould no longer be conſidered as provincial but ſovereign.

The inhabitants of Bruſſels became too impatient of the deſpotiſm of Dalton, to wait the iſſue of the numberleſs proviſions and ſlow preparations, which the patriotic army, yet in a great meaſure unformed, and deſtitute almoſt of all military means of regular ſervice, was of neceſſity to make, before it could proceed upon ſo great and hazardous an enterprize as that of attempting their deliverance. Their impatience and indignation were farther excited, and the grievance became the more intolerable, from their reflecting on the happy ſtate of their ſurrounding neighbours and countrymen, who had almoſt every where ſhaken off the yoke, while they were peculiarly and diſgracefully marked by ſtill groaning under the ſame odious tyranny. A ſelect number of the braveſt citizens, inſpired by theſe ſentiments with a high degree of enthuſiaſm, formed the generous and gallant, but apparently deſperate deſign of reſcuing Bruſſels from its preſent tyranny, or of periſhing in the attempt. The deſign was undoubtedly worthy the inhabitants of a Grecian city, in the moſt ſhining days of that country. This conſpiracy, if ſuch it may be called, for it ſeemed to be conducted with too much openneſs and fairneſs to come under that denomination, was by no means general among the inhabitants; and it is aſſerted, that the whole number of aſſailants engaged in the firſt attacks upon the Auſtrians did not exceed five hundred, while the number of the latter was eſtimated at between five and ſix thouſand. It is, however, to be obſerved that the Auſtrians, through the number of poſts which they occupied in the city and ſuburbs, were greatly divided, and ſeparated by conſiderable diſtances.

No riot or tumult was made or pretended to cover the real deſign, nor

nor was it commenced, as uſual in ſuch caſes, by ſurprize or aſſaſſination; but about four o'clock in an afternoon, as if it had been a trial of military ſkill and manœuvre, this band of heroic citizens marched boldly and openly, to attack and ſeize the ſoldiers who were appointed to guard the mint, as well as all thoſe who were ſtationed or quartered in the different convents. In theſe enterprizes they ſucceeded without difficulty; for general Dalton, contrary to his uſual temper and diſpoſition, having directed his views entirely to pacification, and to the concluſion of an armiſtice, placed ſo much truſt in the hope of attaining that object, that he did not chooſe to exaſperate matters for the preſent by any attack upon the patriots. The negociation on this ſubject ſeems to have occaſioned a pauſe on both ſides, for ſeveral hours, during the evening and night; but our information, which is extremely imperfect in all its parts, is particularly ſo with reſpect to the order of time; ſo that it is impoſſible to diſtinguiſh, with any preciſion, thoſe actions which took place in the courſe of the night, from thoſe which were decided on the following day. At all events, the delay muſt have been highly uſeful to the band of patriots, as it afforded time to their fellow-citizens to collect their thoughts and reſolution, and to determine upon the part which it was fit for them to take. It appears upon the whole, that, the negociation for an armiſtice not ſucceeding, both parties had recourſe to arms during ſome part of the night.

Dec. 9, 1789.

It is not to be ſuppoſed, although the circumſtance is not mentioned, and was undoubtedly omitted on purpoſe, but that the 500 original inſurgents had by this time been joined by a great number, if not by the generality of their fellow-citizens. A reinforcement of 800 men, with two pieces of cannon (which they planted in the great ſquare) had likewiſe arrived during the night to the aid of the Auſtrians. The firſt attack was made by general Dalton, who, upon the failure of the propoſed armiſtice, ſent a ſtrong detachment to deliver the officers and ſoldiers who had been made priſoners at the commencement of the inſurrection, and who were confined in the lower town. This motion ſerved as an immediate ſignal for general action to the patriots, who furiouſly attacked and routed the detachment on its march; after which they inveſted the great market-place, which ſeems to have been rendered a principal place of arms. Here, after a long and obſtinate conflict, they carried every thing before them, became maſters of the *corps-de-garde*, took two pieces of cannon, and made above 400 Auſtrians priſoners. Different engagements were now carried on with great fury in every quarter of the city, and in a few hours the inſurgents became maſters of the barracks and of the magazines, in which they found 2,000 muſkets, beſides a conſiderable quantity of ammunition and ready-made cartridges.

General Dalton, with the remainder of his troops, or at leaſt ſo many as could be collected in the preſent confuſion, had retired into the park, and the royal ſquare, the only places of defence they had now left, where they were ſupported by twelve pieces of cannon. The inſurgents haſtened from all quarters to drive

them from this laſt reſort; and about noon they were furiouſly attacked on all ſides. A very heavy firing took place, and was well ſupported on both ſides for more than an hour. But affairs at length became ſo deſperate, and the courage and fury of the patriots were ſo irreſiſtible, that general Dalton, with all his known military ſkill, and long-tried valour, and with the great ſtakes, involving both his own fortune and that of his maſter, which were depending, was compelled to endure the mortification of deſiring to capitulate. The terms were few, and not long in agitation. They admitted a ſafe but immediate retreat to him and to the remains of his garriſon; and within an hour the Auſtrian troops marched out, with great precipitation and no leſs diſorder, through the gate leading to Namur. The priſoners taken in the courſe of theſe various actions were not included in the capitulation, and the Brabanters, not a little elated, as may be ſuppoſed, by their ſucceſs, boaſted that they had 3,000 of them in their poſſeſſion. This extraordinary ſtroke might be conſidered as nearly putting an end, at leaſt for the preſent, to the Auſtrian dominion in the Low Countries; nothing now remaining which they could hope to retain but the dutchy of Luxemburgh; a ſmall garriſon which they ſtill held in the citadel of Antwerp being of no account.

The burgeſſes of Bruſſels valued themſelves, with great propriety and juſtice, ſtill more highly, upon the continence which they preſerved in their conduct, both in and after the rage and fury of theſe bloody actions, than even upon the valour with which they had ſubdued ſo dangerous and powerful an enemy. Not a man was killed in cold blood, nor quarter refuſed to any who demanded it in the heat of action: not a ſingle houſe was burnt or plundered, although the owners who were inimical to the revolution were well and generally known; nor was hurt or injury offered to any perſon except in fair and open hoſtility. General Dalton, with the remainder of his baffled and diſgraced troops, ſpeedily evacuated Namur, and quitting the country entirely, retired towards Luxemburgh, not committing the ſmalleſt hoſtility or depredation in any of the places they paſſed through; thus aſſuming a moderation and lenity when it was too late, which would have been eminently uſeful in the proper ſeaſon. Count Trautmanſdorff, with ſome other principal members of the late government, retired to Liege; no mention is made of the duke of Saxe Teſchen, nor of the arch-ducheſs, ſo that it is probable they had previouſly quitted Bruſſels; but the lenity of their government, ſo far as their own inclinations were allowed to operate, the continual applications which they were known to have made at Vienna in favour of the provinces, along with their many excellent private qualities, had ſo effectually endeared them to the people, who were forward on every occaſion in expreſſing their gratitude that they were certain in all ſituations, and under whatever circumſtances, of commanding their utmoſt attention, reſpect, and even affection. So eaſily may popularity be acquired by the great, if the fit ſeaſons are choſen for making the acquiſition!

About the time of iſſuing the laſt

laſt memorial from Vienna, the emperor diſpatched count Cobentzel, an able miniſter, particularly eminent for his diplomatical knowledge and abilities, from that capital to Bruſſels, in the flattering hope of his being able to accompliſh a pacification and re-union with the Belgic provinces. The powers of this miniſter were ſupreme and unlimited, he being accountable only to his maſter for his conduct; while thoſe hitherto held by the counts Dalton and Trautmanſdorff, if not abſolutely ſuſpended, were at leaſt ſecondary and ſubſervient, during the unknown term of his miſſion. The loſs of Bruſſels was not foreſeen at the time of this appointment; and Cobentzel's ill health, along with his deſire of obtaining all the information that was poſſible of the ſtate of public affairs before he arrived at the ſcene of buſineſs, having delayed him on the way, he had the fortune of arriving juſt at the time of breaking up the old government, and when the former miniſters had fled from the country. Cobentzel, however, did not deſiſt from endeavouring to fulfil the purpoſes of his miſſion, and accordingly opened a negociation with the new government.

It was probably in conſequence of this negociation, that the ſtates of Brabant tranſmitted to Vienna a document, which might be conſidered as their *ultimatum*, containing thoſe articles for the ſecurity of their rights, privileges, and liberties, the punctual fulfilment of which could alone induce them to ſubmit to the ſovereignty of the emperor. Theſe conditions were of ſuch a nature, that knowing Joſeph's temper and character ſo well as they did, the ſtates certainly could not expect, and probably did not wiſh, he ſhould comply with.

The firſt article went to the extenſion, in the fulleſt manner, of all the articles, privileges, and immunities, whether ancient or modern, which were included in the *joyeuſe entrée*, to all the other Belgic provinces, in as ample a manner as they had been granted to or enjoyed by Brabant. Another ſtipulated, that no law ſhould be promulgated in any of thoſe provinces, which had not firſt been approved of and confirmed by the ſovereign council of Brabant. By the third, to defeat all future attempts of the ſovereign to looſen or diſſolve the union of the provinces, no ſeparate ſubſidy was to be granted by any of them. The ancient ſtates general, but now organized in a new manner, the number of commiſſioners being proportioned to the extent and conſideration of the reſpective provinces, (upon which principle Brabant and Flanders were to ſend twelve each, while the ſmaller were confined to ſix deputies only, that is, to two from each order) were to meet annually at Bruſſels, for the purpoſe of granting ſubſidies, and to diſpatch the general buſineſs of the provinces. It was likewiſe laid down as a rule, that all perſons who in future ſhould compoſe the government general muſt have been born in the Netherlands; with a ſingle exception in favour of the governor or captain general, (offices which hereafter were to be veſted in the ſame perſon) when he is of the blood royal. Other articles went to guard the purity of the courts of juſtice, and to prevent the poſſibility of any interference or influence of the ſovereign from operating in their proceedings:

That the univerſity of Louvain ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in all its privileges: That a national council ſhould be held every two years under the preſidency of their primate, the archbiſhop of Malines, which ſhould regulate the diſcipline of the Belgic church, and have the direction of all eccleſiaſtical affairs: And laſtly, that the kings of France, England, Pruſſia, and the ſtates of the United Provinces, ſhould be guarantees of the conſtitution of Belgic Auſtria.

It may be eaſily judged, from a review of theſe preliminary articles, that the negociations and abilities of count Cobentzel were not likely to produce much effect in the preſent ſtate of things.

In the mean time, the rejoicings in Bruſſels were extreme, and the moſt ſolemn offices of religion were celebrated, as well to return thanks for their happy deliverance, as to offer up their oriſons for the ſouls of thoſe brave men who had fallen in the cauſe of their country. Sovereignty now appeared in every thing. The ancient courts of juſtice were reſtored, and appeared in all their cuſtomary forms and ſplendor. Gazettes were publiſhed under the auſpices of government; a new oath of allegiance was adminiſtered to all the officers of the ſtate, as well as to the deputies of the committee of the ſtates of Brabant; while that city enjoyed ſo profound a tranquillity, that a newly-arrived ſtranger would find it difficult to believe, it had ſo lately preſented a ſcene of blood and confuſion.

On the laſt day of the year 1789, the ſtates of Brabant being aſſembled at Bruſſels, bound themſelves by oath, in the preſence of the citizens, religiouſly to preſerve the rights, privileges, and conſtitution of their country; and then adminiſtered the ſame oath to the members of the ſovereign council of Brabant, amidſt the general acclamations and rejoicings of the people.

Within a few days of the opening of the year 1790, the ſtates of Flanders concluded and publiſhed an act of union, offenſive and defenſive, with thoſe of Brabant. By this act the parties were mutually bound, that neither of them ſhould enter into any negociation or agreement whatever with any foreign ſtate, particularly with their late ſovereign, without the conſent and approbation of the other. And the ſtates of Flanders, in order to give thoſe of Brabant every proof of pure cordiality and ſincere friendſhip, and to manifeſt a deſire of cementing an indiſſoluble union with them, agree to the propoſal already made by the former, that the ſaid union ſhall compoſe a ſovereignty of the two ſtates, in ſuch manner, that all the power and exerciſe of that ſovereignty be concentered in a congreſs, which ſhall be compoſed of a preſcribed number of deputies from each party, according to articles and regulations hereafter to be ſettled. Provided, however, that the powers of that ſovereign aſſembly ſhall go no further than to mutual defence, to the right of making peace and declaring war, conſequently to the raiſing and ſupport of a national militia, to the maintaining of neceſſary fortifications, to the entering into alliances with foreign powers, and to ſuch other matters, in which the common intereſts of both ſtates are mutually concerned.

This treaty being ſpeedily accepted

cepted and ratified by the ſtates of Brabant, was ſoon acceded to by Hainault, and all the other late Auſtrian provinces, excepting Limburgh.

Succeſs and proſperity ſoon began to produce ſome of their uſual effects, in the ſentiments even of a people, deemed ſo ſlow in their paſſions, and ſo moderate in their conduct and diſpoſition, as the Netherlanders have uſually been conſidered. Scarcely yet aſſured of their emancipation, their power by no means eſtabliſhed, nor any force at all adequate to its preſervation formed, ſubject to have all their hopes overthrown by every blaſt of fortune, and while the ſcourge of a vindictive ſovereign was ſtill hanging heavily over their heads; yet, in theſe doubtful and precarious circumſtances, nothing leſs was now talked of than the conqueſt of the dutchy and ſtrong city of Luxemburgh; and ſo wide-ſpreading was the blind ſpirit of ambition already grown, that hints were thrown out, though with ſome obſervation of caution, of the propriety of re-uniting the barbed French provinces in the Low Countries to their old neighbours, the members of the new Belgic republic. At the ſame time, the ferment and diſorders in France, with the unwearied labours of their political miſſionaries, who were ſpread in all countries, and whoſe zeal in the propagation of their new doctrines was without example in ancient or modern hiſtory, were producing a gradual but wonderful effect upon the people of the Low Countries. Along with the general laxity of morals and licentiouſneſs of manners which that nation was ever eminent in diſſeminating, their new-fangled doctrines in religion and politics, had been the means of ſetting afloat ſtrange and looſe opinions in both reſpects, which had till then been unthought and unheard of among that ſerious, rational people.

The ſtates of Flanders ſtruck a medal to commemorate the revolution; an example which was ſpeedily followed by thoſe of Brabant. In the month of January, the ſtates general of the united Netherlands ſettled the terms of their federal union, the confederacy being in future to be diſtinguiſhed by the title of the *United Belgic States*. The treaty of union was ſigned by the deputies of Brabant, Flanders, Weſt Flanders, Flemiſh Guelderland, Hainault, Namur, Tournay, the Tourneſis, and Mechlin. Nothing could be more fair and equitable than the conditions of union, with reſpect to the diſtinct rights of each province. A perfect equality was eſtabliſhed among all, each being ſovereign and independant in the exerciſe of its internal government; but the ſovereign power, which was to regulate the great and general affairs of ſtate, was, as we have already ſtated, to be veſted entirely in the congreſs.

Though the province of Limburgh had ſent three deputies to the meeting, they evaded ſigning the act of union and confederacy, under pretence of their not being inſtructed on that head by their conſtituents; but the real cauſe was, the meaſure being contrary to the political principles, likings, or opinions of the people of that province. This failure or defection of Limburgh, was ſo highly reſented by the Brabanters, that in the exceſs of that pride, generated by their new-born ſovereignty, eight hundred of them

ſet out immediately for the invaſion of that country, and to puniſh another people for exerciſing that freedom of mind and conduct on the poſſeſſion of which they ſo much valued themſelves. The river Meuſe was found upon this occaſion, as well as others that ſucceeded, a fortunate barrier to the people of Limburgh; and this haſty, raſh, and unjuſt enterprize, experienced the fortune to which it was ſo fully entitled. We are not informed of the time, place, or particular circumſtances of the enſuing action; but only in general, that the Brabanters being encountered by a party of Auſtrians, were entirely defeated, and driven back in great confuſion, with the loſs of three hundred of their number.

This loſs and diſgrace, ſerved to increaſe the rage againſt the Limburghers; and a ſtrong diviſion of the patriotic army, furniſhed with artillery, was accordingly appointed for the formal invaſion and conqueſt of that province. But the Meuſe lay ſtill in the way, and the only apparent method for ſurmounting that difficulty, was an application to the people of Liege, to grant leave to the army to paſs the river at the bridge of that city; a requeſt of which no doubt was entertained but it would have been freely granted. It happened, however, fortunately to the country which was thus threatened with war and deſolation, that a Pruſſian general, then ſtationed at Liege, poſſeſſed ſuch influence, if not command, over that turbulent people, that, contrary to their own diſpoſition and wiſhes, which accorded entirely with thoſe of the Brabanters, he procured a refuſal of the requeſt. Thus was Limburgh ſaved for the preſent; nor was the ſcheme of invaſion, though often afterwards talked of, ever carried into effect.

The Belgic forces were, however, more ſucceſsful in ſeveral other ſmall engagements with the Auſtrians than they had been on the ſide of Limburgh; and the ſtates were abundantly conſoled for that diſappointment, by the unexpected and unaccountable ſurrender of the citadel of Antwerp. That fortreſs was ſaid to have been capable of making a very troubleſome and even long defence, conſidering how ill calculated and provided the aſſailants were for ſuch an undertaking; and though its ſurrender was at firſt repreſented to the common people as a ſort of miracle, it was ſoon openly ſaid, and much more generally believed, that the treachery of the governor had rendered all ſupernatural aid needleſs, and that a prudent application of gold had afforded cheaper as well as eaſier means for its recovery, than could have been procured from cannon-balls and gunpowder. If the charge of treachery, ſo loudly raiſed againſt the governor, was well founded, he probably owed his eſcape from the puniſhment which he ſo juſtly merited to the diſordered ſtate of the times.

The ſpirit of enterprize and martial ardour which has at all times ſo ſtrongly marked the character of Engliſhmen, induced a number of gentlemen, moſt of whom had ſerved as officers in the laſt war, to paſs over as volunteers to the Low Countries. The cauſe of an oppreſſed people, their old friends and near neighbours, and who by their preſent conduct ſeemed to deſerve that freedom which they were bravely contending for, was highly congenial

congenial to their feelings; and as the court and government of Great Britain ſeemed, in a conſiderable degree, to hold ſentiments not very diſſimilar, no oppoſition was made at home to the gratification of their wiſhes in this reſpect. Theſe gentlemen were received with open arms by the Netherlanders, and moſt, if not all of them, were appointed to immediate commands. Their numbers ſoon became ſo conſiderable, and ſeveral of them poſſeſſing ſufficient influence in their reſpective countries for the levying of men, that, in conformity to propoſals made to them by the congreſs, they raiſed and formed, under the name of *the Britiſh legion*, a body of troops, compoſed entirely of Engliſh and Iriſh.

Jan. 12th, 1790. The ſtates of Flanders paſſed a decree at Ghent, which, after ſtating, that as an indefinite liberty of the preſs was liable to give birth to numberleſs publications ſubverſive of morals and good order, and deſtructive of the public tranquillity, that therefore all publications whatever, without any exception, ſhould continue, as uſual, to be previouſly ſubject to the examination and judgment of clerical or lay cenſors, according to the nature of the matter treated of in ſuch publications; and that all printers, bookſellers, and hawkers, ſhould be anſwerable for the matter contained in the books, pamphlets, or papers which they ſhould publiſh.

About the ſame time a formal religious ceremonial which was exhibited at Ghent, for the purpoſe of beſtowing a ſolemn benediction on the ſtandards and colours of the troops, and which drew thither a vaſt concourſe of people from all the ſurrounding country, was certainly not without its political uſe in the preſent ſeaſon and ſtate of things; particularly with a people, who have at all times been more attached to ſhews and proceſſions than almoſt any other in Europe.

In the mean time, at this early period, before the infant government was yet fully formed, and before the civil concerns of the people were in any degree ſettled, or proper lines of demarcation drawn, to define or reconcile the claſhing intereſts and claims of the reſpective orders of the ſtate, cabals, parties, and factions, ſprung up in the centre of the congreſs itſelf, and were not ſlow in ſpreading their baleful effects through the whole maſs of the people. It is not eaſy, through the miſt in which things have been ſuffered to appear, to form any accurate ideas of the ſtate, real motives, or ultimate views, of the different factions which were now to rend the new commonwealth, and which finally ſerved to fruſtrate and defeat all the great and happy effects, which the revolution ſeemed otherwiſe capable of affording, and poſſibly of rendering permanent, to the people of the Low Countries. For when, by their ſhameful inteſtine diſſentions, they had ſhewn themſelves unworthy of and incapable of enjoying that liberty which they had obtained with ſo much peril, when ambitious, intereſted, and ſordid views, ſeemed predominant in all their conduct, and when it became apparent, that this perverſion of mind, and dereliction of principle, had rendered them incapable of framing or adopting any wiſe or equitable ſyſtem for the adminiſtration of their own government, then, and not till then,

the allied powers, who partly from political motives, and partly likewiſe from ſome more generous movements in the human mind, had, in the beginning of the conteſt, ſhewn ſo lively a diſpoſition in their favour, found it neceſſary at length to abandon them to their fate, and ſuffer them to revert to that ſtate and condition from which they had been ſo lately emancipated.

For they muſt be little verſed in the politics of nations, and ill acquainted with the general ſtate of public affairs which prevailed at the time in Europe, who will not perceive, that nothing could have been more conducive to the intereſts, eaſe, convenience and ſecurity of the three allied powers, England, Holland, and Pruſſia, than the erection of the Belgic nation into an independent and powerful ſtate; circumſtances of which, from ſituation, richneſs of ſoil, excellence of cultivation, variety of products, immediate wealth, and the peculiar induſtry of the inhabitants, the country was moſt eminently capable. The advantages which the allied powers would have derived from ſuch an arrangement, will afford a better teſtimony, than any words or declarations, of what their real wiſhes and deſigns were in this buſineſs. By ſuch an arrangement two of them would have got entirely rid, and the third would have been freed on one ſide of his dominions, from all connection with an ambitious, litigious, exceedingly vexatious, and dangerous neighbour, whoſe caprice was unaccountable, and whoſe faith was always to be ſuſpected. By it an excellent barrier would have been formed to Holland, to the neighbouring dominions of the king of Pruſſia, and in ſome degree to England itſelf; while it would tend much to conſolidate and add weight to the alliance between the three coaleſced powers, and ſerve to reſtrain the hoſtile encroachments of France, as well as entirely check the domineering ambition of the Houſe of Auſtria on that ſide. With ſuch objects of advantage in view, no doubt can be entertained of the original intentions of the allies with reſpect to the Netherlanders, until their own unhappy diſcordance ſhewed, that they were incapable of becoming uſeful allies, and that it was a matter of leſs difficulty to let them paſs backwards to their former ſtate, than the vain endeavour of attempting to reform their diſorders, which could only be done by the fruitleſs and dangerous experiment of forcing a new form of government upon them.

No civil contentions perhaps ever took place in any of the weſtern countries of Europe, ſince the uſe of printing became general, which were ſo totally barren of all public detail and explanation, as thoſe which from this time prevailed in the Low Countries. The ſhort duration of the new government, the rapid ſucceſſion of events, the continual fluctuation in the ſtate of parties, which rendered the affairs that ſeemed intereſting and important on one day, totally out of mind and notice on the next, all coincided in producing this effect; and along with the veils by which the ſeveral leaders endeavoured to cover their real motives of action, and conſequently their ultimate deſigns, ſerved to involve the whole in almoſt impenetrable obſcurity. Something perhaps may be attributed in this reſpect to the reſtraints

ſtraints on the preſs; but the vicinity of England and Holland, and the eaſy mode of publication in theſe countries, leave little indeed to be charged to that account.

It is, however, diſcoverable that power was the great ſource of diſcord, and that the luſt of attaining it operated more particularly, as might be expected, upon the two ſuperior orders of the ſtate, the nobility and clergy; who ſeemed equally deſirous of engroſſing it entirely to themſelves. The two parties ſeemed pretty equally balanced in point of ſtrength and pretenſions. The nobility, beſides the influence neceſſarily incident to great landed property, poſſeſſed a large portion derived from the high antiquity of their families, the reverence with which their anceſtors had through a long courſe of ages been regarded, as well as the virtues which at the preſent day characterized and adorned ſeveral of their principals. They had likewiſe a ſtrong claim upon the opinion and gratitude of the public, for the great ſhare which they had in the accompliſhment of the revolution, and the extraordinary ſtakes which they hazarded on that occaſion. But with all this influence and all theſe claims, they were rendered, by their mutual jealouſies and ſuſpicions, looſe and disjointed; the envy of thoſe who were lower in point of fortune and condition, joined with their private and ſeparate views, exciting their enmity againſt thoſe who were vaſtly ſuperior to them in theſe and other reſpects, and thereby preventing any common bond of union from being formed, which could cement, and give force and effect to the order. Through theſe cauſes, the nobility as a party, were comparatively to be conſidered as little more than a rope of ſand, incapable of coheſion, which could not but afford a manifeſt ſuperiority to their competitors for power. It ſeems probable that a few of the nobility, who poſſeſſed the largeſt eſtates, with the greateſt ſhare of popularity and influence, hoped, in the craſh and diviſions of parties, to have been able to draw the whole, or at leaſt a principal ſhare of the adminiſtration of public affairs, within their own hands, and perhaps thoſe of a few ſelect friends choſen by themſelves. Although the nobility in general, as well as theſe we have juſt mentioned, wiſhed much to circumſcribe, if not to curtail, the power of the clergy, yet their diſcordant and intereſted views led them in act, to fruſtrate and defeat their own wiſhes.

On the other hand, the clergy had, even from time immemorial, been poſſeſſed of a very extraordinary degree of power in theſe provinces; and which had continued unimpaired under all ſucceſſions and through all changes of government, until the raſh attacks lately made upon them by the excentric Joſeph the Second. They likewiſe held, at the preſent day, very large landed poſſeſſions, and no ſmall ſhare of perſonal wealth; and what might well be conſidered of greater conſequence than both, the peculiar and extreme bigotry of the common people had thrown them ſo totally into their hands, and the ties of attachment to their dominion appeared to be ſo indiſſoluble, that the whole maſs could ſcarcely be regarded in any other light than that of an abſolute and inalienable property. They likewiſe poſſeſſed great advantages peculiar to that body in all caſes of conteſt with others.

others. Their union, their diſcipline, the cloſeneſs with which their deſigns were concealed, their unceaſing, though ſilent, purſuit of their object, which was never given over through difficulty, nor abandoned through caprice; and above all, the facility with which their united powers were concentrated in a point, and the force of the many brought to act with the energy of an individual, ſerved, altogether, to afford them a wonderful ſuperiority over their looſe and disjointed antagoniſts.

The third order of the ſtate, which, as in other countries, might be ſuppoſed to include the people at large, was, however, in this caſe, through the blind attachment of the common ſort to the clergy, virtually confined to the burghers and inhabitants of the towns, reckoning in that number the trading and manufacturing parts of the community, however ſituated. This was a numerous and reſolute claſs of men, capable of looking forwards to diſtant conſequences, of forming a right judgment on preſent affairs, of concert and deſign in their actions, and were endued with ſufficient courage, if the neceſſity required, to execute boldly what they determined. Theſe were intermixed with that numerous and faſt-increaſing claſs of men, who, as we have before ſeen, had imbibed, what about this time began to be called, the *French contagion*; and who accordingly adopted the new doctrines, in philoſophy, politics, and even religion, which had taken ſuch faſt poſſeſſion of the inhabitants in general of that ill-fated country. Though their views extended far beyond thoſe of the burghers at large, who wiſhed for nothing more than that the third eſtate ſhould poſſeſs ſuch a reaſonable ſhare in the conſtitution of their country as would be ſufficient to ſecure them from wrong and oppreſſion, yet the former, who hoped in due time to find an opportunity of realizing their new doctrines, by the ſubverſion of all eſtabliſhments, civil and religious, and by the forming of an Utopian government, on a ſyſtem of general equality, however, thought it neceſſary for the preſent to conceal their remote deſigns; and deemed it to be conſiſtent with their ſecret views, and capable of affording the beſt means for their furtherance, not only to join the majority in every thing, but to be the foremoſt and loudeſt in their outcries againſt the meaſures and deſigns of the congreſs. They conſidered, and not unwiſely, if the principle and deſign on which they acted had been founded in juſtice or wiſdom, that while by purſuing this conduct they acquired great credit and popularity, from being placed in the firſt rank of thoſe who were admired as true patriots, they ſhould thereby not only have a continual opportunity of fomenting the diſcord which they wiſhed, but when men's minds were heated by controverſy, and by oppoſition to their claims and deſires; when they were kept diſturbed and agitated by frequent diſcuſſions of, or conſtant ruminations on, real or imaginary grievances; and above all, when they were inflamed by ſtrong liquors at their political clubs and meetings, they ſhould then be able to draw the moſt moderate into the adoption of the moſt violent and extravagant of their own opinions and meaſures: ſtill concealing carefully from public view, until the proper hour of diſcloſure

cloſure arrived, their grand and ultimate object.

The military men, and particularly thoſe brave officers, without whoſe bold enterprize and extraordinary exertions, in bringing forward raw men unuſed to arms, to encounter and defeat in the open field, upon equal, and often inferior terms, diſciplined and veteran troops, the revolution could not have been accompliſhed, being themſelves moſtly of the third eſtate, were highly diſſatisfied at finding, that the eminent ſervices which they had performed, and the dangers which they had encountered, had produced no effect whatever in bettering their condition. They thought it was to ſmall purpoſe indeed that they had ſucceeded in ſhaking off the Auſtrian yoke, if it was only to be exchanged for a ſimilar deſpotiſm, placed in the hands of a few of their own countrymen; a tyranny, which from that circumſtance, as well as from the diſſimilarity of condition in the rulers, would prove more odious and intolerable than even that of a great foreign power.

Upon the whole, the third order thought they too plainly perceived, that the great leaders of the nobility and clergy, without the ſmalleſt attention to them, or deſign of enlarging their repreſentation, or increaſing their privileges, were entirely engaged in a violent and ſhameful conteſt, for the engroſſing of all power, whether as orders or individuals, to themſelves.

Thus the ſeeds of jealouſy, diſſention, faction and cabal, were ſown thick in the very formation of the infant republic.

The inhabitants of Bruſſels, who held themſelves high, through the reputation which their valour in the expulſion of the Auſtrians had ſo juſtly obtained, aſſumed greater port, and were more free and bold in the diſcloſure of their ſentiments, than thoſe of other places. Before the ink was yet well dry on the ſignatures of the deputies from the reſpective provinces who had ſigned the articles of union, a numerous ſociety was formed in that city, under the eyes, it might be ſaid, of the congreſs, which aſſumed the name of the Patriotic Aſſembly; this new body held regular ſeſſions; diſcuſſed queſtions of ſtate and government; decided on them by vote; paſſed reſolutions; and propoſed ſeveral innovations or reforms with reſpect to theſe ſubjects. The ſimilarity between this aſſembly and that of the Jacobins in Paris, cannot eſcape any obſerver; the reſemblance only failing, where a deficiency of power, and perhaps of equal natural arrogance, affected the former. It was in vain that theſe meetings were prohibited by the committee of the ſtates; the new aſſembly met regularly as before, carried on its proceedings publicly without diſguiſe, and was continually reinforced by the addition of new members, many of whom were reſpectable from condition and character. Among their other acts, they drew up, printed, and publiſhed, a piece under the title of "An Addreſs to the States of Brabant," in the name of the people at large, but more particularly of the ſubſcribers. In this document, they pointed out many ſuppoſed errors and vices in the new arrangement, and in the conſtitution derived from it, among which the neglect of the third eſtate bore a principal part; and

and in a very ſhort time they procured above two thouſand ſignatures to this document.

The ſtates found no more effectual means to oppoſe to theſe proceedings, and to endeavour to lay the ſpirit from which they originated, than that of employing the curés, or pariſh prieſts, both of the towns and villages of the province, to viſit their reſpective pariſhioners, and to uſe their utmoſt influence to induce them to ſign a counter-addreſs, in which the ſtates were requeſted to ſeize and puniſh, in an exemplary manner, all thoſe diſturbers of the public tranquillity, who wiſhed to introduce innovations and changes in the religion, in the conſtitution, or in the preſent form in which the nation is repreſented by the three orders of the ſtates, which it has choſen for its repreſentative. The prieſts being habituated thro' life to hold the greateſt intimacy and friendſhip with their pariſhioners, beſides their being ſubject themſelves to embrace the opinions of thoſe with whom they hourly converſed, found it otherwiſe a very unpleaſing and embarraſſing taſk, to be under a neceſſity of endeavouring to perſuade their friends to adopt a meaſure, which they often knew was directly contrary to their liking. The counter-addreſs accordingly dragged on very heavily; nor have we any information whether it was ever preſented: but whether it was or not, the ferment among the people increaſed inſtead of diminiſhing, and diſſatisfaction, party diviſions, and civil diſſentions became every day more prevalent and general.

Feb. 20th, 1790. It was expected that the death of the Emperor Joſeph the Second, and the acceſſion of his brother Leopold, grand duke of Tuſcany, to the Auſtrian hereditary dominions, would have afforded the means of reſtoring peace and order to the Low Countries, by bringing about a reconciliation and re-union between the Belgic people and the new ſucceſſor of their late ſovereign, who was not implicated in any of the cauſes of diſlike or averſion which hang ſo heavily about his predeceſſor. Much indeed was expected from the moderate, apparently unambitious, and pacific character of Leopold, as well as from the mild and equitable adminiſtration of his government during ſo many years in the grand dutchy, whereby he had gained no ſmall degree of applauſe in foreign countries, and well ſecured, in general, the attachment and affection of his own ſubjects.

A memorial, however, which he addreſſed to the inhabitants of the Netherlands, ſpeedily after his arrival at Vienna, by no means anſwered the expectations which had been formed from a review of his former conduct and ſuppoſed character, and was ſtill farther from affording any ſatisfaction to the people to whom it was directed. In that document, although intermixed with no unſparing degree of blame upon the conduct of his predeceſſor, with great profeſſions on his ſide of lenity, of kindneſs, of affection for the people, along with declarations of his diſpoſition and intention to redreſs all real grievances, he however entered upon an ungrateful ſubject, which, in a firſt addreſs, and in the preſent ſtate of things, would ſeem to have been better omitted, by aſſerting, in as high terms, his undoubted right to the ſovereignty of

of the Auſtrian Low Countries, as Joſeph himſelf could have uſed in the plenitude of his power, before they had yet ſhaken off his dominion, and aſſumed the name and character of a free and independent ſtate. And, as if it had been to render this claim and language more unpalatable, it was accompanied with what might be conſidered virtually as a threat, that no power on earth ſhould deprive him of his right while he poſſeſſed the means of maintaining it.

This ill-judged memorial was accordingly very ill received, and, ſo far as we are informed, did not even produce an anſwer from the Belgic ſtates; but it gave birth to many comments, and to ſeveral ſevere paſquinades in the public prints. Among theſe it was obſerved, that as power ſmooths the way, ſo ambition always quickens its purſuits; that although the men were changed, the object was ſtill the ſame, and the deſire of arbitrary rule as prevalent as ever; and that Leopold, who ſeemed ſo pacific, while circumſcribed in a narrow dominion, incapable of exertion, would now, feeling his ſtrength, endeavour to tread in the tracks made by his ever-reſtleſs and all-graſping predeceſſor. This memorial, however, had the effect of reviving, or at leaſt of calling into notice, a new party, in a country already torn to pieces by faction. This was the party of the loyaliſts, or friends of the Houſe of Auſtria, who now began to declare themſelves openly, to be diſtinguiſhed by cockades of a different colour from thoſe of the patriots, and who, being probably joined by many perſons of other parties, who were diſſatisfied with the preſent ſtate of affairs, appeared to be far more numerous than they had been before imagined.

The nobility, finding that the power of the clergy was becoming predominant on the one hand, and that, on the other, the people were every day growing more diſcontented, and their aſpect more alarming, thought it neceſſary in the month of February to endeavour to regain their popularity, by making on their part conſiderable condeſcenſions to the third eſtate. But whether any impediments were thrown in the way, which prevented theſe diſpoſitions from being carried into full effect, or from whatever other cauſe it proceeded, the general diſcontent and jealouſy, inſtead of being leſſened, was increaſing to the utmoſt pitch. A rumour was ſpread, and ſeemed by the effect to be generally believed, that a few of the ſtates had formed the atrocious deſign of ſeizing all the powers of the ſtate and government, and of eſtabliſhing an odious deſpotiſm among themſelves. It ſignified little whether this plot was real or imaginary, the effect with reſpect to the people was the ſame as if it had been fully authenticated. The conſequence was, that ſtrong parties of horſe and foot continually patrolled the public ſtreets in Bruſſels and other principal cities, by day and by night; and the new commonwealth began to bear the appearance of a military government. In the mean time, the priſons were crowded with ſuſpected or obnoxious perſons, whoſe wants and ſufferings rendered them ripe for acts of the utmoſt deſperation; while the ſympathy of thoſe without could only be reſtrained by force from co-operating with them.

Of all the officers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Belgic revolution, general Vander Merſch ſtood the foremoſt, and from the brilliance and ſucceſs of his numerous military enterprizes, had not only borne the palm in a ſupreme degree from all competitors, but was regarded with admiration in other countries, and acquired no ſmall degree of renown in every part of Europe. He was rendered particularly remarkable by his early and abrupt deſertion of the emperor's ſervice, in which he held the rank of colonel, to embrace the cauſe of his country, in which he bore ſo conſpicuous a part. This took place at or before the commencement of the revolt; and excited the indignation and reſentment of Joſeph the Second in ſo extreme a degree, that by an immediate order in his own hand to general Dalton, Vander Merſch was hanged in effigy in the front of the army, which was drawn out for the purpoſe; that prince, in the ſame letter, expreſſing his ſanguine hopes or wiſhes, that this mock execution would ſoon be realized with full effect. The condemned general found ſufficient opportunities, before the emperor's death, to retaliate this affront in ſuch a manner as procured him ample ſatisfaction.

General Vander Merſch was one of that very great number of men, who had become highly diſſatisfied with the conduct of the congreſs, or at leaſt of thoſe ſecret leaders who were ſuppoſed to be the directors of all its actions. As the faculty of concealing opinions or principles is not generally very eminent among military men, he of courſe became obnoxious to the cabal; but his great popularity among the people at large, and the ſupreme influence which he was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs with every degree of men in the army, made it appear imprudent to quarrel with him upon ſlight grounds. We are probably in the dark as to many intermediate ſteps, and perhaps brangles. But it appears, that towards the cloſe of the month of March, (that month which was once ſo fatally ominous to a much greater general and man) the diſſentions between the parties were riſen to ſuch a pitch, and ſo openly avowed, that deputies were ſent by the congreſs to Namur, where the acting part of the army employed againſt the Auſtrians then was, under the general's orders, evidently with a view of, at leaſt, removing him from his command, if not of arreſting his perſon. In this new ſituation, and in theſe difficult and dangerous circumſtances, Vander Merſch determined upon a bold ſtroke, which, however great the peril, afforded the only proſpect left of retrieving his affairs, and even of eſcaping the horrors of a priſon; without reckoning, that life itſelf was no leſs at ſtake than honour and liberty. He accordingly ordered the deputies from the congreſs to be immediately arreſted, and committed them to priſon.

He followed this act by iſſuing and publiſhing a declaration, March 30th, 1790. in which, without taking any notice of the congreſs by name, he obſerves, that ill-intentioned perſons, and who were ſtrongly ſuſpected of having fomented the execrable practices of pillage and proſcription, which had taken place in Bruſſels, were arrived there for the purpoſe of ſtirring up the people to ſedition,

sedition, and to calumniate the loyal intentions of the general, and of the army; that it was therefore thought neceſſary to remove every cauſe of alarm by declaring, that he was himſelf placed at the head of the army for the purpoſe of defending the Roman Catholic faith, with the civil and religious rights, and the liberty of the people, and that he would not ſuffer theſe to receive the ſmalleſt injury or diminution whatſoever.

It appears that the corps of officers belonging to that army had, in the courſe of theſe diſputes, and under circumſtances of which we are not informed, nominated Vander Merſch to be generaliſſimo of the Belgic forces, and had applied to the congreſs, without effect, for the confirmation of their choice. They had undoubtedly gone too far in the adoption of that meaſure, and it can be no wonder that congreſs did not comply with their demands; but they were determined to go ſtill farther, and to venture upon a meaſure which ſtruck at the root of all government. For on the day ſucceeding that upon which the declaration had been iſſued, they unanimouſly paſſed, and publiſhed the four following violent reſolutions: — That general Vander Merſch ſhall continue generaliſſimo of the Belgic army: That the duke d'Urſel ſhall inſtantly be placed at the head of the war department: That the prince of Aremberg, count de la Marck, (ſon of the duke) whoſe military talents are generally known, and who, at the commencement of the revolution, gave ſuch proofs of patriotiſm in offering his ſervices to the committee at Breda, ſhall be appointed ſecond in the command of the army, next to general Vander Merſch; and that addreſſes of ſupplication ſhall be ſent to all the provinces, inviting them to co-operate with the army in reforming abuſes and re-eſtabliſhing order.

The ſupreme congreſs, upon theſe proceedings, immediately iſſued orders for the troops at Bruſſels, and various other ſtations, to march towards Namur; near which a place of rendezvous was appointed, where they were to coaleſce, and advance in a body to bring the oppoſite army to reaſon; ſo that every thing now bore the appearance of a civil war, which indeed ſeemed to be inevitable.

We are totally unable to give any account by what means this event was prevented: or by what unaccountable revolution in the human mind, or by what party manœuvre, that body of officers, and that army, who ſeemed juſt now to paſs all bounds in the irregularity and violence of their determinations, and who had undoubtedly been the cauſe of Vander Merſch's purſuing the meaſures and proceeding the lengths which he did, ſhould in a few days be ſo thoroughly debauched, as moſt ſhamefully to abandon their general to the rage of his enemies, and thereby forfeit all pretenſions to principle, honour, or character, which ſhould have operated upon them, whether as men or as ſoldiers. Yet ſuch was the caſe now; and the dragging out of a miſerable exiſtence in the dungeons of the citadel of Antwerp, (which at this time as fully merited the character of a ſtate Baſtille, as it even had done under the ſo much execrated tyranny of general Dalton) was the reward which the brave general Vander Merſch obtained for all his eminent ſervices.

The

The charges laid by the congreſs againſt Vander Merſch, for which they at firſt deſigned to bring him to trial, and aimed at his life, were the following:—"That, forgetting that he derived all his authority from them, he had permitted himſelf to be choſen generaliſſimo by the officers of his army, and endeavoured to retain that ſituation by force; that, with equal violence, he had cauſed the deputies who were ſent from the congreſs to the army to be arreſted; and, that by theſe, and other violent proceedings, he had nearly involved the country in a civil war."

Few triumphs have been ſhorter-lived, or have afforded leſs real cauſe for ſatisfaction in the recollection, than that which their preſent victory afforded to the ruling faction. Scarcely any other act in their power to perform, could have rendered them ſo univerſally unpopular, or ſo generally odious. All men ſympathized in the unhappy fate of Vander Merſch, and were diſpoſed to curſe the authors of it; while his gallant exploits roſe full in every view, as if they had been reflected through a microſcope. The people of Flanders (whoſe countryman he was) reſented this as an act of the moſt injurious and outrageous nature; and if the public inclination had power to act, it would have occaſioned a rupture between the two great provinces of the union, unleſs a mutual agreement had taken place for changing the preſent rulers. In the mean time, Vandernoot and Van Eupen, the abhorred agents and inſtruments of the cabal, and particularly of the clergy, became virtually poſſeſſed of all the executive powers of the ſtate; two men to whom may be principally, if not entirely, attributed the ruin of the Belgic republic; and who, during their ſhort and inglorious reign, ſeemed to rule every thing without controul.

From this time the hiſtory of the new commonwealth preſents little that is intereſting. The government loſt all reputation abroad, as it had done the good opinion and attachment of the people at home. The allied powers became every day more ſlack in their zeal for the proſperity and independency of a people who they ſaw could not be ſerved. The army ſeemed to have loſt its ſpirit along with its general; and defeats from thoſe Auſtrians who had lately been ſo much deſpiſed, became not unfrequent. So totally was government ſunk in credit, that it could not, in that rich country, borrow money even for the immediate purpoſes of defence. It was not more ſucceſsful in its attempts to raiſe money in England and Holland. The ſcheme of a grand expedition being formed by government againſt the Auſtrians, they committed the conduct of it to Vandernoot; which would have been ſufficient to render it odious, and to mar the enterprize, if the people had even been in a much better ſtate of temper and diſpoſition in other reſpects than they by any means were. A conſiderable number of Brabanters were, however, brought together; but the towns of Flanders peremptorily refuſed to ſend a ſingle man to join them. Even in Bruſſels, where the military ſpirit lately roſe ſo high, they could ſcarcely find a man, who would encourage the enterprize by enrolling his name as a volunteer. The conſequence was, that the cabal, after conſiderable expence, were obliged

obliged to submit to the disgrace of relinquishing their enterprize, the Brabanters were sent home, and Vandernoot underwent the inexpressible mortification, of not having had an opportunity of eclipsing Vander Mersch's renown, and of establishing his own character as a general in his place.

As dislike and disaffection to government became daily more prevalent, and spread more extensively among the people, so the royalist or Austrian party received such continual accessions in force, numbers, and courage, as afforded sufficient cause of alarm to the congress. The peasants broke out into open revolt in different parts, the inhabitants of several villages assembling in bodies, wearing Austrian cockades, displaying Austrian standards, and proceeding to various acts of irregularity and violence, until the troops had time to collect for their dispersion.

Thus affairs were every day growing from bad to worse, and every body was sensible that the present system of government could not long hang together, although the means and the manner of its dissolution were not easily foreseen. A letter, which congress received about the middle of August from the king of Prussia, afforded, however, a sad warning of their approaching fate, and threw them into paroxysms of consternation and terror. The great differences which had subsisted between the courts of Berlin and Vienna being at length terminated by the treaty of Reichenbach, which was concluded on the 27th of July, and the war which had so long seemed inevitable between those powers, being thereby most unexpectedly prevented, the letter we mentioned was to give notice to the congress, that the king of Prussia had acknowledged Leopold (whose election to the empire was now settled) to be duke of Brabant — an acknowledgment which of course carried with it his succession, under different titles, to all the other Austrian provinces of the Netherlands.

The means adopted to prevent or alleviate the immediate effect of this thunder-stroke were, in the first instance, to conceal the purport of the letter from the public; and this weak resource was succeeded by an extraordinary affectation of vigour, courage and bravery, cloathed in all the language of power and confidence. On this ground they issued long printed proposals, branched out into a numerous list of articles, for the immediate raising and forming of a vast patriotic army, which, indeed, if it could possibly be done, might well bid defiance to all their opponents. But as they had the misfortune to have lost all influence over both the persons and purses of the people, this scheme soon vanished in smoke, and their speedy downfal became evident.

A manifesto issued by Leopold at Frankfort immediately after his coronation, and addressed to the people of the Netherlands, produced, however, no effect on the conduct of the congress. On the contrary, in a short printed paper which was handed about as their answer, but which wanted every formality that could render it capable of being presented or received, they totally denied his claim of any right derived from his ancestors to the sovereignty of that country; and asserted, that though many of them

Oct. 14th, 1790.

had been in that ſituation, they owed it entirely to the free choice and appointment of the people, who had a right to chooſe whom they pleaſed to be their governors.

Notwithſtanding the weakneſs of government, and the diſcontents of the people, there was ſo much ſpirit ſtill left in the army, and ſo much obſtinacy not only in the rulers, but in the republican party, to whom it was death to think of ſubmitting again to the government of the houſe of Auſtria, that the war was renewed with great animoſity on the borders, and much blood wantonly and fruitleſsly ſpilled; and this in contravention to the inceſſant amicable interpoſition of the allied powers, who did every thing poſſible to prevent that fatal effect; and repeatedly ſhewed to the congreſs the futility and cruelty of theſe vain efforts.

Theſe powers were, however, deſtined to be the means of finally putting an end to the mixed ſyſtem of tyranny, anarchy, and diſorder, which, through the preſent adminiſtration of affairs, had produced ſo much calamity in the Auſtrian Netherlands. By their continued interpoſition with the emperor (who was by no means diſpoſed on ſeveral occaſions to be flexible) they procured an excellent conſtitution for the people of the Low Countries, of which they were themſelves to be the perpetual guarantees. The miniſters of the allied powers and of the emperor held a congreſs at the Hague, where they ſpent ſeveral weeks in diſcuſſing and ſettling this important buſineſs. The new conſtitution was highly favourable to the people, and placed them upon a much better footing than they had ever been before; for, beſides a renewal and confirmation of all their ancient immunities, and the placing them in the ſame ſituation in which they had deemed themſelves ſo happy, under the much-applauded government of Maria Thereſa, ſeveral new ſtipulations were now added, to reſtrain the ſovereign, whatever his diſpoſition might be, from being capable of any material invaſion of their rights, privileges, or liberties. The only condition binding on or expected from the Belgians, being merely a quiet and peaceable, but immediate ſubmiſſion to the ſovereignty and government of Leopold; this article being likewiſe guaranteed by the allied powers, as well as thoſe which ſecured the rights and liberties of the people; and, if a ſtrict interpretation were followed, rendering the reſt conditional. This convention, including a general amneſty, was executed at the Hague on the 10th of December 1790.

But the obſtinacy and raſhneſs of the ruling faction would not permit them to relinquiſh their fruitleſs war while they had a man left to carry it on. All the repreſentations and exhortations of the negociating miniſters were offered in vain. Repeated defeats produced as little effect. Though they could not but be ſenſible that the hour of diſſolution was at hand, yet they could not face the thought of reſigning their ill-uſed power to the laſt moment. Through this unaccountable and ſhameful conduct, which no words can palliate, affairs were precipitated in ſuch a manner, and thrown into a ſtate of ſuch unforeſeen confuſion, as might well not only have diſturbed the proceedings of the congreſs, but, under other circumſtances than the preſent, might have defeated

defeated all the intentions of the mediating powers, and prevented the happy concluſion of the convention.

For general Bender having continually routed their troops, and carried every thing before him on the frontiers, at length penetrated the country, and advanced toward Bruſſels; when, however, he halted, and ſent a meſſage to the congreſs, aſſigning a certain ſhort number of days in which they were to determine on the queſtion, Whether they would accede to the conditions propoſed by the mediating powers or not? aſſuring them at the ſame time, and confirming it by an oath, that if at the expiration of that term they put him under the neceſſity of drawing on his boots, he would never take them off again until he had chaſed them out of the Netherlands. The time elapſed—no anſwer was returned—the general drew on his boots, and marched rapidly for Bruſſels. Then, all at once, overwhelmed with conſternation and fear, each man, apprehenſive that his own life would be the forfeit for the miſdeeds of the whole, the congreſs, the members of the war department, with Vandernoot and Van Eupen, all fled different ways in the greateſt confuſion and terror, ſome eſcaping to Holland, ſome to France, and others to Germany. General Bender uſed his ſucceſs with great moderation and lenity: but this changed the whole face and nature of things; for the convention was not yet concluded, and the country was become ſubject to Leopold by right of conqueſt; a title which, it is ſaid, he was well diſpoſed to profit by, and which it coſt the allied powers no ſmall trouble to prevent his adopting.

All differences and doubts being, however, at length amicably ſettled, the emperor was, on the 30th of June 1791, inaugurated at Bruſſels, as duke of Brabant; the duke of Saxe Teſchen acting as his proxy in that ceremonial.

CHAP. II.

Meeting of the new parliament. Speech from the throne. Addreſs voted by the houſe of commons. Mr. Fox's remarks on the addreſs. Addreſs voted by the houſe of lords. Lord Stanhope's ſpeech upon the occaſion. Copies of the declaration and counter-declaration ſigned at Madrid, and of the convention with Spain, laid before both houſes. Debates upon this ſubject in the houſe of commons. Addreſs to his Majeſty, congratulating him upon the ſucceſs of the late negociations. Objections of Mr. Fox to this addreſs; anſwered by Mr. Pitt. Houſe of lords.—Marquis of Lanſdowne. Committee of ways and means to defray the expences of the late armament. Debates in the houſe of commons upon the queſtion, whether an impeachment abated by a diſſolution of parliament.—In the houſe of lords. Mr. Burke's motion for the limitation of Mr. Haſtings's impeachment.

THE new parliament aſſembled on the 25th of November, 1790, and proceeded to the election of a ſpeaker. Mr. Addington, the ſpeaker of the late houſe of commons, was nominated by the maſter of the

rolls, and took the chair with the marked and unanimous approbation of the houſe.

On the following day the ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty informed parliament that the differences, which had ariſen with the court of Spain, were brought to an amicable concluſion.—That a ſeparate peace had been made between Ruſſia and Sweden.—That, in conjunction with his allies, he had employed his mediation for the purpoſe of negociating a definitive treaty between Ruſſia and the Porte, and likewiſe of endeavouring to put an end to the diſſenſions in the Netherlands. Towards the concluſion of the ſpeech his majeſty adverted to the interruption which had taken place in the tranquillity of our Indian poſſeſſions, and recommended to parliament a particular attention to the ſtate of the province of Quebec.

On the motion for an addreſs, made by Mr. Mainwaring and ſeconded by Mr. Carew, in the houſe of commons, Mr. Fox obſerved, that he by no means wiſhed to deſtroy that unanimity which he truſted would prevail in the houſe upon the occaſion, but confeſſed that he did not feel himſelf inclined to adopt the principles, and ſanction all the collateral obſervations, advanced by the honourable gentlemen, who ſupported the addreſs. To the merits of the convention with Spain, he did not think himſelf bound to ſubſcribe by giving his vote for the motion before the houſe, as ſufficient documents had not been produced to enable him to form a proper judgment upon that ſubject. It had been ſtated that it was policy in this country to promote the return of the Netherlands to the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria, in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of another power likely to prove dangerouſly inimical to this country. He conceived that France muſt have been the power alluded to. But how came France ſo ſuddenly a greater object of terror to us at this than at any former period? He did not wiſh to enter into a diſcuſſion of the ſituation of France; but whatever difference of opinion might exiſt upon that ſubject, all parties, he truſted, would agree that the interference of the French nation, for very obvious reaſons, was little to be dreaded at the preſent moment. With regard to the affairs of Europe in general, ſo novel an order of things had lately preſented themſelves, and the intereſts of different powers had taken ſuch various turns, that he thought Great Britain might ſelect what allies ſhe deemed moſt proper; and that his majeſty's miniſters would be highly culpable, if they did not profit by the ſingular ſituation of other nations. On the ſubject of India, he obſerved, that if we meant only to defend our ally when attacked, we ſhould act upon principles which met with his hearty concurrence; but that if we made a quarrel between two native princes a pretext for carrying on a war from the motive of obtaining for ourſelves new territorial acquiſitions, he ſhould enter his determined proteſt againſt the injuſtice of ſuch a proceeding.

The chancellor of the exchequer remarked, in reply, that voting for the addreſs was certainly not intended to imply an approbation of the convention with Spain. With reſpect to foreign alliances, his majeſty's

jeſty's miniſters, he ſaid, were neither ſo idle nor ſo inattentive to their duty, as to overlook any favourable opportunities, which might occur, for the improvement of former treaties, or for the contraction of new ones. He concurred with Mr. Fox in his obſervations upon the injuſtice and imprudence of making war in India for the purpoſe of extending territory; but conceived, that, in caſe of a fortunate termination of the war in which we were likely to be involved, we ſhould be fully juſtified in obtaining for our injured ally an adequate compenſation, and for ourſelves a reaſonable indemnification.

Nothing remarkable occurred in the houſe of lords upon the ſubject of the addreſs to his majeſty for his gracious ſpeech from the throne, except ſome ſingular obſervations from lord Stanhope. His lordſhip ſincerely congratulated the houſe and the nation upon the continuance of peace, which he conceived was principally to be attributed, under Divine Providence, to the glorious revolution of France. Nothing, his lordſhip obſerved, would more tend to make it permanent, than a ſteady and well-formed alliance with that great and free country: an alliance, if completely eſtabliſhed and confirmed, likely to prove productive of the moſt ſalutary conſequences to both nations. Towards the concluſion of his ſpeech he wiſhed to draw the moſt ſerious attention of the houſe to a very extraordinary ſubject, to a publication, which he termed a monſtrous and ſcandalous libel againſt his majeſty, a publication from the pen of no vulgar writer, but of one, who was formerly the firſt miniſter of ſtate in a neighbouring kingdom, of no leſs a man than Monſieur Calonne, late premier of France! This publication, in his lordſhip's opinion, after recommending a ſort of civil war in France, moſt audaciouſly preſumed to inſinuate that the cauſe of the French king againſt the French nation would be eſpouſed by every crowned head in Europe; an expreſſion ſufficiently comprehenſive to include the king of England. And dares any man, exclaimed his lordſhip, impute to his majeſty, who has always ſhewn the ſincereſt love for his people, even inclinations, much leſs intentions, of ſo pernicious a tendency? If there are any in this houſe, if there are any in adminiſtration, who countenance ſuch atrocious proceedings as thoſe which are recommended by M. Calonne, it is full time that they ſhould be pointed out to us and to the public.

Not a ſingle remark was made by any noble lord upon the preceding obſervations. Immediately after lord Stanhope had concluded, the lord chancellor put the queſtion upon the motion for the addreſs; when it was declared that the contents had it *nem. diſſ.*

On the 3d of December copies * of the declaration and counter-declaration exchanged at Madrid, July 24th, 1790, and of the convention with Spain, ſigned the 28th of October 1790, together with the expences of the late armament, &c. were preſented to both houſes of parliament. A motion was made in the houſe of commons on the 13th, for the production of all the

* Inſerted among the State Papers of our laſt volume, p. 300, and 303.

papers relative to the affair at Nootka Sound. The propriety of producing those papers was strongly urged by opposition, upon the ground, that, if the convention were a bad one, culpability might attach, where in justice it ought, to his majesty's ministers; if a good one, that the house might be enabled to testify an approbation, which would be the more valuable in proportion to the more accurate minuteness of its enquiry. Much eloquence likewise was exerted to dissuade the other side of the house from placing, what was termed, a blind and treacherous confidence in ministers.

To the arguments of opposition it was answered, that the production of the papers requested was not only unnecessary (the papers already presented to the house furnishing sufficient documents for a decision upon the general merits of the proceeding); but might be mischievous, by communicating negociations with other courts and with our allies, which were by no means proper to bring under the public eye. It was contended that the acknowledged right of the house to call for papers of every kind, ought not to be exercised but upon great, solemn, and weighty occasions, when sufficient cause appeared for blame, or suspicion of blame, upon the face of any treaty. That as to the doctrine of confidence, ministry only wished to obtain that degree of confidence which would enable them to carry on without frivolous obstructions the executive government of the country. Upon a division, the numbers were ayes 134—noes 258.—Majority 124.

An address to his majesty, congratulating him upon the success of the late negociations, was moved December 14th, in the house of commons. The principal topics urged by the gentlemen who opened the debate, were the great commercial advantages likely to accrue to Great Britain from the stipulations acceded to on the part of Spain, particularly in the whale-fishery and the fur-trade. Those positions were controverted and treated as delusive by the opposition. Mr. Fox entered into a discussion of the merits of the convention, which he termed a treaty of concessions rather than of acquisitions. He observed, that there were two objects to be considered in this negociation; 1st, the reparation for the insult received; 2dly, the arrangement for the prevention of future disputes. The reparation which had been obtained, he thought insufficient. In the altercation respecting the Falkland Islands, in the year 1771, reparation was the only object in view, and it was obtained in its fullest extent. Spain then agreed to put every thing exactly in the same situation as before the insult was committed, which agreement she punctually fulfilled. In that case there was a complete restoration; in the present there was only the declaration of a disposition to restore. The restitution promised appeared to him to be at best but incomplete; nor had even the little which had been promised, been performed. On the subject of reparation, therefore, he conceived that we had no cause for boasting—the arrangement made for the prevention of future disputes seemed in his eye to be equally culpable. It consisted more of concessions on our part, than on the part of Spain. Previous to this dispute, we possessed and exercised the free navigation

tion of the Pacific Ocean without reſtraint and without limitation. We poſſeſſed and exerciſed the right of carrying on fiſheries in the South Seas alike unreſtrained and unlimited. But the admiſſion of a part only of theſe rights was all that we had obtained by the convention. Formerly we claimed the privilege of ſettling in any part of South or North Weſt America, not fortified againſt us by previous occupancy; now we conſented to the limitation of ſettling in certain places only, and even there under various reſtrictions. Our right of fiſhing before extended to the whole ocean; it was now refuſed us within particular diſtances of the Spaniſh ſettlements. We were allowed indeed to form colonies on the north of the parts occupied by Spain, and to build temporary huts to the ſouth; but the Spaniſh boundaries, beyond which ſuch permiſſions were granted us, could not be accurately determined. Certainty, in his eſtimation, was of more value than extent of territory. He ſhould therefore have thought it better to have obtained in the firſt inſtance a preciſe line of demarkation, even at the expence of a few leagues of country, from ſuch an account as Spain herſelf might chooſe to give of the limits of her occupancy. Upon the whole, he obſerved, that we had reſigned what was of infinite conſequence to Spain, and retained what was inſignificant to ourſelves; and that what we had retained was ſo vague in its deſcription, ſo undefined in its limits, and conſequently ſo liable to be again diſputed, that we had conceded much more in point of right, than we had acquired in point of ſecurity.

The chancellor of the exchequer, on the other hand, contended, that the reparation for the injury which we had received was complete. In the controverſy reſpecting the Falkland Iſlands, the miniſter of the time had indeed obtained a reparation, but left the claim of right unſettled. Upon the preſent occaſion, by the firſt article of the convention we had gained all that we could have reaſonably expected on the point of reſtitution, the Spaniſh court pledging itſelf to reſtore the lands, of which we had been unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed; and by the ſecond article our claim of right was acknowledged and adjuſted. In anſwer to Mr. Fox's objections to the other articles of the treaty, as being replete with conceſſions rather than acquiſitions, he obſerved that our gains conſiſted, not perhaps in the acquirement of new rights, but certainly of new advantages. He admitted that we before had a right to the Southern whale-fiſhery, and a right to navigate the Pacific Ocean, as well as to trade on the coaſts of any part of North Weſt America: thoſe rights however had been diſputed and reſiſted, but by the convention they were now ſecured to us; circumſtances which conſtituted new and conſiderable advantages. Whenever a conceſſion was made on our part, he aſſerted, that a ſtipulation equally favourable to us was made by Spain. On the ſubject of the line of demarkation, he remarked, that it was judged moſt expedient to leave undefined, what at the preſent moment it was impoſſible to aſcertain with ſufficient accuracy. The addreſs was carried by a majority of, 124.—Ayes 247—noes 123.

In the houſe of lords, the addreſs was ſupported and oppoſed upon grounds ſimilar to thoſe which had

been previouſly ſelected in the houſe of commons. The marquis of Lanſdowne entered into a long diſcuſſion, not merely of the merits of the particular treaty under conſideration, but of the general views and political tranſactions of miniſters with reſpect to foreign powers, from the period when he himſelf reſigned his official ſituation in the cabinet; of all which the moſt noble marquis completely diſapproved. The previous queſtion was moved on the addreſs, and loſt by a majority of 43.—Contents 30—non-contents 73.

On the 15th of December, the houſe of commons having reſolved itſelf into a committee of ways and means, the chancellor of the exchequer ſubmitted to the committee a plan to defray the expences of the late armament, and the extraordinary charges of an additional number of ſeamen voted for the ſervice of the enſuing year. The following, he ſaid, were the expences incurred by the armament:

	£.
For the navy -	1,505,000
army - -	64,000
ordnance -	151,000
For proviſions to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies -	41,000
Making in the whole	1,821,000
To which was to be added,	
The vote of credit expended - -	1,000,000
Making a total expence for the armament of	2,821,000

From this, however, £. 200,000 might be deducted for naval ſtores on hand, but this he ſhould avoid, wiſhing to have every expenditure, occaſioned in any degree by the armament, ſtated ſeparately, as he had pledged himſelf that it ſhould be, and ſeparately provided for; upon this principle he ſhould include the expences of the additional 6,000 ſeamen at - - - 312,000

Left to be provided for 3,133,000

Previouſly to ſtating the mode in which he propoſed to raiſe the above ſum, he took a comparative view of the ſtate of the nation at the concluſion of the laſt war, and at the preſent period, when our circumſtances were peculiarly fortunate and flouriſhing. The former parliament, which found the country depreſſed and apparently burdened beyond meaſure, had not only laid the grounds of a gradual reduction of the national debt, but had beheld its endeavours in a degree crowned with ſucceſs. The preſent parliament had not, he conceived, the ſame difficulties to encounter; for the country was obviouſly more equal to the burdens, with which the late armament compelled miniſters unwillingly to load it. He hoped, therefore, that the houſe would meet the addition of debt with firmneſs and energy; that it would not be contented to defray the intereſt and leave the capital a permanent burden, but that it would convince the world of the magnitude of our reſources, as well as of the increaſe of our power. With this view he ſhould bring forward a plan of ways and means adapted to the occaſion, and ſhould propoſe

taxes,

taxes, which would in a ſhort time pay off the whole of the additional debt. The firſt reſource, which he ſhould ſuggeſt, was the balance of the iſſues of public money for particular purpoſes, which had accumulated from unpaid dividends in the hands of the directors of the bank of England. On the moſt evident principles of prudence, of juſtice, of good faith, and œconomy, the public, he conceived, had a right to avail itſelf of this balance, a balance which aroſe from public iſſues. His intention was to give the creditor equal ſecurity, whenever a demand might be made, in the conſolidated fund. He ſtated that this balance had been uniformly increaſing from the year 1727. In that year it was 43,000 l.; in 1774 it had amounted to 292,000 l.; in 1775 it decreaſed 800 l. being only 284,000 l.: but in 1786 it was 314,000 l.; and in July 5th, 1789, when the laſt amount was made up, it roſe to 547,000 l. On the 12th of laſt October there remained a floating balance of 660,000 l. He propoſed to appropriate from this ſum to the public uſe 500,000 l. which would leave 160,000 l. for the current ſervice of the year, to anſwer any caſual demand.

His next propoſal was to adopt ſuch temporary taxes, as with the addition of the unclaimed dividends, and one permanent tax, might produce a diſcharge of the whole debt in the ſpace of four years. In the firſt year he would endeavour to find the means of paying off, independant of the intereſt, 800,000 l. of the capital. In the ſecond year, by the continuation of the ſame taxes, he hoped to pay off another 800,000 l. Thus the 500,000 l. which he propoſed to appropriate from the balance of the unclaimed dividends, and the two payments of 800,000 l. each, would form a diſcharge of more than half the capital in the two firſt years; after which period part of the taxes might be taken off, and the others continued for the payment of the remainder in the two ſubſequent years, forming a complete extinction of the whole capital in four years. The firſt, which he ſhould propoſe, would be upon an article of general conſumption, ſugar, paying at preſent a duty of 12s. 4d. per cwt. to which he ſhould annex an additional 2s. 8d. Hence he expected to raiſe 241,000 l. The ſecond would be on ſpirits, which he conſidered as not likely to be evaded, when impoſed for a ſhort time, and in a ſlight degree. Britiſh ſpirits were already taxed in the waſh at 6d. per gallon; brandy at 5s.; and rum at 4s. He ſhould here add one-ſixth of the exiſting duty, which would produce 240,000 l. The third would be on malt, to be enforced only for the two firſt years, on which he ſhould propoſe an additional 3d. a buſhel. This he calculated at 122,000 l. The fourth would be a tax of 10 l. per cent. on all aſſeſſed taxes (except the commutation and land taxes) which he eſtimated at 100,000 l. Laſtly, he ſhould propoſe a double tax on game-keepers, and the addition of one-third more on game-licences. The whole recapitulated would be

	£.
Sugar - -	241,000
Britiſh ſpirits -	86,000
Brandy - - -	87,000
Rum - - -	67,000
Malt - - -	122,000
Aſſeſſed taxes -	100,000
Game licences -	25,000
	728,000

This,

This, he remarked, was not a ſufficient ſum, even with the 500,000 l. of the unclaimed dividends, for the purpoſes which he had ſtated. To make up the deficiency, he intended to modify an exiſting tax upon bills of exchange and receipts in ſuch a manner as to prevent the frauds hitherto practiſed in evading it, and at the ſame time to increaſe the revenue at leaſt 300,000 l. The regulations of this tax he meant to make not temporary, but permanent.

If the plan, which he thus propoſed, ſhould be carried into effect, the conſolidated fund, he obſerved, would gain by the 500,000 l. from the bank, and the 800,000 l. of the produce of the firſt year, an addition of 1,300,000 l. which ſum he ſhould move to be iſſued for the year 1791; and as a temporary ſource for the remainder, he ſhould propoſe the adoption of exchequer bills to the amount of 1,800,000 l.

All the above arragements were agreed to by the houſe, except the propoſal of appropriating to the public uſe the 500,000 l. of the unclaimed dividends. This meaſure being repreſented as likely to prove in ſome degree injurious to the national credit, the miniſter conſented to accept from the bank a loan of the ſame ſum, as long as a floating balance to that amount ſhould remain in the hands of their caſhier.

The next ſubject which engaged the attention of the houſe of commons, was one of the utmoſt importance, not only to the deareſt privileges of that houſe, but to the very exiſtence of the conſtitution itſelf. The queſtion was, whether an impeachment brought by the commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, in their own name, and in the name of their conſtituents, did not remain in *ſtatu quo*, notwithſtanding the intervention of a diſſolution? On the 17th of December, in a committee of the whole houſe, Sir Peter Burrell in the chair, Mr. Burke made a motion to the following effect: "It appears, that an impeachment of this houſe, in the name of the commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, and in the name of *all* the commons of Great Britain, againſt Warren Haſtings, eſq. late governor general of Bengal, for ſundry high crimes and miſdemeanors, is now depending."

This motion, he obſerved, involved no abſtract queſtion, but was a plain practical aſſertion of their privileges, as handed down to them by their predeceſſors through an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of five hundred years. In all the convulſions of our government, in all the ſtruggles, conteſts, and incidental or progreſſive changes of the functions and powers of the houſe of commons, this alone had remained immutable—that an impeachment was never to be defeated by colluſion with a miniſter, or by the power of the crown. That an impeachment abated by a diſſolution of parliament, he contended, was not to be found in *plain expreſs* terms on the journals of the houſe of lords, on the journals of the houſe of commons, nor in the minutes of the conferences between the two houſes. It was not to be found in any book of authority, or in any good report of law caſes.

Mr. Erſkine, wiſhing to gain time for deliberation, moved, "That Sir Peter Burrell might leave the chair." A debate of unuſual length enſued. The arguments advanced in favour of an abatement (argu-

ments

ments aſſerted on the other ſide to have been loaded with much extraneous matter and irrelevant reaſoning) were principally grounded upon analogies derived from the general complexion of parliamentary proceedings, and from the principles of the courts of common law, and upon precedents extracted from the journals of the houſe of lords.

It was contended, that the idea of taking up any proceeding of a former parliament was refuted by an impartial ſurvey of all the powers exerciſed by the houſe, as limited by immemorial uſage. If a day were appointed for attendance, but that day did not arrive until after a diſſolution, the ſucceeding parliament could not act upon it. If the commons impriſoned for a contempt, the door of their priſon was opened immediately upon the expiration of parliament. If the commons had framed a bill, and their meſſenger was carrying it up to the lords when the king diſſolved the parliament, no ſubſequent houſe could proceed upon that ſtage of the bill, but the whole muſt again be taken up. If ſuch a bill was in the nature of a public charge againſt a culprit of ſtate, as an attainder and bills of penalty, the ſame rule attached upon it, and the culprit would eſcape, unleſs the proceeding ſhould again commence *de novo*. It was aſked, what could prevent Mr. Haſtings, if he pleaſed, from quitting the kingdom? What penalty of bail was a guard over him or his friends? Would any lawyer aſſert, that Mr. Haſtings, or his bail, could be touched by an order of the lords between parliament and parliament? Upon the ſuppoſition then, that the lords could not impriſon or bail for a ſpace of time beyond the duration of an exiſting parliament, yet might proceed in *ſtatu quo* at the meeting of a new one, would not ſuch a power of proceeding be ridiculous in the extreme, when they poſſeſſed not the means of ſecuring the appearance of the culprit?

It was admitted, that the nature of a trial by impeachment deprived the accuſed of many advantages, which the law had provided for the ſafety of accuſed perſons in all other caſes; and that therefore the reaſoning by analogy from legal proceedings in general would not cloſely apply. It was nevertheleſs contended, that a ray of light might be thrown upon the queſtion from that quarter; and that if a trial by impeachment under the beſt regulations violated ſome of the eſtabliſhed principles of Engliſh law, the continuance of it from parliament to parliament violated them all.

The firſt maxim of law adduced in ſupport of the above argument was this — that perſons accuſed ſhould be brought to a ſpeedy trial, in order to prevent long impriſonments, and all the miſeries incidental to a ſtate of tedious and cruel ſuſpence.

But if impeachments were allowed to be extended in the manner propoſed, it was obſerved that they might continue for life, operating to perpetual impriſonment; which would reduce the liberty of the ſubject not to a dependance on the law, but to a dependance on the will alone of one branch of the legiſlature.

The ſecond maxim adduced was, that the individuals who are appointed

pointed to try the cauſes, ſhould be purified from all prejudices by the challenges of the priſoner.

It was confeſſed, that the very conſtitution of a court, where the judges ſit by inheritance or the creation of the crown, in ſome degree militated againſt this great maxim; but it was obſerved, that ſuch a departure from an eſtabliſhed rule could not, conſidering the number of the judges, be very dangerous in a ſingle parliament. Suppoſing, however, that an impeachment continued from parliament to parliament, the perſon impeached might at laſt be judged not only by peers, who would be total ſtrangers to all the primary proceedings, but perhaps by ſome of his very accuſers.

The laſt maxim adduced was; that a trial once commenced ſhould go on without alteration or ſeparation to prevent impreſſions from any ſource but the evidence, which ſhould be given by the witneſſes in the preſence of the proſecutor, the priſoner, and the court; and that the verdict ſhould be formed on the recent view and recollection of the circumſtances.

It was indeed admitted, as in the former inſtance, that the conſtitution of the court in queſtion was not exactly regulated by the abovementioned principle; nevertheleſs it was aſſerted, that, conſidering an impeachment as a trial confined to one parliament only, the evil, how much ſoever to be lamented, had its limits. The proſecutors were the ſame; the court partly ſo; and the evidence, after adjournment or prorogation, might be recollected by the aid of notes. But if impeachments were to be continued from parliament to parliament, the changes which might unavoidably take place in the proſecutors, by the election of new managers, and in the court, by the admiſſion of new peers, might make it impoſſible for either party to proceed upon any but written evidence in direct oppoſition to the genius of Engliſh law. On ſuch kind of evidence, on evidence which muſt be taken upon truſt, where the demeanor of the witneſſes could not be obſerved, it was ſtrenuouſly maintained, that their lordſhips ought not to pluck a feather from a ſparrow's wing.

With reſpect to precedents, it was ſaid, that the proper place to ſearch for them was in the journals of the houſe of lords. Viewing an impeachment in the light of a proſecution on the accuſation of the houſe of commons before the houſe of lords, could any man doubt by which houſe every queſtion, likely to affect the intereſt of the priſoner, ſhould be adjudged? Common ſenſe and common juſtice revolted at the idea of a judgment, conſequential perhaps to the fate of the culprit, delivered by his accuſers. It ſeemed, therefore, reaſonable, that every point reſpecting the exiſting ſtate of an impeachment ſhould be determined by that court, where the commons had by law lodged it.

The principal precedents which were brought forward on this occaſion, were thoſe which occurred in the years 1673, 1678, 1685, 1690, 1701 and 1717. The precedent of 1673 was conceived to relate only to writs of error, and not to impeachments. It was ſaid to be a mere reſolution of the lords upon a reference to their committee, and ſimply intended to decide the queſ-

tion, Whether writs of error abated by a prorogation? preſerving a total ſilence on the point of a diſſolution.

The precedent of 1678 was admitted to be favourable to the doctrine of a non-abatement; but to diminiſh the authority of this precedent it was remarked, that at the period in which it had been framed, the nation was excited to the higheſt poſſible pitch againſt popery, when neither the voice of reaſon nor of law could be heard. On the 12th of March, 1678, a motion was made in the houſe of lords to declare, that writs of error, which by the reſolution of 1673 had been conſidered as continuing from ſeſſion to ſeſſion, continued from parliament to parliament; and a committee was appointed to ſearch for precedents. This was merely to give colour to their ſubſequent conduct; for only two days after, without taking any ſteps in conſequence of the firſt order, it was added as an inſtruction to the committee, that they ſhould make enquiries into the ſtate of the impeachments which had been brought up in the preceding parliament. Accordingly, on the 19th of the ſame month, report was made to the houſe, that on peruſal of the journal of the 29th of March 1673, it appeared that the ſtate of the impeachments was not altered. The houſe acceding to this opinion, the order of 1678 was made. The order, therefore, in queſtion, was ſaid to have been eſtabliſhed upon no antecedent cuſtom of parliament, but to have been framed upon a ſtrained and abſurd analogy to writs of error.

But if the precedent of 1678 was againſt the argument on this ſide the queſtion, that of 1685 directly ſupported it. The precedent of 1685 completely annihilated the former; for its language was, "Reſolved, that the order of the 19th of March, 1678, ſhall be reverſed and annulled as to impeachments." If the lords had juriſdiction to make the order of 1678, they certainly muſt have had juriſdiction to unmake it.

The next precedent was that of the year 1690. The lords Saliſbury and Peterborough, who had been impeached by a former parliament, petitioned the houſe of lords to be diſcharged from their impriſonment, pleading a diſſolution of parliament as a cauſe for that diſcharge, and likewiſe a free and general pardon. The operation of the pardon was referred to the judges, upon the reception of whoſe anſwer the priſoners were admitted to bail, but not diſcharged. The lords appointed a committee to ſearch for precedents. On the report of this committee alone, without the leaſt reference to the general pardon, they were ſuppoſed to have releaſed the priſoners from confinement. As an additional proof of the accuracy of this ſtatement, it was aſſerted, that if the parties had been entitled to the benefit of the pardon, it muſt have been argued before the lords in bar to the impeachment, when the commons would have had a legal right to have been heard againſt that plea; but no ſuch right was exerciſed or claimed. About the ſame time Sir Adam Blair, Mole, Gray, and Elliott, who had been previouſly impeached, were ſaid to have been liberated upon ſimilar grounds, without any communication

tion with the commons, and without any ſubſequent objection or diſſatisfaction.

The caſe of the duke of Leeds in 1701 was next adduced. Upon the meeting of a new parliament, the houſe of lords diſmiſſed the articles of impeachment againſt that nobleman, entering on their journals: "That in the former parliament the duke of Leeds had been impeached; articles brought up, and anſwer put in; but that the commons not proſecuting, he was diſcharged." This diſcharge was argued to have been ordered by the lords in conſequence of the termination of their juriſdiction, and not by an act of judicature upon a ſubſiſting impeachment.

The laſt precedent quoted, was that of 1717, when lord Oxford petitioned to be releaſed from confinement, upon the ſuppoſition that a prorogation alone was fatal to an impeachment. This petition was rejected by the houſe. It was however confidently maintained, that the fatality of a diſſolution was a point acceded to by both parties in the debate. This concluſion was drawn from the language of the proteſt, which was ſigned upon this occaſion, the proteſting lords expreſſing their fears, leſt the vote of that day ſhould weaken the order of 1685.

Very full and complete anſwers were given to the preceding arguments by the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſpeakers on both ſides of the houſe. But it was previouſly argued upon every principle of reaſon as an abſurdity to conceive, that the conſtitution could have given to the commons the power of exhibiting articles of impeachment againſt a ſtate delinquent, yet perhaps in the moſt important caſes have withheld the means of proſecuting to conviction.

Parliament, it was obſerved, exerciſed two powers, legiſlative and judicial, which had their diſtinct limits and duration. The confuſion of thoſe powers was the principal ſource of all the doubts upon the queſtion. Every legiſlative act was terminated both by prorogation and diſſolution; but no judicial act was influenced by either. Under this laſt head, impeachments were to be claſſed.

The high court of parliament was aſſerted to be at all times an exiſting court; and although, from diſſolution or other cauſes, it might not be ſitting to do juſtice, it was ſaid to be always open for the reception of appeals and writs of error. The authority of the peers in parliament did not depend upon the ſitting of parliament, although it was during that period that they exerciſed their authority in judicial proceedings. The moment that the king affixed the ſeal to the patent of a peerage, the dignity and privileges which belonged to it continued to the perſon during his natural life, and at his death deſcended to his poſterity without change or diminution. The meeting, therefore, of parliament, was to them no more than a notice and direction from the crown to proceed in the exerciſe of their privileges; but which the crown could neither take away, abridge, or render void. Such was the caſe of the judges in impeachment. What was the caſe of the proſecutors? An impeachment ought not to be conſidered as the act of the houſe of commons alone, but of all the commons of Great Britain, the

proceeding

proceeding being in the name both of conſtituents and repreſentatives. The houſe of commons was only the legal organ of inſtituting impeachments, as the attorney general was of filing bills *ex officio*, or an indictment in the name of the crown. In the one caſe the king proſecuted; in the other the whole commons of the realm. If therefore neither the judges nor the proſecutors of an impeachment were either politically or phyſically annihilated; if it were true, that, although the means of acting were for a time ſuſpended, the right remained; it followed, that every judicial proceeding, in which they were engaged before ſuch an event took place, revived on their meeting again; and that during ſuch an interval every ſuch proceeding muſt be ſtill depending.

In reply to the argument of analogies derived from the general complexion of parliamentary proceedings, it was obſerved, that this argument, if it proved any thing, proved too much; becauſe it equally tended to annihilate an impeachment after prorogation as after diſſolution. Whatever queſtion occupied the houſe in its legiſlative capacity, it terminated alike in both inſtances. If a legiſlative act was in its progreſs, a prorogation was known to put an end to it as completely and effectually as a diſſolution. It was only judicial proceedings which ſurvived the one or the other. During the intermediate period occaſioned by either, the high court of parliament, indeed, could not ſit, any more than the courts of common law, in the interval between term and term; but when parliament again aſſembled, judicial proceedings revived, juſt as in the inferior courts after a vacation. In this manner were the proceedings on an impeachment ſuſpended by every prorogation, and the committee of managers diſſolved. After the prorogation the committee was always re-appointed, and the trial reſumed.

On the point of analogies deduced from the principles of the courts below, it was obſerved that if a right admitted for centuries were to be ſuppoſed doubtful, becauſe ſome ingenious men had endeavoured to bring it into queſtion by forced analogies to the rules of other courts, eſtabliſhed on very different principles, and ſtanding on circumſtances entirely diſtinct from thoſe, in which the two houſes ſtood with reſpect to any proceedings before the houſe of lords in its judicial capacity, there was no right, ſo ſanctioned by immemorial uſage, which might not be controverted; no privilege, however valuable, which might not become a ſubject of cavil and altercation.

Much confuſion of idea, and many unneceſſary attempts to draw parallels, where no parallel exiſted, it was remarked, would have been avoided, had the gentlemen on the other ſide taken the leaſt pains to acquaint themſelves with the only law applicable to the queſtion under debate—the law of parliament. By this law, every point which affected the privileges of parliament ſhould be decided, and not by diſtorted rules extracted from imaginary compariſons with the practice of inferior courts. The law of parliament, as extant in all its ancient cuſtoms and uſages, was not contrary to the eſtabliſhed law of the land, but a great and important part of it. It was the ſupreme

and ſovereign law of the conſtitution, plain and practical, deformed by no theoretical conceits, no quibbling ſubtleties. It ſpoke a language level to every capacity, which the meaneſt could not miſapprehend, and which the ſublimeſt muſt admire.

Analogies of the kind alluded to were ſaid to be capable only of miſleading, becauſe the proceedings and principles of action were fundamentally different. The court of the king in parliament could not with the leaſt propriety be compared to a common trial by jury. When a jury was impannelled to try a cauſe, a judge preſided. The judge took notes, but there was no ſtop to take down the queſtion, no ſtop to receive the anſwer, no form which made the evidence a ſpecies of record; but all was done on the general immediate impreſſion. The jury could not ſeparate until they had given their verdict; and if they retired they retired in the cuſtody of a bailiff. The caſe of the court of the king in parliament was quite diſtinct. There the proceedings became a matter of record; for the queſtion, inſtead of being directly put to the witneſs, was propoſed to the court by the managers or the counſel; the chancellor, who preſided, then put it to the witneſs, when both the queſtion and the anſwer were written down by the clerk previous to any ſubſequent proceeding. Thus not the general effect, but the preciſe terms, were taken down and preſerved for the benefit of the court. An impeachment was obſerved to be an extraordinary caſe, which did not admit of being conducted upon the ſame rules as an ordinary trial. In the latter inſtance *viva voce* evidence was deemed requiſite; but in the former it was neceſſary, from the very conſtitution of the court itſelf, that judgment ſhould be formed upon written evidence. Were the rules of the court of king's bench to obtain in the houſe of lords, the queſtion would be entirely at an end, and the benefit of impeachment at once annihilated; ſince it would then be better to file an indictment in one, than prefer an impeachment in the other. But the very foundation of impeachments reſted upon a power of bringing delinquents to juſtice, who would have eſcaped, if tried according to the ordinary rules of the courts of judicature. It was likewiſe remarked, that even in thoſe courts written evidence was by no means novel. Upon this ſpecies of evidence the court of chancery proceeded in almoſt all its deciſions. It was alſo well known that nine tenths of miſdemeanors were tried at ſittings, and the record being returned to the court from which it iſſued, ſentence was there pronounced by judges who had heard no part of the oral evidence, who had ſeen nothing of the demeanor of the priſoner or witneſſes, who had no knowledge whatever of the caſe or its circumſtances, but what they received from the notes of the judge that tried it. Upon the whole it was obſerved, that almoſt every argument derived from the ſource of what had been termed legal analogies, not only militated againſt any future proceedings, but againſt the very exiſtence itſelf of that high court, which had been for centuries the bulwark of Britiſh freedom.

When the topic of precedents was diſcuſſed, it was premiſed, that upon a queſtion of privilege it had always been the practice of their predeceſſors

predeceſſors to conſult their own journals, and not thoſe of the houſe of lords. Their own journals contained not the ſhadow of a doubt upon the ſubject. The right of the commons to proſecute a ſtate delinquent to conviction, in defiance of all oppoſition from the crown or its miniſters, in defiance of prorogation or diſſolution, had always been conſidered in that houſe as a great and conſtitutional privilege, without which the controul of the people over the executive branch of government would be rendered ineffectual. So decided had their predeceſſors been upon this point, that the journals of the houſe of commons have never been diſgraced by a ſingle ſurmiſe of an oppoſite tendency. But even if recourſe were had to the journals of the houſe of lords, not one authority could there be found on the other ſide, but the miſerable deciſion of 1685, which was ſaid to have been raked from the aſhes, where it had long lain deſpiſed and forgotten by the very houſe that made it, and contaminated by the deſpicable circumſtances which had given it birth, and the unprincipled times in which it had been framed.

To render precedents of full authority, it was ſtated, that they ought to be numerous, and not ſcattered here and there—to be concurrent, and not contradictory—to have been made in good conſtitutional times, not to have been framed for the purpoſe of ſerving a particular occaſion—and laſtly, to be agreeable to the general tenor of legal principles, which ſhould always over-rule them.—But nothing of this kind had been proved, or attempted to be proved.

The firſt precedent which had been quoted, was the reſolution of 1673. On this it had been obſerved, that, ſince no mention was made in it of impeachments, a diſſolution operated in abatement of ſuch proceedings. But it was anſwered, that the very contrary ſeemed deducible from the report of the committee, which expreſsly comprehended not only writs of error and petitions of appeal, but in general "*any other buſineſs wherein their* "*lordſhips act as in a court of judi-* "*cature, and not in their legiſlative* "*capacity.*" All ſuch buſineſſes were declared to extend from ſeſſion to ſeſſion, which was conſidered as tantamount to an extenſion from parliament to parliament; the effect of a prorogation and of a diſſolution being preciſely the ſame, putting an end alike to all pending meaſures of a legiſlative nature, and alike leaving untouched all judicial proceedings, unleſs impeachments could be ſhewn to be a ſingle anomalous exception. In fact, the precedents contained in the report went equally to a continuation from parliament to parliament, as from ſeſſion to ſeſſion; and they were taken indifferently from civil and criminal cauſes, whether in the appellate or original juriſdiction of the lords, and by whom ever inſtituted, at the ſuit of an individual, the crown, or the commons. The reſolution of 1673, therefore, muſt have been deſigned to include impeachments; and ſo it was underſtood, by the beſt and moſt authentic interpreters of its meaning, the lords themſelves; who, only five years after, grounded themſelves immediately upon it, in determining the continuance of impeachments from parliament to parliament.

In the diſcuſſion of the precedent of 1678, it was allowed that the times were times of much ferment; but it was contended that the new reſolution grew naturally out of the former report and reſolution of 1673, and that the queſtion at that time debated in the houſe of lords had nothing to do with the popiſh plot, it referred ſimply to the caſe of lord Danby, who had been impeached for crimes totally diſtinct from the plot, and was decided by a houſe not particularly inimical to that miniſter. But the faireſt mode would be, not to eſtimate the character of the parliament by the character of the times, but rather by its conſtitutional acts, both in its legiſlative and judicial capacity. In that point of view it was aſſerted that there was not one important or material privilege of perſonal freedom, parliamentary independence, or conſtitutional principle, afterwards enacted at the revolution, which had not been enforced and carried by the parliament of 1678; and that therefore its reputation ſtood as high as any in the annals of our hiſtory. At a ſubſequent period the queſtion was again mentioned in the houſe of commons. The managers of lord Danby's impeachment, among other things, reported, that in a conference reſpecting the impeachment, one of the lords reminded the commons that they had obtained a great point in that parliament, viz. a declaration that impeachments did not abate by a diſſolution; when the managers replied, that nothing had been gained, as the point in queſtion "was nothing but what "was agreeable to the ancient "courſe and methods of parliament."

Two years after, and when another parliament had been diſſolved, the lords heſitated not to ſeal this reſolution with ſome of the nobleſt blood of their own illuſtrious order, in the trial, condemnation, and execution, of lord Stafford; refuſing even to hear his counſel againſt it, in arreſt of judgment. And whatever may have been the merits of the ſentence by which that unfortunate nobleman periſhed on the ſcaffold; the regularity of the proceſs againſt him has never been attempted to be vitiated. No error was aſſigned on that ground in the bill for reverſing his attainder, which under the ſucceeding monarch was ſent down by the lords, and rejected by the commons. Again, after lord Stafford's death, and after a third diſſolution, the lords acted judicially on this ſame rule, by appointing a day to conſider the demand made by the commons, for judgment againſt lord Danby; and they alſo acted judicially upon it about the ſame time in another impeachment, which had been brought up at the cloſe of the laſt parliament againſt Sir William Scroggs, chief juſtice of the king's bench, and to which in the *new* parliament they recorded his anſwer.

Nor does the authority of the precedent ſtop here. The principle of it, while it yet exiſted only in the ſpirit of the report and reſolution of 1673, received the approbation of the third branch of the legiſlature; for in opening the parliament of 1678, the lord chancellor, by command of the king, informed the two houſes of the applications made by the impeached lords to be tried on their indictments in the interval of parliament; "but (continued he) his "majeſty

" majeſty thought it fitter to re-
" ſerve them to a more public and
" conſpicuous trial in parliament,
" for which cauſe *their trials ought*
" *now to be haſtened.*" After the rule was given, the king himſelf twice recognized and enforced it from the throne, by recommending to the two ſucceeding parliaments the proſecution of the ſame impeachments. In the eſtimation of thoſe who truly know and value the conſtitution of this country, nothing can be wanting beyond the concurrence of king, lords, and commons, on a rule of proceeding in parliament; but in truth, it had alſo the ſanction of all the ſages of the law. The chancellor, who in the king's name opened the parliament of 1678, was Finch lord Daventry, afterwards earl of Nottingham, a name of high reſpect in the law: nor did he expreſs merely the ſentiments of his maſter, of himſelf, and the other miniſters of the crown: he ſpoke the deliberate opinion of the twelve judges, who at the council table had declared, that " the impeach-
" ments being lodged in parliament,
" no other proſecution could be
" againſt the lords, *till the proſecu-*
" *tion of the commons was deter-*
" *mined*;" directly implying, that the impeachments had not abated by the intervening diſſolution. A principal member of that venerable body, chief juſtice Scroggs, two years after, atteſted his opinion in the ſtrongeſt manner by his own conduct; and in the caſe of Fitzharris, when ſome were preſent on the bench who had concurred in the opinion relative to the five lords, the court not only did not contradict the fact of the opinion then ſtated to them, and the doctrine drawn from it, but virtually admitted the general principle by avoiding the queſtion, and deciding in that inſtance on the pleadings alone;—that the impeachment, as there pleaded, did not apply with any certainty to the crimes laid in the indictment. The judges too, who having twice refuſed, did at laſt bail lord Danby, in 1683, after an impriſonment of five years, bound him to appear on the firſt day of the next parliament; by which proceeding their immediate ſucceſſors underſtood them to have *affirmed his commitment*, and conſequently the validity of the reſolution of 1678, as indeed lord Danby himſelf had expreſsly argued in his application to the court.

Such was the precedent of 1678, ſo fortified by authorities of every deſcription. What, on the contrary, was the boaſted precedent of 1685? This was ſaid to have been made on the firſt day of the firſt and only parliament of James the Second, in the moment of adulation and ſervility. If ever there were a time dangerous to the liberty of this country, that was aſſerted to have been the period: a weak and bigotted prince upon the throne; a * packed and garbled houſe of commons, almoſt named by the king, in conſequence of the violent and arbitrary deſtruction of the charters of different corporations; and a people worn down by their repeated ſtruggles with the crown. To this it might be added, that to have proceeded with the impeachment in queſtion, would have been impoſ-

* On the very day that the precedent of 1685 bears date, the houſe of commons having offered to ſtand by the king with their lives and fortunes, againſt the duke of Argyle's rebellion, they were told in anſwer, that " he could not expect " leſs from a houſe of commons ſo compoſed as (God be thanked) they were."

ſible, as the principal witneſſes had been convicted of perjury. Yet, at ſuch a time, and under ſuch circumſtances, was the houſe of lords aſhamed to declare the reſolution of 1678 to be contrary to law; for, on the very day when the infamous Jefferies took his ſeat as a peer, it was reverſed without putting any declaration in its place, without enquiry, without examination, *without the knowledge of the commons*, and without daring to look in the face the very reſolution about to be reverſed; the proteſt expreſsly ſtating, *that it was not even allowed to be read, although repeatedly called for.* Could ſuch a precedent, it was aſked, be ſeriouſly brought forward as ſufficient to overturn eſtabliſhed law, deſtroy every conſtitutional principle, and trample upon the privileges of the commons?

How did the commons, when the kingdom began again to enjoy free parliaments, treat this precedent? With total diſregard. Lord Danby was one of the peers diſcharged under it. On the revolution he was appointed preſident of the council, and ſoon after created marquis of Carmarthen. In the year 1690 however, becoming once more obnoxious to the commons, in a grand committee on the ſtate of the nation, a motion was made for an addreſs to remove him from the king's councils, and menaces of reſuming the former impeachment thrown out againſt him*. "*You may demand "judgment againſt him,*" ſaid Sir John Guiſe, "*he has nothing to plead "but the pardon;*" and though the lord preſident had many to defend him, ſome who repreſented the hardſhip of reviving an old impeachment, and others who urged his meritorious ſhare in the revolution, and his diligence in the ſervice of his country; yet no man ventured to object his diſcharge, under the precedent of 1685, as a bar to any proceeding on the impeachment. Why then ſhould the commons of this day look with reverence to a precedent, paſſed over with ſilent diſdain by their anceſtors, and abandoned even by thoſe in whoſe favour it was made?

As to the ſuppoſed precedent of 1690, in the releaſe of the lords Peterborough and Saliſbury, it was aſſerted that it did not apply to the queſtion; or if at all, that it applied the other way. One thing it proved beyond diſpute, that the houſe of lords (and indeed the courts of common law) ſeemed to pay no more attention than the commons to the precedent of 1685. A new parliament met on the 20th of March 1689, and continued ſitting nearly four months, yet all this while the two lords remained cloſe priſoners in the tower, under the impeachment; and neither they, nor any lord on their behalf, (and they afterwards appeared to have many friends in the houſe) once dreamed of claiming the benefit of that which is now maintained to have been an exiſting rule of law, binding in its authority, and entitling them to their immediate diſcharge. They did not venture to petition that they might even be bailed; but, during one of the prorogations which enſued, lord Saliſbury had recourſe for that purpoſe to the king's bench. The court however remanded him to the tower, grounding themſelves principally on the trial of lord Stafford, as a

* Gray's Debates, vol. x. p. 144.

caſe

caſe of clear and ſound law; as well as on the condition of the bail-bond taken from lord Danby, as involving an affirmance of the ſame principle. When parliament re-aſſembled for the diſpatch of buſineſs, the two lords did petition the houſe. And what ſaid their petitions? Did they rely on the precedent of 1685? Did they raiſe a queſtion of law on the abatement of impeachments by a diſſolution? No ſuch thing. Lord Saliſbury did not even glance at it. He made the length of his impriſonment, and the act of pardon that had paſſed in the former ſeſſion, the ſole grounds of his application. Lord Peterborough, it is true, did mention it; but how? Incidentally, and mingled up with other topics, addreſſed to commiſeration,—"that "he had been kept a priſoner in "the tower almoſt two years, not-"withſtanding *a diſſolution, and ſe-"veral prorogations*, as alſo *an act "of general pardon.*" Theſe petitions were delivered and read on the ſecond of October 1690, yet the two lords were not finally diſcharged till the thirtieth of the ſame month: on that day the order ſtood for receiving the report of the committee appointed to ſearch for precedents reſpecting the continuance of impeachments. This report, it was obſerved, is meagre, imperfect, confuſed, in ſome paſſages demonſtrably erroneous, and contains not even the ſuggeſtion of an opinion on the true rule of law. It was read, and many things moved, which do not appear on the journals; till at laſt a queſtion was put and carried, reſolving that "the two lords "*ſhall be now* diſcharged." Now this, it had been contended, muſt have been done in conſequence of the abatement of their impeachments from the operation of the diſſolution. On the contrary it was anſwered, that the only ground of the vote was the general pardon. To omit the inferences reſulting from the whole courſe of antecedent tranſactions, the proteſt, it was remarked, could not be read without a full conviction of the aſſertion. The reaſons of diſſent aſſigned were, that the queſtion moved had no relation to the real debate before the houſe, and was urged upon them, not for the ſake only of the two lords mentioned;—that they ſhould have examined the effects of a pardon, where an impeachment was concerned, as well as the difference between an act of grace, and an act of indemnity;—and that they ought in juſtice firſt to have heard the houſe of commons, who were parties. What then was the real debate before the houſe? It was to receive the report of precedents, and to aſcertain the law, and uſage of parliament on that ſubject: and that is the very thing which is now contended to have been done, but it is alſo the very thing which the proteſting lords complain was not done. They complain that another queſtion was urged upon them, and they add, "not for the ſake only of the "two lords mentioned." At whom do they glance? At the marquis of Carmarthen, whom Sir John Guiſe, and other members of the lower houſe, had recently threatened with his old impeachment. His proſecution had laſted to the fourth parliament, without any objection on his part to the principle of continuance. That point therefore he could not now with any grace advance; but at the moment when the laſt parliament of Charles the IId. was ſuddenly diſſolved, he was

at iſſue with the commons as to the effect of a pardon which he had long before pleaded in bar of their impeachment. Neither could any thing be imagined more ridiculous than the remaining reaſons, if the lords had been diſcharged, becauſe the impeachment had previouſly abated. To have amuſed themſelves with defining acts of grace, and acts of indemnity, would have been idle, had the debate been wholly taken on a diſtinct and ſeparate ground: to have examined into the effect of a pardon on an impeachment would have been ſtill more abſurd, had the deciſion ſuppoſed that the impeachment had ceaſed to exiſt nine months before; and to have heard the commons as parties would have been impoſſible, ſince there can be no parties where there is no cauſe.

The caſe of Sir Adam Blair and others, was ſtated to be as little to the purpoſe as the former caſe, with which it was cotemporary. No attempts were made by the commons to go on with the proſecution in the new parliament, and yet the lords held the parties accuſed to bail for nearly eight months, which was wholly inconſiſtent with the notion of an abatement. But in one point of view this caſe was important, as connected with the former caſe. Sir Adam Blair, and the perſons impeached with him, did not apply to be freed from the obligation of their recognizances, till more than a month after the two earls had been completely ſet at liberty. Nor did their petitions (when they did come) in any manner allude to that event, or to the operation of the previous diſſolution; captain Mole repreſented that he was a foreigner, and unable to ſubſiſt under ſuch reſtraint; and the reſt contented themſelves with humbly ſhewing, how long they had been in attendance on the orders of the houſe. Such conduct, and ſuch language, were utterly irreconcileable with the interpretation now put on the diſcharge of lord Peterborough and lord Saliſbury.

The next precedent of 1701 was aſſerted to be ſtill more unfortunate than the two former. It was the caſe of the duke of Leeds. This nobleman, it was remarked, ſeems to have been born for the purpoſe of illuſtrating and exemplifying, in his political life, all the doctrines of impeachment. In his perſon, when he was lord Danby, all the great queſtions of 1678 were diſcuſſed; he was one of the lords diſcharged under the reſolution of 1685; for his ſake, when he was marquis of Carmarthen, the precedent of 1690 was underſtood to have been made; and in 1695 he was again impeached, as duke of Leeds. He put in his anſwer without delay; but the commons not proceeding, when the ſeſſion was drawing to a cloſe the lords ſent down a meſſage with an intimation to that purport, and an offer to appoint a day for the trial. That very parliament, after ſitting between five and ſix years, had lately paſſed the triennial bill; and under theſe circumſtances it was obvious that a prorogation and diſſolution would be one and the ſame. The commons anſwered, that they could not proceed for want of their principal witneſs, who had withdrawn himſelf; in conſequence of which communication the lords, on the laſt day of the ſeſſion (the laſt day of the parliament, as they muſt have been conſcious) addreſſed the king to iſſue a procla-

proclamation for ſhutting up all the ports. Now to what did—to what could, that addreſs point, but to the production of that witneſs in the next parliament? The witneſs however was not found, and the impeachment remained in that ſtate for five years, *and through ſeveral ſucceſſive parliaments.* At length in 1701 the houſe of lords took up the caſe, but by no means declared that the impeachment had been long at an end. On the contrary they diſcharged it, not as a thing paſt, not as that which might not have been carried into effect up to the exiſting moment of time, but as that which was to have no operation in future: "*the commons not proſecuting*," ſays the order, "*the impeachment and ar-*"*ticles* SHALL BE *and are hereby* "*diſmiſſed*;"—an irrefragable proof that the impeachment in queſtion abated by the voluntary act of the commons, and not by the operation of a diſſolution.

With reſpect to the laſt precedent of 1717, in the caſe of the earl of Oxford, it was aſſerted that the reaſoning upon the proteſt, which had been ſigned upon that occaſion, was extremely fallacious. Inſtead of arguing from thence that the doctrine of an abatement by a diſſolution was acceded to by both ſides of the houſe, all that fairly could be deduced from it was this, viz. that both ſides of the houſe coincided in the opinion that diſſolution and prorogation were the ſame thing. If therefore the houſe decided, that prorogation did not put an end to an impeachment, the obvious concluſion would be, that they conceived diſſolution to be equally ineffectual.

Two other authorities, one of a more antient and the other of a more modern date, ſeem to deſerve particular notice, as much reliance was placed upon them by the two great political antagoniſts, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, who on this occaſion united in defence of the conſtitution. The example which, in the early pages of our hiſtory, moſt forcibly ſtruck the mind of Mr. Pitt, was the caſe of the duke of Suffolk, prime miniſter and favourite of Henry VI. He was impeached in 1450 for high treaſon, and on a ſubſequent day for high crimes and miſdemeanours; both which ſets of articles the commons prayed to be recorded and proceeded upon "*during the ſame* "*parliament, as the matters and cauſes* "*required.*" But wherefore did they make this expreſs prayer, and why did they think it neceſſary to ſupport it with a motive drawn from the ſpecial nature of the caſe, if it was the ordinary, legal, and only courſe of proceeding? They certainly conceived that the lords might, and probably feared that they would, give a day in a future parliament; and they wiſhed at leaſt to ſecure the anſwer of the impeached miniſter on record; well aware that he muſt admit nearly all the facts charged upon him, and juſtify himſelf, as he attempted to do, on the concurrence of ſome of his colleagues, the ſanction of the privy council, or the poſitive authority of the king. What the iſſue was in that parliament, is well known. The king, who on the firſt preſentment of the articles to the lords had in vain ordered the conſideration of them to be reſpited till he was otherwiſe adviſed, at laſt, when the duke had been brought to his anſwer, endeavoured to compromiſe with the ſtern juſtice of parliament for the life of his favourite, and paſſed upon him an arbitrary and

anomalous ſentence of baniſhment for five years; againſt which the lords ſolemnly proteſted. When the next parliament met, the commons reſumed the buſineſs; but in the mean time the duke of Suffolk, as he was going into baniſhment, having been violently put to death, they could not demand judgment againſt him in a judicial courſe. They did therefore, what was uſual in ſimilar caſes, they brought in a bill of attainder and forfeiture, but not in the uſual manner. They did not in the preamble ground themſelves ſubſtantively on his crimes, but directly on the impeachments, and the inſufficiency of his anſwers, *annexing the proceſs as their proof*; and becauſe "judgment was not then had, as "juſtice according to his merits "required," they go on, in a language not to be found in any other bill of attainder of the ſame period, to ordain that by the authority of the preſent parliament he may be "*adjudged*" a traitor. The lords concurred with the commons; the bill was actually enrolled, but, in a form not common, the royal negative appears to have been afterwards endorſed upon it. This formidable impeachment, however, ſo alarmed the adviſers of the court, who were the friends and connections of the deceaſed miniſter; and the king's prerogative, which had been irregularly exerted throughout the queſtion with the commons, was ſo far implicated; that to get rid of the ſubject altogether a ſingular expedient was employed at the commencement of the enſuing parliament; when, from the miſcarriage of the duke of York in his march to London, the elections had gone wholly in favour of the court. A pretence was taken from the Kentiſh rebellion, which had been ſuppreſſed ſome months before the holding of the laſt parliament. But now a bill was paſſed for the attainder of Cade, which was perfectly unneceſſary, as he had been already attainted by an act ſtill on the ſtatute-roll; all the indictments, with their dependencies, which had been brought before his commiſſioners by his authority, and all corruptions of blood in conſequence, were ſet aſide,—as they would have otherwiſe been by operation of law; the ſame remedy was provided againſt ſimilar acts in all caſes of future rebellion and inſurrection, which the very caſes themſelves would equally well have provided: and laſtly (in reference to the concluding part of the recital, that untrue articles and petitions had been forged by Cade) all petitions againſt the king's intent, and not agreed by him, were ordered *to be put in oblivion, quaſhed, avoided, and annulled for ever*. This is the only real enactment in the bill; and whatever collateral object it might have in view, is directly levelled at the propoſed bill for the attainder of the duke of Suffolk: ſince that is the only petition on record of the laſt parliament, which had any reference to *articles*, or which received an unqualified and abſolute negative from the king. The authors of this extraordinary meaſure could not have conſidered what they were thus anxious to deſtroy as a mere bill of attainder, which, like every other legiſlative meaſure not agreed, muſt have expired with the ſeſſion; and it is impoſſible to look through all the circumſtances of this conteſt, and not be convinced that none of the parties concerned in it entertained a thought of an impeachment abating by a diſſolution of parliament.

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The argument of Mr. Fox, to which alluſion has been made, was founded on a fact in the hiſtory of parliament, connected with the ſubject of the preſent impeachment. This was the explanation originally given to that houſe, of a clauſe in the India Bill of 1773; the very bill, by which Mr. Haſtings was firſt appointed governor general of Bengal. Among other regulations of this law, are introduced ſeveral proviſions for facilitating proceedings in parliament againſt the delinquents of the Eaſt; power is given to the chancellor or ſpeaker of either houſe of parliament, to iſſue warrants for taking evidence abroad; and in all ſuch caſes it is enacted, by the forty-third ſection, that no proceedings in parliament ſhall be diſcontinued by any prorogation or diſſolution. Impeachments here are undoubtedly included. But what was the inducement to this enactment? How is it ſet forth in the ſhort preamble to it? Is it becauſe impeachments are diſcontinued by a prorogation or diſſolution? No; but becauſe ſuch is the law and cuſtom of parliament with regard to "*proceedings by bill.*" The clauſe was ſo worded by the wiſe jealouſy of the late Mr. Dyſon, who, bred under ſpeaker Onſlow, became eminent for the knowledge which diſtinguiſhed his great maſter. He feared, as he informed the houſe, leſt in after-times the enactment, if it were not ſo guarded, might be conſtrued to have given ſome new right to the commons in one partial claſs of impeachments, and thus prejudice and endanger, in its general exerciſe, the great conſtitutional privilege of that houſe; which otherwiſe, as to the doctrine of continuances, he believed too firmly eſtabliſhed on principle and practice ever to be ſhaken. Thus the whole legiſlature, by the act which conferred on Mr. Haſtings his high office, gave him notice, that an enquiry into his conduct, if he ſhould be charged with having abuſed the power entruſted to him, might laſt beyond the limits of one parliament; and the commons, at a time when no paſſion can in any degree have warped their judgments, declared proſpectively their calm and deliberate opinion of their right ſo to continue their proſecutions againſt all ſtate criminals;—an opinion which in ſome meaſure received the ſanction of the other eſtates of the realm, by the final paſſing of the act ſo worded, and ſo explained. The managers were not ignorant of this clauſe. They even conſulted upon it, previous to the diſſolution, whether they ſhould not apply for the ſpeaker's warrant to India: but on mature conſideration they reſolved to reſt the whole queſtion on the baſe where their anceſtors had placed it;—"the ancient courſe and methods of parliament."

Such were the outlines of ſome of the leading arguments brought forward on this occaſion, in a debate which laſted, by adjournments, for three days. Mr. Erſkine, Mr. Hardinge, and Sir John Scott, with ſeveral other gentlemen, principally lawyers, argued for the abatement. On the other ſide of the queſtion, the lead was taken by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Mr. Anſtruther, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Addington the ſpeaker, who diſplayed much learning in the more early records of parliament.—On a diviſion upon Mr. Erſkine's motion, That Sir Peter Burrell do leave

leave the chair, the numbers were ayes 30, noes 143.—Majority 113.

Mr. Bearcroft, though he did not ſpeak, is yet ſaid to have voted on this occaſion with the majority; as did alſo Sir William Scott, and ſeveral other profeſſional gentlemen. Mr. Burke's original motion was then put and carried without a diviſion.

On the 14th of February, Mr. Burke made a motion for limiting the impeachment to a ſingle charge more.—But this ſubject we muſt for the preſent poſtpone, in order to purſue the great queſtion of the conſtitution to the houſe of lords. It is enough here to remark, that Mr. Burke's new motion was carried, as well as ſome other motions of courſe, neceſſarily preparatory to the actual reſumption of the trial.

When the commons were ready, a meſſage was ſent to the lords, who in conſequence appointed a committee to ſearch for precedents. They ſpent a conſiderable time in preparing their report, which however, having been at length made, lord Portcheſter, on the 16th of May, moved, "That a meſſage be ſent to the commons, to inform them, that the lords were ready to proceed on the trial of Warren Haſtings, eſq." Another motion, under the form of an amendment, was made by the earl of Radnor, propoſing to leave out all the words in the original motion after the word *that*, and inſert the following in their place: "it be referred to the twelve judges as a queſtion, to examine the bond of recognizance entered into by the ſureties of Warren Haſtings, eſq; and to report to the houſe, on Wedneſday next, their opinions on the ſame." In the debate which ſucceeded, a line of argument was purſued nearly ſimilar to that which had been adopted in the houſe of commons. The lord chancellor, lord Kenyon, and marquis of Lanſdowne, with other lords, contended for the abatement; lord Loughborough, the earl of Guildford, and lord Grenville, were the principal ſpeakers againſt it. The ſpeech of lord Loughborough, in anſwer to the chancellor's, was particularly elegant and impreſſive. An union of opinion, no leſs ſtriking than that of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox in the houſe of commons, took place on this occaſion in the upper houſe, between two great profeſſional and political rivals, earl Camden and earl Mansfield: both of whom authorized lord Loughborough to declare their ſentiments, that the motion was conformable to the law of parliament, and conſiſtent with precedent. Lord Camden, who had been preſent during the early part of the debate, left as the ground of his opinion a written reference to the authority of Selden, (who had been a manager againſt the duke of Buckingham, miniſter of Charles the Iſt) that a new houſe of commons might proceed, if they choſe it, on an impeachment brought up in a former parliament.

The collection of precedents printed by the houſe is very voluminous, and highly valuable. The whole is arranged into three claſſes —impeachments;—criminal caſes at the ſuit of individuals or of the crown;—and ſuch civil caſes as ſeemed to throw light on the matter referred to the committee. All the forms of bail in criminal caſes, which appear on the journals of the houſe, are alſo added, as well as a copious table of references to the caſes in the law books in any-

wiſe

wiſe illuſtrative of the ſubject. The report itſelf occupies more than an hundred pages, and is accompanied by a large appendix to each of the three claſſes of precedents. Lord chancellor Thurlow, it is true, complained that the precedents of writs of error are defective; and perhaps in all the claſſes ſeveral omiſſions, of more or leſs importance, may be diſcovered; ſtill the compilation, ſuch as it is, does much honour to the diligence and ability employed in the taſk, and is altogether the pureſt and moſt abundant ſource from which the lawyer, the antiquary, and the hiſtorian, may derive information of every kind, connected with the judicature of the peers in parliament. There is, beſides, one table more, which may prove of ſtill more extenſive utility to the hiſtorian. This is a table of the dates of the writs, the commencement, adjournments, prorogations, and diſſolution of every parliament of which any monuments remain on the rolls or the journals, down to the ſecond year of William the IIId; particulars, in all which our beſt hiſtorians, (not excepting that, which profeſſes to be a parliamentary hiſtory of England) are too frequently erroneous.

CHAP. III.

Reſumed account of Mr. Burke's motion for the limitation of the impeachment. Cauſes aſſigned by him for the delay in the progreſs of the trial. Various adverſe motions made, and negatived. Original motion carried without a diviſion. Progreſs of the trial. Mr. Loveden's motion for the continuation of the ſeſſion until the impeachment ſhould be concluded. Mr. Haſtings's ſpeech at the cloſe of the trial of the year. Obſervations on the great queſtion decided this ſeſſion, 'That impeachments do not abate by a diſſolution of parliament.' Dangerous tendency of the opinions, that this deciſion was according to the principles of the conſtitution, but contrary to the practice of parliament. Digreſſion to the hiſtory of the firſt impeachments on record in the "Good Parliament" of Edward the Third. Our beſt modern hiſtorians deficient in their accounts of this intereſting period. State of political parties in that parliament. Condition of the kingdom under the duke of Lancaſter's adminiſtration. Preparatory ſteps and actual impeachments of the duke's party. Return of that party to power, after the diſſolution of parliament. Their violent proceedings againſt Sir Peter de la Mare and their other political opponents. New parliament under the direct influence of the duke of Lancaſter. Proceedings of that parliament relative to the impeachments. Authority of Selden. Nature of the proof anciently admitted, ſhewn from the Paſton papers. Argument drawn from it. Acceſſion of Richard the Second.—Concluſion of this important ſubject.

HAVING conducted the narrative to the final deciſion, that in all probability ſettled for ever the right of the commons to continue their impeachments as well after a diſſolution as after a prorogation, we may now revert to the motion of Mr. Burke, which was mentioned in the laſt chapter, for the limitation of the proceedings on the preſent impeachment.

Mr. Burke prefaced what he had to

to ſubmit to the houſe, by ſome pertinent remarks on the many improper attempts which had lately been made to excite commiſeration in behalf of Mr. Haſtings, who had been repreſented as kept unneceſſarily under the rod of proſecution for an unuſual length of time. He then proceeded to prove that no premeditated delay could be imputable to the managers. Three years, he obſerved, had indeed elapſed ſince the commencement of the trial; but of thoſe three years, the proceedings upon the trial had only occupied ſixty-ſeven days, at the average of about four hours in each day; during which period, fifty criminal allegations had been proved. It had been lamented that in ſuch a ſpace of time the managers had only gone through (what were called) four articles. But it ſhould be remembered, that the crimes of the culprit, in conſequence of their number, had been divided not as uſual, into ſo many ſingle and ſeparate articles, but rather into ſo many comprehenſive claſſes. Under each of thoſe claſſes (in form indeed called articles) were included a number of charges, alone ſufficient to have conſtituted a diſtinct impeachment; and perhaps, he remarked, in the whole body of charges, taken collectively, as much criminal matter was included, as had occurred in all the impeachments to be met with in the Engliſh hiſtory. The preliminary diſcuſſion in the houſe of commons had occupied nearly as many days, and many more ſitting hours, he believed, than the trial in Weſtminſter-hall.

Among the obſtructions with which the managers had contended, he enumerated the prevalence of Indian intereſt. This pernicious influence, he obſerved, had found its way into both houſes of parliament, and exerted itſelf inceſſantly to work upon the public mind, not only by the weight of its own authority, but by every little art of ſophiſtical miſrepreſentation.

But of all the obſtacles which had impeded the progreſs of the managers, none had been more perplexing, or more productive of delay, than thoſe that aroſe from the limitations upon the ſubject of evidence impoſed upon them by the high court before which they pleaded, in compliance with the perpetual objections of the priſoner's counſel. Mr. Burke contended, from incontrovertible authorities, and from the uniform practice of their anceſtors, that the tribunal of the upper houſe ought not to be regulated by the forms of the civil or the common law, or by any cuſtoms of inferior courts. That it poſſeſſed a law and uſage of its own, perfectly diſtinct, and of ſuperior dignity. That the managers of an impeachment had always claimed, as a privilege, an ignorance of the municipal law; and without conſidering themſelves as bound by any forms, had always acted merely from the facts before them, upon the evident principles of common ſenſe. That they had conſtantly pleaded in the plaineſt language, and not in the technical terms of the courts. That, as the privilege of impeachment had been intended for the ſecurity of liberty and law, it ought not to be ſtraitened in its operation. That they would betray the conſtitution itſelf, if they did not ſtrenuouſly argue for a law of parliament, diſtinct from the law of Weſtminſter-hall, paramount to it,

it, and capable of ſuperſeding and controuling it in every thing hoſtile to ſubſtantial juſtice.

Mr. Burke, in ſupport of the preceding poſitions, entered into a long detail of authorities; and proved, that the managers had been moſt unreaſonably, moſt illegally (according to the eſtabliſhed law of parliament) and moſt unconſtitutionally cramped and fettered in all their proceedings.

He concluded by obſerving, that it was not his wiſh to give up the proof of a ſingle charge againſt Mr. Haſtings, all of which the committee of managers were able to ſubſtantiate, if the temper of the times, and the criminal impatience of too many perſons, would permit them. But, as all mankind muſt bend to circumſtances, in compliance with the unhappy diſpoſition of the times, he meant to propoſe a motion for the limitation of the impeachment. He then moved: "That in conſideration of the length of time, which has already elapſed ſince carrying up the impeachment now depending againſt Warren Haſtings, eſq; it appears to this houſe to be proper, for the purpoſe of obtaining ſubſtantial juſtice with as little delay as poſſible, to proceed to no other parts of the ſaid impeachment than thoſe on which the managers of the proſecution have already cloſed their evidence, excepting any ſuch parts of the impeachment as relate to the contracts, penſions, and allowances."

Mr. Ryder moved, as an amendment, that the latter part of the motion, which contained the exception, ſhould be omitted. Mr. Jekyl afterwards propoſed a ſecond amendment, viz. "that after theſe words in the original motion, 'in conſideration of the length of time which has already elapſed, ſince carrying the impeachment now depending againſt Warren Haſtings, eſq;' it be added, 'the houſe of commons do reſolve to proceed no farther in this buſineſs.'"—Mr. Sumner moved the queſtion of adjournment.

The houſe divided for the adjournment—ayes 26, noes 231. On Mr. Jekyl's amendment—ayes 54, noes 194. On Mr. Ryder's amendment, ayes 79, noes 161.—The original queſtion was then put and carried without a diviſion.

Beſides the three gentlemen who made the ſeveral motions already related, Mr. Burke was oppoſed in different ſtages of the debate by Major Scott, Mr. Wigley, Mr. Baſtard, and Mr. J. T. Stanley, member for Wootton Baſſett, and one or two others.—He was ſupported by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Luſhington, chairman of the court of directors.

Mr. Pitt on this occaſion was peculiarly eloquent and animated. His ſpeech poſſeſſed all his uſual perſpicuity both of order and expreſſion, with more than his uſual ſpirit and cogency of argument. He took a clear and comprehenſive view of the whole merits of the proſecution, pointing out as he went along all the bearings of the charge now propoſed on the other charges previouſly in evidence before the lords. The juſtificatory plea ſet up by the party impeached, had ever been ſtate-neceſſity; but this, he obſerved, would anticipate and repel that topic of exculpation, by ſhewing that in three or four inſtances only, of corrupt and criminal profuſion, the late governor general had laviſhed all that he acquired

by violence, extortion, and fraud, from Benares, Oude, and Bengal.

This only remaining head of charge was opened by Mr. St. John, on the 23d of May, to which period the delay already noticed in the houſe of lords neceſſarily poſtponed the actual continuation of the trial. In two days more the evidence was all adduced, except to one ſingle point. On this, as it was a matter of account, the managers offered to examine Mr. Wright, the company's auditor of Indian accounts; but though he had often been examined on ſimilar ſubjects in the courſe of the proceedings, the counſel for Mr. Haſtings now objected, and inſiſted on the original books. The point, therefore, was reſerved till the next ſitting day, when it was to be ſupplied, immediately previous to the ſpeech of the manager who was to ſum up the charge.

In this ſtate of the buſineſs, on the 27th of May, when the court broke up, Mr. Loveden made a motion relative to the impeachment, which had it been at all feaſible, would have met the approbation and ſupport of all parties: it was to the following effect, "That his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to continue the ſeſſion until the evidence on the part of the proſecution has been cloſed, Mr. Haſtings's defence heard, and judgment finally given." An amendment of a more practicable tendency was moved by Mr. Fox, who, together with Mr. Burke, did not ſee in the propoſed addreſs that violation of the royal prerogative, which formed the principal objection of Mr. Dundas. Major Scott of courſe took this occaſion to tell his cuſtomary tale of the number of criminal charges contained in the articles, and the expences of the ſolicitor's bill.—Mr. Fox's amendment was loſt by a majority of 83. The original motion was then negatived without a diviſion.

When the court next aſſembled in Weſtminſter-hall, Sir James St. Clair Erſkine, having ſummed up this branch of the accuſation, the managers, ſaving to the houſe all their undoubted rights and privileges, declared their intention of reſting their proſecution where it then ſtood. Mr. Haſtings then aroſe, and verbally made a prayer to the lords ſimilar in purport to Mr. Loveden's motion in the houſe of commons; but if that could not be granted, he requeſted one day more to addreſs the court before their ſeparation for the year. In the latter alternative he was indulged; and accordingly, on the 2d of June, read for two hours, from a written paper, a general anſwer to the obſervations of the managers. He ſpoke highly of his own merits, and addreſſed the commons of Great Britain in the language of Lear to his ungrateful children:—"*I gave you all*; and you have rewarded me (added he) by diſgrace, accuſation, and a life of impeachment." He profeſſed himſelf ready to go immediately to judgment; but if that could not be, concluded by deſiring that, notwithſtanding what he had now ſaid, his counſel next year might be at liberty to conduct his defence in any manner which they might think moſt expedient.—It is well known that they uſed this liberty, and began the next ſeſſion with ſpeeches of eight days.

If there was, as muſt be admitted, ſome hardſhip on the individual in the ſlow progreſs of the trial this year, the public on the other hand had no common intereſt in the cauſe

cauſe of it. The rule in favour of which the lords determined, and upon which both houſes acted, touches the conſtitution more nearly perhaps than any queſtion which has been agitated in parliament during the preſent century. That the deciſion was certainly agreeable to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, nay, that a contrary event would have been dangerous if not fatal to it, ſeems to be generally admitted: but doubts have been nevertheleſs entertained, whether in reality the greater weight of precedent was not on the other ſide; and it was probably under the influence of ſome ſuch conflicting notions, that a propoſition was made in the houſe of commons, to drop the preſent impeachment, and then by a proſpective law eſtabliſh the principle of continuance in future.

Theſe opinions may be ſincere; they may be propagated with no bad deſign, ſince they come to us with the ſanction of grave men, whoſe intentions we are not warranted to ſuſpect: like all intermediate opinions, balancing diſſent with approbation, they carry with them the recommendation of a ſpecious candour; and the apparent knowledge and love of the conſtitution, with which the doubts in this inſtance are accompanied, lend them an additional colour of falſe authority, to which many good and eaſy minds, without enquiring, will yield an implicit obedience. In other times, it is poſſible they might be innocent of any very evil conſequences, beyond their immediate and obvious tendency to prejudice the people unfairly againſt the proſecution ſtill maintained by their repreſentatives, as having become, in its progreſs, whatever it may have been in its origin, oppreſſive and unjuſt. But at the preſent moment, it is to be feared, that, ſhould ſuch concluſions be generally adopted, a more malignant uſe might be made of them by thoſe who are perpetually hunting after defects in the conſtitution of their country, which they never praiſe but to recommend ſome change under pretence of a reform; and who are indefatigably labouring to weaken and ſubvert the credit of parliament, by the deſtruction of which alone they can hope to make way for their own anarchical projects of repreſentative government. To adverſaries like theſe, more dexterous than ſcrupulous, it would certainly afford ſome advantage of ground, if the fact were allowed, that under the law and uſage of parliament a dangerous practice has overpowered the principle of the conſtitution; and the great privilege of the commons has remained for ages imperfect and palſied in one of its moſt eſſential parts, except during one ſhort interval of violence and blood.

It was to meet all perverſions on this head, that the ſummary of the arguments which ultimately prevailed in theſe debates (more eſpecially ſuch as were drawn from precedents) has been here given with a fullneſs of detail not compatible in all inſtances with the general plan of this hiſtory. Nor have the common printed reports been alone truſted: ſome aſſiſtance has been derived from private recollection; and care has been taken to conſult the records of parliament throughout, and by the guidance of that ſafe clue, to correct, or occaſionally even to ſupply the ſtatement of thoſe minute but neceſſary circumſtances,

which can have been retained with preciſion by no human memory, or which in ſpeaking to an aſſembly, who had all the documents on their table, may have been conveyed in a naked reference, or tranſient alluſion. With the ſame view, it may be perhaps uſeful, certainly not unamuſing, to mount a little higher into antiquity on this ſubject. We ſhall there witneſs a complete triumph on the ſide of the Engliſh conſtitution: we ſhall have the ſatisfaction of finding, that the right of the commons to continue their impeachments from parliament to parliament, is clearly recognized in the firſt regular records of ſuch proceedings that have deſcended to poſterity.

There are ſufficient traces from very early times to ſhew the agency of the commons in public accuſations, though not the exact mode in which it was exerciſed; but there is no formal entry of an impeachment, till we come down to the roll of a parliament ſummoned by Edward the Third, in the fiftieth year of his reign. The juſt ſeverity of the proſecutions then inſtituted, was ſo dear to the nation, that the parliament of that year has been diſtinguiſhed above all others by the title of "The Good Parliament;" and deſervedly *, ſays Walſingham, who lived before the genuine impreſſion of their conduct was worn away. This popularity, however, had little effect on their ſucceſſors in the next and laſt year of Edward the Third. It is in the diſpoſition of this latter parliament, to reverſe all the judicial acts of the former, that the chief ſtrength of the authority lies: for that poſt muſt be indeed impregnable, which an open enemy, poſſeſſing all means of attack, does not venture to aſſail. To illuſtrate the whole force of the reaſoning in this reſpect, it will be proper to lay open a little the ſtate of political parties in theſe two parliaments; and the rather, becauſe † our general hiſtorians of the greateſt reputation glide over the affairs of this period with an unimpreſſive rapidity.

When the Good Parliament met, the prince of Wales, better known by the appellation of the Black Prince, had long been languiſhing under an incurable diſeaſe, and was now haſtening to the grave. He had but one child, afterwards the unfortunate Richard the Second, at that time a boy of nine years old; next to whom, in the ſucceſſion to the throne, ſtood Philippa, daughter of Lionel duke of Clarence, and her deſcendants. This princeſs had married Edmund Mor-

* The moſt ſatisfactory account of the two laſt years of Edward the Third, is to be found in the 4th ſection of Lowth's Life of William of Wykeham. The learned and elegant biographer makes happy uſe of ſome manuſcripts in the libraries of Lambeth and the Britiſh Muſeum, which it were to be wiſhed might be publiſhed, eſpecially as all the latter part of Edward the Third's reign is wanting in Knyghton, and the whole reign in the continuator of Croyland. The continuator of Adam Murimuth and Walſingham, though they are both fuller, have much in common with the only paſſage quoted by Dr. Lowth from MS. Lambeth, No. 340: as Stowe has whole ſentences almoſt word for word the ſame as in MS. Har. No. 6217, and in ſome particular points differing from other authorities. There are ſome few fragments in Leland's Collectanea, of no great moment, but as they confirm the general opinion of Sir Peter de la Mare and his impeachments.

† In two different places, anno 1377, Ed. III. and Ric. II. of his hiſtory.

timer,

timer, earl of Marche, a powerful nobleman, who ſeems to have enjoyed the confidence of her heroic uncle, and to have ſhared with him in the affections of the people; ſince in the preceding parliament he was one of five lords aſſigned, at the particular demand of the commons, to confer with them upon the ſubſidies, in which committee he was joined with the biſhops of London and Wincheſter, two prelates, known to be in the ſtricteſt intimacy with the prince. But a ſenſe of common danger now more cloſely united theſe two branches of the royal family in a common cauſe againſt the duke of Lancaſter; who through the influence of Alice Perrers, the king's miſtreſs, had for ſome time engroſſed to himſelf and his adherents the entire adminiſtration of public affairs, and was generally ſuſpected of looking forward to the death of the prince, his only ſurviving elder brother, now viſibly approaching, and that of the king his father, not very remote, as opening a way to his own uſurpation of the crown.

The condition of the kingdom under the duke of Lancaſter's government, was not ſuch as to conciliate the favour of the commons. Burthened with a war of ruinous expence and inglorious diſaſters, the nation had not yet recovered, what it had recently ſuffered from the two other great ſcourges of mankind, peſtilence and famine. A ſcarcity of money and bullion, which had begun to be felt ſome time before, grew every day more alarming. Uſury roſe to ſuch a pitch, that a ſevere ordinance had been made againſt it in London. The native merchants were falling into decay, while foreigners drew to themſelves not only the external commerce, but even the retail trade in the cities and boroughs; and yet all foreign articles of conſumption advanced rapidly in price. The walled towns were in ruins; riots and armed inſurrections prevailed over the country; and the navy was nearly annihilated. The ſupplies granted by the laſt parliament for two years had been accompanied with the expreſs conditions, that they ſhould be expended on the war, and if the war did not laſt above one year, ſhould then ceaſe. Repeated truces had taken place; yet the revenues were ſquandered, and the treaſury exhauſted. The diſtreſſes of the crown were aggravated by new loans on the moſt uſurious terms, in the profits of which the king's favourites were underſtood to have ſhared, by advancing him his own money; while, on the other hand, they purchaſed the old debts at an enormous diſcount, and then paid themſelves the full value, in excluſion of the fair creditors. To recruit the coffers which they had emptied, they had recourſe to many corrupt and vexatious methods of irregular finance, from which too they were themſelves believed privately to have benefited. They ſold patents of monopolies, charters of privileges, and licences of trade, contrary to the franchiſes of corporations; protections of the moſt ample kind, under the great ſeal, to Lombards and others who owed large ſums to Engliſh merchants; and licences for the exportation of corn, notwithſtanding the late failures of the crops. But the meaſure of this kind, that ſeems to have excited moſt diſſatisfaction, was the grant of particular licences for the exportation of wool, and other commodities, in violation of the laws of the ſtaples.

This had been the ſubject of a petition in the laſt parliament from the commons, who repreſented it as one great cauſe of the ſcarcity of money: and the guilt of continuing the practice was now increaſed, by grafting upon it the condition of paying for every pack of wool an extraordinary tax not laid by parliament; an evaſion of the rights of the lords and commons, which was alſo introduced in a monopoly granted by patent for the ſale of ſweet wines in London. Againſt theſe illegal exactions, the ſubject might have found ſome relief in a pure adminiſtration of the law; but that alſo was full of abuſes. Improper juſtices of the peace and ſheriffs were made through place-brokers at court; jurors were impannelled who were not of the vicinage; and judges of aſſize were appointed on the ſpot of their reſidence, in the midſt of their relations and connections. At the ſame time vexatious juriſdictions were extended or created. The court of the palace meddled with pleas forbidden by law; the eſcheators in many inſtances took illegal inqueſts, and found falſe titles for the crown; but as probably theſe officers were not all equally complaiſant to the court, commiſſions of a new deſcription were iſſued, to men of bad character, and every way unqualified, who were ſtyled "approvers for the king:" and upon colourable returns, made in one or other of theſe ways, ancient proprietors were diſpoſſeſſed, and grants of their eſtates corruptly procured by the king's favourites. Nor were any of the ſuperior courts of the metropolis, temporal or ſpiritual, free from all ſuſpicion of taint—for there, to the ſcandal of all public decency, ſate Alice Perrers on the bench, or by the chair, openly ſoliciting the favour, or endeavouring to overawe the opinions, of the judges.

This picture is dark, but in the general reſemblance unqueſtionably faithful. There is no need of any other proof than to look around:* ſay the commons, in one of their ſtrongeſt petitions; and they aſcribe the miſchiefs of which they complain, to the weakneſs of the king's counſels and government. It is true, many of theſe evils had taken root before the duke of Lancaſter's acceſſion to power, ſome from natural cauſes, and others from the former bad policy of the commercial code; but many had been ſown by him, or had then firſt ſprung up, and all had vegetated more vigorouſly in the foul air of his adminiſtration.

* Rot. Parl. 50 Ed. III. No. 59.—All the circumſtances of the ſtate of the country are drawn from the ſame ſource, the records of parliament.—Scarcity of money, 47 Ed. III. No. 17 and 18. 50 Ed. III. No. 16.—Uſury, ib. 158.—State of trade, &c. ib. No. 15 and 59.—Riots, ib. No. 164.—Terms of the former ſubſidies, 47 Ed. III. No. 12.—Frauds as to the king's debts, and violation of the laws of the ſtaples, 50 Ed. III. No. 15.—Charters of privileges, licences, protections, &c. &c. ib. No. 54, 16, 60, 156.—New impoſitions on wool, &c. ib. No. 17, 33, and 163.—Abuſes of the law, ib. No. 67, 74, 83, 186, 53, 75.—Palace court, ib. No. 91, 182.—Eſcheators, ib. 88.—Approvers, ib. No 55.—Alice Perrers, No. 45.—See alſo A. Murimuth; MS. Lambeth, No. 340; Walſingham, &c.—Many particulars might have been added; but theſe ſeemed to be moſt connected with the principal points of the ſubſequent impeachments. Scarcely any intelligible trace of theſe things is to be found in Cotton's Abridgment, which has hitherto been the general guide of hiſtorians.

The collective grievances of the ten preceding years do not equal the bulk, and ſtill leſs the importance, of the repreſentations with which the king and his miniſters were now overwhelmed in parliament: but the decorous moderation and orderly firmneſs with which the commons proceeded on this trying occaſion, both in providing a remedy for the future, and in puniſhing paſt delinquency, reflects high honour on the illuſtrious leaders of the popular cauſe, and is worthy the regard and imitation of poſterity.

The two houſes ſoon diſcovered what influence prevailed among them. The commons choſe * for their ſpeaker ſir Peter de la Mare, one of the members for Herefordſhire, and ſteward to the earl of Marche. The lords placed the biſhop of London and the earl of Marche reſpectively at the head of the ſpiritual and temporal peers, whom they named to treat with the commons on the ſubſidies.

We ſhall now follow the track of the two houſes on the rolls of parliament. The firſt buſineſs before them was the ſupply required by the crown. To have refuſed all aid, would have been indecent; and to have been too liberal, might have endangered the diſſolution of parliament in the midſt of the ſubſequent meaſures. A middle way was taken. The former ſubſidies, which had been found to be inadequate under the late miſmanagement, were continued for three years from the enſuing Michaelmas, when they would otherwiſe have expired. From doing more at preſent, the commons excuſed themſelves, on account of the national diſtreſs; but ſhould any urgent buſineſs intervene, promiſed to aſſiſt the king beyond all examples of any age or country.

Their next ſtep was to ſtrengthen and purify the government. To this end they addreſſed the king to augment his privy council with prelates and peers of the realm, to the number of ten or twelve, a certain proportion of whom ſhould be neceſſary to the validity of any act, and ſhould always reſide near the king. The requeſt was granted, and additional proviſions afterwards ordained, which plainly glanced at the malverſations of the late counſellors: for an oath was ſettled for the members of the new council, and for the great officers of ſtate, binding them to take no preſents; and reports from the council to the king were forbidden to be made but by the whole body, or two members choſen by the common conſent of the reſt.

Having put this check on the corrupt power of the duke of Lancaſter, the commons turned their attention to ſecure the ſupport of the city of London. Their franchiſes had been directly infringed by the monopoly of ſweet wines. That trade therefore was thrown open again; but the conſideration of the illegal tax, of which that monopoly had been made the vehicle, was reſerved as the ground of an impeachment againſt the patentee.

The commons now approached their grand object. Accordingly they preſented an addreſs, or as it is called, a requeſt, to the king, which, after renewed profeſſions of loyalty, pointedly attributes the

* The Parliamentary Hiſtory after Tyrrel, ſays, this is a miſtake of Walſingham;—but that it is not, ſee A. Murimuth; MS. Lambeth, No. 340; and MS. Lamb. No. 6. in Lowth's Life of W. Wykeham, p. 110; as alſo Leland's Collect. part i. p. 408.

waſte of the royal treaſures, and the ruin of the national commerce, to ſome individuals in the king's private confidence — adjures him, by motives of religion and public duty, to puniſh the guilty, whoſe fines alone, they ſay, will relieve all his wants; and ſpecifies the heads of alledged criminality, in the violation of the law of the ſtaples, and the double fraud relative to the king's debts—but ſtill does not name any of the criminals. A readineſs, however, is profeſſed to make a fuller declaration in ſpecial, any hour that the king will appoint to hear it. In all likelihood they wiſhed the king to be perſonally preſent at their accuſations of his evil counſellors; in this, however, they were diſappointed. Nothing therefore remained but, without the king, to take that meaſure to which every ſtep regularly tended from the opening of the parliament: it was done without more delay, and impeachments fell heavy and thick on the partizans of the duke of Lancaſter. Theſe proſecutions were avowedly ſupported by the influence of the prince of Wales, and were entruſted to the ſole management of the ſpeaker, Sir Peter de la Mare, a friend and dependent of the earl of Marche. Nor, if we may believe the concurrent teſtimony of hiſtorians, could a man better qualified for the taſk have been ſelected; ſince, with wiſdom to conduct, and eloquence to enforce, the great cauſe committed to his care, he poſſeſſed a ſpirit not to be daunted, and an integrity not to be corrupted.

The firſt, whom the commons attacked, was Richard Lyons, a merchant of wealth and eminence in London, and farmer of the great cuſtoms. Though he was conne with the duke of Lancaſter's pa no effort ſeems to have been m in his favour. After a ſhort hear therefore, a ſentence was pa upon him, couched in the har language, as well as highly p in ſubſtance, "according to the ribility of his offence." Prob he was ſacrificed in the hope of ing others; as probably too, manager for the commons for it, and for that reaſon began him; for the crimes of which was found guilty againſt the la the ſtaples, and in relation to king's debts, were the ground- of ſome other more important a ſations that followed.

Animated by their ſucceſs, commons now took higher aim at a conference impeached lor tymer. They went partly on tw charges of peculations commit himſelf and his lieutenants, wh commanded in Brittany; and ly on two new charges, that he been an accomplice in the offen Lyons, and that he had occa the loſs of different forts, as w by his own proper authority ha leaſed ſpies and other felons priſoned by the king, which laid to be an accroachment of power. This lord was a me of the privy council, chamb to the king, and chief confide the duke of Lancaſter: conſeq to impeach him, was felt to be ing at the duke himſelf. then aroſe, as might be exp the principal ſtruggle betwee oppoſite parties. Lord Lat the outſet endeavoured to ma perſonal queſtion, by calling individual accuſer; but the co reſolving to maintain thei peachment in their corporate city, he at length gave his a

n the old part of the charges, ere was little conteſt; but on the ird article witneſſes were pro- ced and ſworn; * many ſpeeches d arguments were made in ſup- rt both of the proſecution and the fence, in full parliament, and in e houſe of lords; many farther aminations were had, as well fore ſecret committees, as in open urt; and after all it was not thout long debates that ſentence ſſed againſt him on the third ar- cle: neither was it † without preſ- ng repreſentations from the reſt his party, that the duke of Lan- ſter was induced to give way to the moval of the impeached lord from l his offices and the king's coun- ls for ever. Richard Lyons, on is conviction, had been ſent to the wer; but lord Latymer was a- arded to the cuſtody of the earl arſhal. This may have the ap- earance of lenity, but perhaps it ather marks the deciſive victory of is enemies; for that marſhal was he earl of Marche, a principal au- hor of his diſgrace. The priſoner owever was ſoon releaſed on bail, n which occaſion he gave for his ureties a long liſt of ſpiritual and emporal peers, and among them ord Percy, who had originally diſ- inguiſhed himſelf by his zeal for the roſecutions, but at the cloſe of this arliament appeared in avowed con- nection with the duke of Lancaſter.

In the remainder of their career, he commons found little impedi- ment. They proſecuted William Elys, a deputy of Lyons, and far- mer of a branch of the petty cuſ- toms; and they obtained judgment againſt William Peechee, patentee of the monopoly of ſweet wines; a- gainſt lord Neville, a privy coun- ſellor, and ſteward of the houſe- hold; and againſt Alice Perrers herſelf; the two laſt of whom were, like lord Latymer, removed from the king's counſels, and the lady farther prohibited, by a proſpective ordinance, from ſoliciting any ſuit in any of the king's courts, under pain of an univerſal forfeiture of property, and perpetual exile. It is probable, though not certain ‡, that the duke of Lancaſter reſigned im- mediately after the conviction of lord Neville, and the new coun- cil of twelve was then appointed, of which the earl of Marche was a member, as well as the biſhops of London and Wincheſter. But in the midſt of theſe civil triumphs, no leſs honourable to his memory than his military exploits, within a fortnight from the date of the judg- ment againſt lord Latymer, died the prince of Wales. He lived, how- ever, long enough to accompliſh the great object of his anxious cares, in breaking the faction, from which he apprehended danger to his ſon. His friends, ſteady in their duty to him and to their country, finiſhed what remained. The houſe of com- mons, without loſs of time, addreſſed the king to call the young prince Richard to parliament, that they might ſee and honour him there as

* Rot. Parl. 50 Ed. III. No. 29. † MS. Harl. 6217.

‡ The continuator of A. Murimuth, a cotemporary author, places the appoint- ment of the new council after the conviction of lord Latymer and other great officers of the king, and before the proceedings againſt Alice Perrers. He ex- preſsly ſays it was done by an ordinance in parliament, at the petition of the com- mons. Ten entries are loſt from the roll juſt in this part. The appointment of the new council ſeems to be placed after the impeachment of Alice Perrers in MS. Lambeth, No. 349.

heir apparent of the crown; and to this they added a requeſt that he might be created prince of Wales. Nor did they, in the mean while, ſlacken their proſecutions: they perſiſted in exhibiting freſh articles to the very laſt day of the parliament. Such of the impeachments as are to the preſent purpoſe, will hereafter require more particular attention; at preſent it will be beſt to purſue the thread of the ſtory.

Soon after the parliament was diſſolved, the duke of Lancaſter returned to court, and with him returned Alice Perrers, and the reſt, who again took poſſeſſion and acquired a more abſolute aſcendancy than before over the old, defenceleſs, and afflicted monarch. The new council was ſuddenly diſmiſſed. Sir Peter de la Mare, by an act of arbitrary authority, was ſent a priſoner to * Newark caſtle; and ſo far was the duke diſpoſed to carry his violence againſt him, that it was reported he gave ſecret orders to have him beheaded in the next wood, but was diſſuaded by lord Percy.

The biſhop of Wincheſter, late the confidential friend, and now, with the biſhop of London, joint-executor of the Black Prince, was next attacked, and articles were brought againſt him before the privy council; aiming, though in vain, to retort upon him the dilapidations of the king's treaſury. His exalted rank in the church probably ſaved him from the fate of Sir Peter de la Mare, but his temporalties were ſeized, and † "he had not where to lay his head," even among the foundations of his own munificence. Neither did the affinity of the earl of Marche to the royal family altogether ſhelter him from the ſtorm. He was directed to repair to Calais, in the execution of his office as marſhal; but to avoid this baniſhment, as in effect it was, and ſuſpecting ſome ſnare for his liberty or his life, he reſigned his ſtaff, and lord Percy immediately obtained it as the reward of his defection.—Such was the ſtate of parties, when the active preparations for war, which had been long making by the confederated powers of France, Spain, and Scotland, rendered the ſummoning of a parliament indiſpenſable. Every intrigue, therefore, was employed by the court to enſure a majority of the commons; and the duke of Lancaſter is related ‡ to have made this parliament at his pleaſure. The whole repreſentation of the counties was changed, except twelve members.

Here, as before, the complexion of the parliament was ſoon viſible. The ſpeaker of the commons was Sir Thomas Hungerford, the friend and ſteward of the duke of Lancaſter, and ſeven out of eight lords, aſſigned to confer with the commons, were taken from the bail bond of lord Latymer. An ineffectual effort indeed was tried in the lower houſe, by one of the old county members, to excite a ſpirit there in the cauſe of their late ſpeaker, and to have him brought to a public trial, if he were charged with any crime; but the mover of the queſtion was compelled to deſiſt, under menaces of death. The parliament that bore this, might well bear alſo to be told, as they were, in derogation of the great

* See MS. Harl. 6217. and Stowe. Others ſay *Nottingham*.

† Pet. in Parl. 51 Ed. III. No. 85. ‡ MS. Harl. 6217; and Stowe.

charter ſo often confirmed in this reign, that the king was not willing to lay any charge on his ſubjects without the conſent of the two houſes, except in caſes of neceſſity, and for the defence of the kingdom, and then as far only as reaſon would allow: nor ſhall we be ſurprized to find them ſet the firſt example of a poll-tax, which ſoon after, under the ſucceeding monarch, occaſioned one of the moſt formidable inſurrections in our hiſtory. No precedent made by ſuch a parliament in favour of the dominant party, before whom they were ſo proſtrated, could have weighed a feather in the ſcale of juſtice; but any principle which they may have admitted on the other ſide, muſt be of the moſt incontrovertible authority.

With this clue let us now revert to the impeachments of the former parliament.

Lord Latymer, it has been already obſerved, was, among other things, impeached on two old charges of peculation in Brittany. The firſt related to tranſactions of ſeveral years ſtanding. In his anſwer he expreſsly ſays, that he had formerly been *in like manner impeached* before the king himſelf; he confeſſes the acquiſition of ten thouſand pounds, but juſtifies it; though he ſubjoins that, as to this ſum, he did before ſubmit, and always ſhould be willing to ſubmit himſelf to the king's mercy. The commons faſten upon this anſwer, (in which it ſhould be remarked, that he does not directly make a preſent ſubmiſſion, but refers to that which he had before made) and they demand, not judgment as upon a confeſſion, but *execution* as upon a former judgment; for (add they) he knew that he had formerly been impeached on the ſame charge, and had made that very ſubmiſſion, yet now ſhews no agreement with the king, pardon, or other releaſe. The lords do not object to the principle; on the contrary, they promiſe that a report ſhall be made to the king, and right done.

If the former impeachment here mentioned were certainly an accuſation of the commons, the caſe would be clear. But in thoſe days the term was of general uſe. It ſeems, however, by the manner in which the commons acted upon it, to have been their ſuit; and ſo it was underſtood by the learned * Selden, who, in abſtracting the anſwer, ſimply gives it, that he was impeached before; a word which he employs throughout his work in the appropriate ſenſe of modern times.

The ſecond charge was introduced by the commons, with an expreſs recital, that "again another time he had been accuſed" of certain extortions practiſed by his lieutenants, for the particulars of which they refer to a bill (ſo they then called their own articles of impeachment) delivered before in parliament; and they there inſert it. The narrative before given, in addition to the plain ſenſe of the expreſſion, muſt ſatisfactorily ſhew that it could not have been in the ſame parliament, which had then juſt met. Yet on this head he anſwers without objection, "as to the bill delivered before in parliament." The whole queſtion then was put on a point of law, Whether he was reſponſible, and how far, for his lieutenants? On which the lords poſtpone their

* Judic. in Parl. chap. 3. towards the end.

deciſion, to conſult the judges.—Nothing more appears on the old charges; he was convicted on the third article alone.

That the ground of abatement ſhould not have been even intimated on the trial of a miniſter, in whoſe perſon two hoſtile parties were contending for the government of the kingdom at leaſt, if not for the crown itſelf, is ſufficiently ſtrong; but what was the conduct of the duke of Lancaſter's own parliament? Lord Latymer was then in the plenitude of power, and a marked attention to his caſe was early manifeſted. The commons * "thinking it for the good of the realm, as they truly underſtood," preſented a petition, that by award of parliament he might be reſtored to his former rank and eſtate. They ſay that he was condemned (that is, upon the third article) through untrue ſuggeſtions, and without due proceſs. At what ſuppoſed error they glance, we know not; contrary to uſage, they did not chuſe to particularize: but this we know, that eager as they were to find fault with all the proceedings of the laſt parliament againſt him and his accomplices, they inſinuate not a ſyllable againſt his being brought to anſwer on the old charges. Indeed, ſuch as the petition is, it does not appear ever to have received the concurrence of a majority of the lords, who are the beſt judges of their own proceſs; for the royal aſſent was given at the prayer of *ſome* prelates and lords, as well as of the commons. A ſmall number of the peers may have been warped by ambition, but they had not, like the commons, ſuffered a total change. They preſerved, with becoming firmneſs, the integrity of their judicial character.

The caſe of William Elys is ſtill more direct and ſatisfactory, becauſe, like the proſecution againſt Mr. Haſtings, it was interrupted in the courſe of the evidence. He was impeached for extortion in taking duties from ſome merchants of Scotland, contrary to treaty. He admitted his office and his execution of it, but generally denied any extortion. The fact of the money being paid was proved by his own confeſſion, the day before, in the houſe of commons, and by the teſtimony of four witneſſes examined in open court. He then juſtified the taking, as having been conditional under a ſtipulation to repay the money, if the king ſhould determine nothing to be due; and he affirmed that he had repaid it accordingly: in proof of which he produced a full releaſe in the name of John Fauxhide, as general agent for the merchants of Scotland. The powers of John Fauxhide, however, as well as the authenticity of the inſtrument, were diſputed; and the releaſe was delivered to lord Percy, who was commiſſioned to make inqueſt of the truth on the next day of the marches on the ſide of Scotland. Elys in the mean time † was committed to priſon, where he lay upwards of three months.

After the diſſolution of the parliament, when the duke of Lancaſter recovered his power, Elys was liberated; but on what terms? He was bailed, like lord Danby ſome centuries after, *to the next parliament*; and this condition, as in the inſtance of lord Danby, can only be

* Pet. in Parl. 51 Ed. III. No. 75.

† For this, and all the following facts of this caſe, ſee 51 Ed. III. No. 94.

conſidered

conſidered as affirming the commitment, and of courſe the exiſtence of the impeachment.

When the next parliament aſſembled, neither of the houſes took up the doctrine of abatement. The lords acted upon the impeachment as ſtill pending, for they received lord Percy's return to his commiſſion, which was in favour of Elys. The commons of courſe did not proceed; they would not, diſpoſed as they were, have proceeded in any event of lord Percy's report. But did they take any notice at all of this impeachment? They did, and in a manner which irrefragably proves that they never dreamed of an abatement having actually been worked by the diſſolution.

Though a general act of pardon had paſſed, out of which the biſhop of Wincheſter alone was excepted, a fear ſeems to have been entertained that ſuch an act might not operate upon the impeachments of the former parliament. On the laſt day of the ſeſſion, therefore, after the royal anſwers to the petitions had been read, and when all were departing, the ſpeaker, Sir Thomas Hungerford, repreſented that many perſons, men as well as women, had been impeached in the laſt parliament, adjudged without due proceſs to certain penalties, and foreclоſed of that common liberty, which all loyal ſubjects ought to enjoy; wherefore he prayed the king, in that his year of jubilee, graciouſly to reſtore all ſuch to their former rank and degree, notwithſtanding the judgments againſt them. On the part of the king it was aſked, if this application was meant for all who had been impeached, or only for a part of them? This was a very neceſſary queſtion, ſince many who ſtood impeached (Elys for one) had not received judgment. The anſwer was, for all. The commons were then directed to declare diſtinctly in writing what and for whom they prayed, and the king's grace was promiſed to them, ſubject to the royal pleaſure.—Here ended the parliament; but ſoon after ſeven petitions were delivered and entered, without any anſwers: to explain which, there is a remark at the end of them, that no anſwer was made by the lords in that parliament, nor could be, on account of the time when they were delivered.

This after-piece was a farce manifeſtly planned * between the duke of Lancaſter, who was virtually the king in this parliament, and his ſteward, the ſpeaker. It as plainly appears to have been wholly contrived for the ſake of Alice Perrers; ſince the petition afterwards delivered in the name of the commons on her behalf, is the only one of the ſeven, that exactly correſponds in all its circumſtances, and for the moſt part in its very terms, with the ſpeaker's original application. We have reaſon indeed to ſuppoſe, that ſhe had already annulled all the former proceedings againſt herſelf in her own way. They are not to be found on the rolls, but inſtead of them is a chaſm of no leſs than ten † entries at the very place where we might expect to find them, immediately preceding the ordinance againſt her, which ‡ clearly aroſe out of the facts appearing on the charges. Still (in whatever mode, and at whatever

* *Rege ſic volente* (ſays Walſingham) *perſonæ abjudicatæ priſtino ſtatui reſtituuntur.*

† From No. 34 to No. 45.

‡ See the ſubſtance of the charges in A. Murimuth; MS. Lambeth; Walſingham, &c. &c.

time,

time, these records may have disappeared) it was highly expedient that her return to court should be sanctioned in some manner by parliament. There was little hope, however, of obtaining the concurrence of the lords. If a majority of that house could not be got (and that they could not, we have already seen) to agree in the reversal of the sentence against lord Latymer, a nobleman both of talents and courage, distinguished in the wars of the continent, much less would they be disposed to favour Alice Perrers. It was necessary, therefore, that the affair should so be managed, as not to submit the question to the sense of the lords. Accordingly it was made a request from the commons alone directly to the king; and the specific petitions were delivered at a time, when, as the record itself observes, the lords could not take them into consideration.

If this explanation of the transaction, indicated by its own internal evidence, be just, it much strengthens the authority. Otherwise the fact itself is sufficient, that, the impeachment of Elys being in the state above described, it was thought indispensable in the second parliament to apply for the king's pardon—to what effect? Not to remit the penalties of a sentence, for none had been passed upon him, but to release him from his bail; from which he would long before have been legally discharged, if the impeachment had long before abated.

Another person, for whom a petition was on this occasion presented in the name of the commons, was Adam de Bury: and there are petitions word for word the same in favour of John de Leicester and Walter Spurrier. Their cases, therefore, we may conclude to have been the same; though the proceedings against them are lost. Adam de Bury's case, however, we know. As soon as he had been impeached, the lords sent for him, to answer,-but he was not to be found. He had fled into Flanders: the commons waited till the last day of parliament, when they exhibited their articles against him. He seems, after the duke of Lancaster's return to power, to have come back and surrendered himself; for he was now under bail in the new parliament. In consequence the prayer of the commons for him, was, that he and his sureties might be discharged.

This is subject to the same inferences as the petition of Elys: but it happens besides to be the vehicle of a considerable authority, the opinion of Selden. The commons, he observes, delivered their impeachment on the last day of parliament, "to the end, that the particulars of their accusation might remain upon record against him *hereafter* *:"—to what purpose, if they remained a dead letter, extinct for ever in the very moment of their birth? No; he here plainly implies that right of continuation, which he had before directly asserted † in the house of commons against the duke of Buckingham. For it should be remembered, that Selden was not only eminent at the bar, particularly

* Judic. in Parl. chap. 2.

† See Whitelock, p. 10; and Rushworth, vol. i. p. 607: It was probably to one of these that Lord Camden referred. See before, p. 58.—Sir Edward Coke, who spoke immediately before Selden against the duke, grounded himself on the proceedings of the Good Parliament.

skilled

ſkilled in our ancient records, and a man of the moſt extenſive general learning; but an active member of parliament, and a manager of impeachments: above all, he was a perſon whom the lords themſelves, in 1621, the great year of impeachments under James the Firſt, had ſelected to report to them on the privileges of the baronage, half of which work relates to their criminal juriſdiction, and in which the precedents of the Good Parliament have a conſpicuous place.

A ſimilar circumſtance of accidental connexion with the chain of modern authorities, gives ſtill greater importance to an entry that follows the ſeven unanſwered petitions, and cloſes the roll of that year. It is an application of the commons, not to the king, requeſting a pardon, but to the lords, praying a judgment of honourable acquittal in favour of ſir Hugh Faſtolf. The terms of it ſtrongly mark the violent party-ſpirit of the commons, who, without ſcruple, directly impute to the proceedings of their predeceſſors, malice and hatred, ſlander and defamation.

The particulars of the impeachment are not known, as it is one of thoſe, which have been loſt from the records of the former year; but at the end of that parliament, the commons, not being able to bring the cauſe then to trial, had deſired that commiſſions might iſſue to take inqueſts generally on all extortions and other ſimilar wrongs done in the two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, where the property of ſir Hugh Faſtolf lay, and ſpecially alſo on the matters in the articles exhibited againſt him. Seventeen inqueſts had been accordingly taken, on all which he was acquitted. The commons now come forward, and pray, that the report of the chief commiſſioner may be received, and the fame of the party impeached may be cleared. The report was accordingly made by ſir John Cavendiſh, and recorded in full parliament.

This is one of the precedents ſelected by the committee of lords in 1673, as a foundation for the rule then propoſed and declared, that all buſineſs before the houſe in their court of judicature continued in the ſame ſtate from ſeſſion to ſeſſion. But it clearly goes much beyond that rule. It goes the whole length to which the rule was carried in the ſubſequent reſolution of 1678; ſince it is the caſe of an impeachment acted upon in a new parliament.

There ſtill remains, however, one obſervation ariſing out of this laſt impeachment and that of Elys, which ſeems deciſive in ſhewing that the principle of continuation muſt have exiſted. It relates to the mode of trial, the proof being taken under a commiſſion, and then reported to the houſe, who gave judgment agreeably to the report. This was not unfrequent of old in parliamentary cauſes of every deſcription. It ſeems indeed to have been the right of the proſecutor (whether the king, the commons, or an individual) ſo to proceed, whenever the nature of the charge, and the locality of the facts charged, fairly required it. Of this we have the ſtrongeſt confirmation, in a curious relick, preſerved among the very valuable papers of the Paſton family. It is a ſpeech of the duke of Norfolk, on occaſion of his moving ſuch a commiſſion for the proof of certain articles which he had brought againſt the duke of Somerſet, the ſhort-lived ſucceſſor of the duke of Suffolk, in the

the favour of Henry the Sixth. After reciting the ſtate and grounds of his accuſation *, "I require "you (ſays he, addreſſing the houſe of lords) "for as much as "the greater part of the deeds "committed by the duke of Somerſet have been committed in "the realm of France, that by the "laws of France, proceſs be made "thereupon; and that all things "which I have delivered, and ſhall "deliver, be ſeen and underſtood "by perſons having knowledge of "thoſe laws: and that the deeds "committed by him in this realm, "be in like manner ſeen and underſtood by perſons learned in "the laws of this land:"—a diſtinction, which may throw light on the prayer of the commons in their articles againſt the duke of Suffolk, that proceedings might be had "in "the ſame parliament, as the matters "and cauſes required," all the facts there alledged having been committed, or being capable of proof, in England, and upon the ſpot. The noble accuſer then goes on to move the lords, "that for proof of the "charges they would grant commiſſions to enquire thereof, as by "reaſon and of cuſtom it ought to "be done."—Now ſhew ſuch a cuſtom, and you immediately ſhew the neceſſity of allowing the principle of continuation: for what return in thoſe times could have been made to ſuch a commiſſion within the uſual term of a ſingle parliament? Down to the reign of Henry the Sixth, the common duration of a ſeſſion (which was then alſo the common duration of a parliament) was from fifteen to thirty days; very few ſate more than forty days; and the Good Parliament was the firſt that laſted upwards of two months. It would have been a mockery and a denial of juſtice to have ſaid, in anſwer to ſuch an application, "Take your commiſſion, but let the proof ſo obtained be reported before the diſſolution of parliament, or there at once abates your proſecution." But no ſuch anſwer ever was made, no ſuch anſwer could be made, for the peers and judges, ſome of whom were always named on ſuch commiſſions, were neceſſarily attending in diſcharge of their duty, as long as the legiſlature was aſſembled; it was in the intervals only, that they thus gave facility to juſtice, and matured cauſes of ſtate, to receive the judgment of the enſuing parliament.

Such then was the perfection in which our anceſtors eſtabliſhed the inquiſitorial power of the commons, on the memorable occaſion, where we firſt trace its exerciſe. The Good Parliament retroſpectively aſſerted the principle of continuation in the very outſet of their career, on the impeachment of lord Latymer; they aſſerted it again proſpectively at the goal of their labours, in the articles which they exhibited againſt Adam de Bury; and in ſome other of their proſecutions, by praying commiſſions for the trial of the facts, they aſſerted it under cover of an accuſtomed practice, that implies it as a neceſſary and invariable conſequence. They did all this without objection at the time: and what they did was in this reſpect, and this alone, afterwards ſanctioned by a packed parliament, which was expreſsly made for the obliteration of theſe very proceedings, and with which, for that purpoſe, every kind of undue influence and unworthy artifice was employed.

* See our volume for 1788, Antiquities, p. 113.

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If we purſue this point a ſingle ſtep farther in hiſtory, we ſhall find that the ſame great men ſeem alſo to have vindicated another leading principle in the privilege of impeachment. The commons *, towards the cloſe of the Good Parliament, petitioned that none of the perſons then impeached and judged might receive any pardon, and that a law to that effect might be enacted for all ſimilar caſes in future. Pardons, however, were obtained by the intervention of the commons in the manner above related, as if the royal prerogative alone were admitted to be not fully competent. Soon after this the king died. On the acceſſion of Richard, power once more changed hands. A pardon was granted to the biſhop of Wincheſter, who before had been ſingly excepted; if it could be called a pardon, which not ſo much remitted any offences to him, as ſolemnly declared his innocence. Sir Peter de la Mare was releaſed from priſon, and had his pardon alſo. A great council was ſummoned, when the lords appointed a new council of twelve, and at the head of it placed the biſhop of London and the earl of Marche, to the great ſatisfaction of the people, as we are diſtinctly told by the ancient hiſtorians †. Under theſe auſpices, a parliament was not long after called; and the houſe of commons, to which were now returned all the old members excluded from the laſt by the intrigues of the duke of Lancaſter, immediately choſe ſir Peter de la Mare for their ſpeaker. The buſineſs of the houſe was by him conducted with the ſame ability as before, and if poſſible with greater moderation. For when the commons petitioned for a council of nine to be named by the lords, in addition to the great officers of ſtate, aiming by this meaſure to exclude lord Latymer, and one or two others of the duke of Lancaſter's principal friends, whom, to reconcile all parties, the great council of the lords had previouſly placed there; they ſubjoined ‡, "That they did not at "all deſire then to take vengeance "of any, who had done amiſs in "time paſt, but that in time to come "ſuch evil-doers might be duly "puniſhed." This may account why they did not attempt to proceed with any of the unfiniſhed proſecutions. It could not have been from any regard to the pardons; for where judgment had been given, they ſet aſide the pardons as mere nullities, without condeſcending to mention them. They petitioned that § "all the evil counſellors "of the late king, that had before "been convicted on full evidence, "and attainted, might be removed "from the king's councils; and "that neither they, nor others like "them, might ever be admitted "near the king's perſon, nor bear "office under him." What was thus done, as well as the impeachment of Alice Perrers in this parliament, it is certain, cannot in ſtrict propriety be called a continuation of the proceedings in the two former parliaments, yet the impreſſion which theſe meaſures made on the public clearly ſhews the general ſenſe of the doctrine lately ſo diſputed. An hiſtorian, who lived near the time, mentions the buſineſs of this parliament almoſt in the terms of the reſolution adopted

* 50 Ed. III. No. 188, 189. † Walſingham, confirmed ſhortly by G. Thorn.
‡ Rot. Parl. 1 Ric. II. No. 20. § Ib. No. 49.

by

by the lords in 1673 *: "These "former members of the Good Par- "liament (says he) resumed their "proceedings in the same place, "where they left them."

Many other measures were taken by this parliament in the same spirit; but as they are not connected with the present subject, we pass them by. It is glory sufficient for the distinguished men of that time to have fixed this key-stone of the English constitution. The power of impeachment is alike the security of the people and the prince; it protects the people, by holding forth a salutary terror to ministers, and by attaching on their responsibility reconciles to public safety the maxim of our constitution, which attributes a sort of divinity to the king, that he can do no wrong: at the same time it is a privilege of the commons, that calls into activity the noblest privilege of the peers, as hereditary judges of the realm, in their original jurisdiction, which alone, circumscribed by no local limits, and fettered by no rules but those of substantial justice, extends with the extent of our empire, and reaches across half the globe every offence of criminals, however powerful, that touches the prosperity, honour, or dignity of the British name. Thus important in every consideration, it ought, even for the sake of the crown itself, to be capable of being carried to its destined end uninterrupted by the act of the crown, whether directly by a pardon, or indirectly by a dissolution; and after jarring precedents, though of unequal authority, under the family of Stuart, we now justly reckon it a double victory to the constitution, that the very law which settles the crown on the line of the reigning sovereign, provides against the pleading of a royal pardon in bar of an impeachment; and that the right of the commons to continue their prosecutions from parliament to parliament seems at length to be for ever ascertained by the late solemn determination: yet we find that in both these respects, we have only re-established that purity of principle, with which this vital energy of our constitution began.

The period, to which this subject has led us, is in itself highly interesting. It is the close of a reign that shines with singular lustre, both in our civil and military annals. It presents to us the Black Prince, the favourite hero of English story, exerting himself in the last moments of his life, not merely to secure a sceptre to his son, but to secure to him also a well-governed and happy people: and in the midst of the very same transactions, we see the origin of a long train of subsequent events, in the connection then formed between the duke of Lancaster and lord Percy, who, for his own ruin, and the destruction of his house, was the principal instrument of raising Henry the Fourth to the throne. But undoubtedly the most prominent object of attention is the completion which was given, by these impeachments of the Good Parliament, to all the constitutional struggles of this long reign; which he must accurately examine in the records of parliament, who would well understand the constitution of his country. Till we come down to

* Walsingham, who after telling us of what members this parliament consisted, goes on thus: "Hi itaque *resumentes* petitiones suas *eo in loco, quo prius dimise-* "*rant*, institerunt de bannitione illius Aliciæ Perrers, &c. &c." He published his Hypodeigma Neustriæ in 1418, within forty years from the time of this parliament. But the passage quoted in this note is from his history, which was written later.

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the great conteſt between the king and parliament, in the time of Charles the Firſt, (and the commons then grounded themſelves, in ſome of their firſt and beſt meaſures *, on the precedents of the Good Parliament) all the reſt of our hiſtory put together does not afford ſo much matter for uſeful obſervation, as the reigns of Edward the Third, Richard the Second, and the firſt years of Henry the Fourth. It is much to be wiſhed, that a new narrative were written of the proceedings in parliament during theſe reigns. The rolls are now in the hands of the public. The hiſtorian would not, like former writers, be compelled to draw his intelligence from ſhallow and deceitful ſources. He would have the means of avoiding the groſs errors into which they have fallen by following the abridgment, that goes under the name of Sir Robert Cotton; a work ſhort, confuſed, and in ſome very memorable inſtances † directly repugnant to the truth of the record. He muſt nevertheleſs call in to his aid all the lights which he can obtain from all the hiſtorians who lived neareſt to the times; and from them he muſt gather, where he can, the party-ſpirit and complexion of the ſeveral parliaments. From a neglect of this neceſſary caution, writers of conſiderable merit have miſled their readers by taking their notions of the conſtitution indiſcriminately from parliaments of the beſt and worſt authority. They make no difference between the two laſt parliaments of Edward the Third, or between the firſt parliament of Richard the Second, of ſo excellent a compoſition as we have ſeen it to be, and the laſt parliament of the ſame prince, which was packed by intrigues with the ſheriffs, and ſate in Weſtminſter Hall, ſurrounded by an armed force, with bows bent, and arrows levelled at their breaſts.

Had ſuch a work exiſted, much

* See the ſpeech of Sir Edward Coke, Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 607.

† There is a ſtriking proof of this charge in the 17th year of Edward the Third. It is well known that the king had revoked and abrogated, by a proclamation ſent round to the ſheriffs, a famous ſtatute of the laſt parliament; yet, it is uniformly obſerved by our hiſtorians, that the commons (17 Ed. III.) ſo far from taking notice of this arbitrary conduct, conſented to a regular repeal: and ſo the Abridgment repreſents their petition, p. 39. No. 27.—But the real petition is directly the reverſe. It ſtrongly demands the obſervance of the ſtatute in queſtion, as having been purchaſed with the valuable conſideration of heavy ſubſidies for two years. It is true, that the laſt entry but one on the ſtatute roll is a repeal, nearly the ſame in words as the king's anſwer to the petition of the commons; and it is ſaid to have been "accorded and aſſented;"—but by what authority is not ſaid. The neareſt preceding entry, which does ſpecify at all, ſpecifies only the accord of *the king and the great men*, and the entry immediately preceding is clearly an act of the king and the lords alone, in their judicial capacity; after which, this repeal follows with an "Item." But what was the conſequence? In the next parliament (18 Ed. III.) for the firſt time, the commons inſiſted, and with effect, that they might have redreſs of their grievances before the end of parliament, and that a committee of their houſe ſhould be appointed to ſtay and ſee, that the commons did not remain without remedy. Now, whence aroſe this marked jealouſy at this particular period for the firſt time? It muſt have been occaſioned by ſome trick recently played the commons after they were gone; the repeal is the only thing on the roll of the laſt parliament to which we can fairly apply it. The check thus put on the fraudulent making-up of the ſtatute roll was afterwards enforced at different times in the ſame reign, and was the corner-ſtone that gave ſtability to the power of the commons. Yet here we find in the abridgment a total ſilence, as before a compleat miſrepreſentation.

of

of this chapter might have been ſpared. Such as the digreſſion has been, the ſubject and the preſent criſis ſeemed to demand it. Never was it ſo neceſſary to inſpire men with a veneration for the wiſdom of their anceſtors. While they, who had not the means of information, were contented to admire, it was of little comparative moment to aſk why they did ſo; the conſtitution was ſafe in that admiration. Perhaps their attachment was the ſtronger, as they ſubſtituted the impetuous ardour of an honeſt paſſion for the ſlow aſſent of patient conviction. This may be called prejudice, yet ſurely it was a prejudice, laudable in its foundation, and uſeful in its effects to the community; it was rather a fair preſumption in favour of a conſtitution, under which they felt themſelves to be happy. There is much greater danger at preſent of their running into an oppoſite prejudice, of the moſt miſchievous tendency to ſociety. The buſy part of the people, not having leiſure for long diſquiſitions, may take it for granted, that they ought not to admire at all, what they are told they muſt not admire without an enquiry which they cannot make. At the ſame time they are flattered into a ready belief of their own ſuperiority over their forefathers. It is for ever rung in their ears, that the preſent is an enlightened age. All now is one blaze of diſcovery. To ſhew our title to wiſdom, it is enough that we were born towards the cloſe of the eighteenth century. Into minds ſo prepared it is then eaſily inſtilled, that our boaſted conſtitution is but a clumſy piece of Gothic patch-work; that the great leaders of former times knew nothing, obtained nothing, ſecured nothing; only oppreſſion was ſometimes reſiſted at the inſtant with a ſpirit worthy of imitation for nobler ends. Nay, it is ſometimes inſiſted, that the moſt ſplendid atchievements of liberty were but ſo many compromiſes made by treachery or ignorance; yet what is thus condemned, it is not thought neceſſary to examine. To reſiſt the effect of theſe bad arts, every opportunity ſhould be ſeized to teach the people, that if they loved the conſtitution of their country without reaſon, becauſe without knowledge, yet their affection was not againſt reaſon. To this end, we have dwelt the longer on the good deeds of a parliament, which was moſt dear to thoſe who were the beſt judges of its merits; and of this we are perſuaded, that he, who moſt carefully ſearches into the monuments of thoſe times, will have leaſt confidence in the new light of moderu philoſophy. He will leave all exultation on this head to thoſe who, concealing under an arrogant contempt of antiquity their own want of diligence to inveſtigate, or of capacity to underſtand, ſhut their eyes to every thing before the Revolution; who, in that laſt of many great epochs, look to nothing that was done by the illuſtrious actors in it, nothing that was declared by the legiſlature, but merely to ſome latent principle which is now pretended to have been involved in it; and who think it only worthy of being cheriſhed, as it may be the fruitful ſeed and germ of future revolutions, and not as it is the root of an eſtabliſhment which, under the bleſſing of Providence, has ſtruck its ſpurs deep into the ſoil, and all the branches of which, we truſt, may continue to defy the ſtorms that beat upon it, and threaten ſoon to aſſail it with redoubled fury.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

War with Tippoo Sultan. General view of our policy towards the Mahommedan powers of India. Our conduct towards Hyder Ally and his ſon Tippoo Sultan. Immediate cauſe of the war. Mr. Hippeſley's motion on this ſubject. Debates. Mr. Dundas's reſolutions approving the conduct of lord Cornwallis. Unſucceſsful attempt to procure an abolition of the ſlave trade. Mr. Wilberforce's ſpeech. Summary of arguments on both ſides. Bill for the relief of proteſting Roman Catholics introduced by Mr. Mitford. Mr. Fox objects to it, as including Roman Catholics only of a particular deſcription. The Bench of Biſhops ſupport it in the houſe of lords. Speech of the biſhop of St. David's.

THE excurſion which we made in the laſt chapter, into the antient hiſtory of our own conſtitution, aroſe out of an enquiry inſtituted by parliament, into the conduct of our firſt governor general of Bengal: we now are conducted back, by the train of proceedings in parliament, to another quarter of our extenſive empire in the Eaſt. The king's ſpeech alluded to hoſtilities which, in the year 1790, had broken out in the ſouthern extremity of Indoſtan, and in which the Engliſh, the Mahrattas, the nizam of the Deccan, and the nabob of Arcot, were combined againſt the ſultan of Myſore. Our relation of the various events of this war we ſhall reſerve till the year 1792, when it was happily and wiſely terminated by the peace of Seringapatam. Here, to make the debates on the juſtice and expediency of the meaſure more intelligible, we ſhall premiſe a ſhort view of our general policy towards the Mahommedan powers in the neighbourhood of our reſpective preſidencies, and our actual conduct towards Hyder Ally Khan and his ſon.

The Mahommedan power in Myſore was wholly founded by Hyder. The events which led to his eſtabliſhment, as an independant potentate, were nearly coeval with the revolutions in Bengal, which ended in the acquiſition of the Dewannee by the company, and in effect gave us the dominion of a rich, fertile, and populous territory. Our aggrandizement ſprang out of the weakneſs of the Mogul empire, which in conſequence of ſucceſſive invaſions from the ſide of Perſia, had been broken in pieces; all the viceroys and governors aſſuming independence in their ſeveral provinces and diſtricts, and exhauſting their ſtrength in mutual contentions. But the ſame circumſtances, which now favoured us, had long before aſſiſted the great Hindoo power, the confederacy of the Mahrattas, to extend their conqueſts internally from the northern circars of the nizam, on the coaſt of Coromandel, to the confines of Agra and Delhi, and acroſs from ſea to ſea, from the gulf of Cambay to the bay of Bengal. From their geographical ſituation, in the center of the peninſula, they preſſed with a compact and conſolidated force againſt the divided relics of the Mahommedan empire, with which they were ſurrounded. To the government of Bengal they were peculiarly an object of jealouſy and alarm: ſince, under

under an old grant from the court of Delhi, they aſſerted a claim to the receipt of chout, or a tribute of one-fourth part from the revenues of that province. This had been enforced by them with an immenſe army of cavalry, that pillaged all the frontier diſtricts of Bengal, for ten ſucceſſive years, in the time of Aliverdy Khan. The internal embarraſſments of their own government at length obliged them to deſiſt, but the ground of their demand they have never abandoned.

Theſe circumſtances ſeemed to point out an obvious policy. It was our intereſt to preſerve all the conterminous ſoubahdars and nabobs in ſuch a ſtate as to form a barrier againſt the common enemy, the Mahrattas. To have obtained that ſecurity for the peace of our own poſſeſſions, we ſhould have employed all our good offices. Hyder Ally, more eſpecially, was qualified to have been at the head of ſuch a ſyſtem. He had raiſed himſelf on the ruin of an ancient dynaſty of Hindoo kings. While he poſſeſſed but a ſmall part of Myſore, in the character of regent, the progreſs of his fortunes was oppoſed by the Mahrattas. They beſieged him in the fortreſs of Bangalore; but he repulſed them, and after he had become maſter of the whole kingdom, retaliated upon them the injuries which they had done him. He was daily enlarging his bounds at their expence.

The court of directors clearly ſaw, and * in their diſpatches marked out the track which their ſervants ſhould follow. But the in-

* There is one diſpatch of the directors in 1769, which recapitulates the ſubſtance of their former inſtructions ſo pointedly, and ſo clearly lays down the policy which lord Cornwallis purſued, as far as circumſtances would allow, in the treaty of Seringapatam, that we ſhall inſert it here.

" General Letter to Bengal, June 30th, 1769.

Par. 3. " In ſeveral of our letters, ſince we have been engaged as principals in the politics of India, and particularly during the laſt two or three years, we have given our opinion, that the moſt prudent ſyſtem we could purſue, and the moſt likely to be attended with a permanent ſecurity to our poſſeſſions, would be to incline to thoſe few chiefs of Indoſtan, who yet preſerve an independence of the Mahratta power, and are in a condition to ſtruggle with them; for, ſo long as they are able to keep up that ſtruggle, the acquiſitions of the company will run no riſk of diſturbance.

Par. 4. " The Rohillas, the Jauts, the nabob of the Decan, the nabob of Oude, and *the Myſore chief*, have each in their turn kept the Mahrattas in action, and we wiſh them ſtill to do it; it *is therefore with great concern we ſee the war continuing with Hyder*, and a probability of a rupture with Sujah Dowla and Nizam Ally. In ſuch wars, we have every thing to loſe and nothing to gain; for, *ſuppoſing our operations to be attended with the utmoſt ſucceſs, and our enemies reduced to our mercy, we can only wiſh to ſee them reſtored* to the condition from which they ſet out, that is *to ſuch a degree of force and independence as may enable them ſtill to keep up the conteſt with the Mahrattas, and with each other.*"

For the inveterate enmity of the nabob of Arcot to Hyder Ally, ſee the 'Analyſis of India,' by Mr. R. J. Sullivan, a gentleman whoſe authority is unqueſtionable in this reſpect, as he had been an agent of the nabob. See alſo our volumes for 1769 and 1782.

fluence

fluence of the nabob of Arcot over the preſidency of Madras, is well known; and he was the inveterate enemy of the Myſore chief. At once to gratify his ambition, and to emulate the late ſplendid acquiſitions on the banks of the Ganges, the preſident and council, about the year 1767, entered on a plan of obtaining the ſoubahdarry of the Deccan for the nabob of Arcot, and of reinſtating the royal family of Myſore, under the protection of the ſame nabob and the Engliſh. This was met by a counter-treaty of partition between Hyder and the nizam. A war enſued. Beaten in the field, Hyder ſtill had the addreſs to baffle all our operations, by avoiding a general engagement, cutting off our garriſons, and intercepting our convoys; while his ſon Tippoo, then a youth of eighteen, at the head of a conſiderable detachment of horſe, ſurprized the town, and almoſt carried the fort of Madras. After one campaign, a treaty was concluded with the nizam; and it was made an expreſs ſtipulation, that he ſhould join in puniſhing his late ally as a rebel and uſurper; while, for a diſtrict, formerly wreſted by Hyder from the nizam, and now ceded to us by the latter, we agreed to pay chout to the Mahrattas. But we were ſaved the payment of this chout, for we never were able to get poſſeſſion of the lands; and the next year the rebel and uſurper dictated a peace to us at the gates of Madras.

The diſgrace which we had thus ſuffered ſeems to have made a deeper impreſſion on our minds than the moderation with which Hyder uſed his advantage. Nor did the nabob of Arcot ceaſe to employ all his influence to inflame our animoſity. The treaty fixed the rate at which aſſiſtance was to be mutually afforded: Hyder often applied, when he was attacked by the Mahrattas, but, the company not being poſitively bound by the letter of the treaty, no aid was ever given. During ten years of peace he was more and more alienated from us.

The year 1779 opened an extraordinary ſcene. The Mahrattas were at war both with the Engliſh and with the chief of Myſore. They were inclined to an accommodation with us, in the hope of gaining our aſſiſtance for the ruin of Hyder. On his part, he propoſed a treaty of cloſer amity with us. We declined both; and ſuch was the infatuated conduct of the preſidency of Madras, though diſapproved by the ſupreme government of Bengal, that the nizam at the ſame time was ſo exaſperated by them, as to project and form the great league between three powers the moſt rootedly hoſtile—himſelf, Hyder Ally, and the different members of the Mahratta confederacy; among whom may be reckoned, on this occaſion, the rajah of Berar. We now once more ſmarted under the vengeance of Hyder. He again invaded the Carnatic, deſolating the country before him, and carrying fire, ſword, and famine to the gates of Madras. Upon him, therefore, as our moſt formidable antagoniſt, all our indignation was turned: and, preſſed as Mr. Haſtings was in 1780, by the complicated difficulties of the war (ſo preſſed, as to purchaſe the neutrality of Berar with a large ſum of money, which, on whatever pretence it may have been paid, was received under the name of chout from Bengal) he yet urged it as a neceſſary condition of peace with the Mahrattas, that they ſhould join

their troops with ours, for the extirpation of their confederate and partner of the war. But they rejected the propoſition with ſtrong language of diſdain: "Would not "this," ſaid they, "fix the ſtamp "of infamy upon us for ever? "Would any prince, for genera- "tions to come, ever after aſſiſt or "unite with the peſhwa?" At the ſame time they regretted the loſs of the former opportunity, "which would not have left a trace "of Hyder;" and they hinted farther, "that, as for the ſake of ap- "pearances a pretence was neceſ- "ſary, they would conſult and find "out ſome accuſation againſt him "the firſt opportunity." And ſubject to this mental reſervation, this ſecret underſtanding, inimical to Hyder, was the treaty with the Mahrattas ultimately concluded. The governor-general, in a ſhort ſet of inſtructions to Mr. Anderſon, one of his negociators, recurs no leſs than three times to the topic of Hyder Ally. This is the burthen of all—"We want nothing of the "Mahrattas but their aſſiſtance "againſt Hyder." In decency, he admits, they cannot make a poſitive engagement to this effect: "but prevail upon them," adds he, "to invade his dominions; pretexts "will not be wanting when they "ſhall perceive the facility of "making conqueſts upon him."

Hitherto the Myſore chief, while he complained of the treatment which he received from the preſidency of Madras, had profeſſed much reſpect for our other preſidencies, and the Engliſh nation in general. The ſupreme government had now declared, if poſſible, ſtill more violently againſt him. Nor was there any need of ſpies and hircarrahs to penetrate theſe myſteries of the Durbar. Mr. Haſtings himſelf publiſhed them in the Eaſt, with his narrative of the inſurrection in Benares. The nabob, therefore, could not be ignorant of the plot for his deſtruction: how the knowledge of it affected him, he did not live to manifeſt by his actions.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon Tippoo, who firſt aſſumed the title of Sultan. Young, enterpriſing, ſuperior to his father in military talents, as inferior to him in the diſſimulation of Indian politics, and nurſed in conflicts with the Engliſh, from whom he had gathered his firſt laurels, we cannot wonder, if he felt a deeper reſentment of our behaviour. He accepted indeed propoſals for a pacification, which was expedient for his own affairs at the commencement of his reign: yet it is highly probable, that he waited only for a favourable occaſion to diſtreſs, if not to deſtroy us. The hoſtile diſpoſition evinced by our governors, from the firſt eſtabliſhment of his father's power, could not but have fixed a ſuſpicion and dread of us, not to be removed by the wiſer and more equitable adminiſtration of one man. He had too much reaſon for the greater part of his life to conſider us as the unalterable enemies of his family and throne; it was natural therefore, that after our laſt intrigues with the Mahrattas, he ſhould draw cloſer his alliance with the ancient enemies of England.

On the other hand, if our intentions were now upright and ſincere, we could only regulate our conduct by that of the Sultan. All who adminiſter public affairs are under the deſpotic controul of exiſting circum-

circumſtances. He who acts with conſcientious integrity, as they direct, does his duty. Some reference may be had to the paſt, but if we formerly endangered the ſafety of another, no ſenſe of juſtice directs us in return to betray our own. We certainly did not ſeek the pretext of a quarrel. It is ſaid, that we refuſed to aid the Mahrattas in the invaſion of Myſore; and though we had too much room to ſuſpect, yet we did not haſtily reſent the Sultan's evaſion of the article in his treaty, by which he ſtipulated to liberate all his Engliſh priſoners: but it was impoſſible to overlook his deſigns, when he publicly ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to the court of France. The condition of that kingdom at the time, when the revolution was preparing, and almoſt ready to explode, prevented any unfriendly interference from that quarter; and jealous as Spain then began to be of our new ſettlements and commerce juſt opening in the South Seas, by means of our Oriental poſſeſſions, yet ſhe alone could not venture to provoke the might of Great Britain. Still it became neceſſary for us to be vigilant, and to anticipate, where we could, and when in juſtice we might, the effects of a combination, which other times might call into action injuriouſly, if not fatally to our intereſts in the Eaſt. We could ill truſt the love of peace profeſſed by the national aſſembly. From the beginning, no ſecret was made of thoſe views, which ſoon after, and long before any diſpute with this country, were openly declared by the leaders of the revolution and their adherents; who inveighed, in the reports of their committees, and in popular publications, againſt the former neglect of India. They brought it as a principal charge againſt the old government, that, * "under pre-"tence of trade," they had not collected a great force of ſhips and men, ready at the firſt ſignal to pour down upon us from their iſlands in the Eaſtern Ocean.

Of the oſtenſible ground of the war with Tippoo Sultan, we ſhall now give a ſummary account.—The Dutch, for 150 years, had been in poſſeſſion of two forts, Cranganore and Jacottah; which they took from the Portugueze, who had been maſters of them nearly as much longer. They are ſituated between the country of Myſore and Old Cochin, their moſt valuable ſettlement in India. Cranganore, from its vicinity to the boundary of the Myſorean kingdom, was deemed by Hyder Ally a place of conſiderable importance; which induced him, previous to his rupture with the Engliſh, in the year 1780, to ſeize and garriſon it, under pretence that it belonged to his tributary, the rajah of Cochin. The Dutch, however, during that war, again contrived to obtain poſſeſſion of it, Hyder Ally being compelled to withdraw all his garriſons from the Malabar coaſt. Of the conduct of the Dutch on this occaſion, who were at the ſame time leagued with Hyder and the French againſt the Engliſh, complaints were made by the enraged nabob. Afterwards, by the mediation of the French, the

* See La Croix on the Conſtitutions of Europe, Engl. Tranſ. vol. ii. p. 340, and the note. The original was publiſhed early in 1791; the tranſlation early in 1792. Briſſot too, in his celebrated pamphlet publiſhed in May 1793, accuſes his opponents for not having uſed "*the implacable enmity*" of the Eaſtern Mithridates againſt this country. Engl. Tranſ. p. 66.

affair was ſome way or other compromiſed. Tippoo, however, in the year 1789, again laid claim to the fort, and reſolved to ſupport his claim by the ſword. He marched, in the month of June, a formidable army towards Cranganore, with an avowed intention of recovering it. Alarmed at theſe preparations, the Dutch immediately propoſed to ſell both the forts of Cranganore and Jacottah to the rajah of Travancore, an ally of the Britiſh government. The rajah, depending perhaps upon our aſſiſtance, if attacked by Tippoo Sultan, acceded to the propoſal of the Dutch; who, by this happy manœuvre, interpoſed the terrific ægis of Britiſh protection between the territory of their reſtleſs foe and their own rich but feeble ſettlement at Cochin. The ſultan, irritated that the rajah ſhould make ſuch a purchaſe without his conſent, to whom he inſiſted the forts in right belonged, and having pretended that ſome of his rebel ſubjects had found an aſylum in the rajah's dominions, collected a powerful force, and on the 29th of December commenced a ſudden attack upon the lines (or boundary) of Travancore. It was impoſſible that we could behold a proceeding of this kind with indifference. We had no right to decide on the juſtice of the oppoſite claims, without the conſent of both parties; but even a diſputed title, in an acknowledged ally, was enough to warrant us in protecting him by arms againſt an armed aggreſſion, eſpecially from an ambitious monarch, who at that very time was ſuſpected of plotting the total deſtruction of the Britiſh empire in India.—Such was the origin of our interference upon this occaſion.

In conſequence of the paſſage in his majeſty's ſpeech relating to this ſubject, Mr. Hippeſley, on the 22d of December, 1790, moved, that copies of the correſpondence relative to the attack of Tippoo Sultan on the lines of Travancore, ſhould be laid before the houſe. He ſtated that the rajah of Travancore, who was our ally, had purchaſed the forts of Cranganore and Jacottah of the Dutch. Tippoo Sultan objected to the legality of this purchaſe, aſſerting in his own right a feudal claim to the forts in queſtion, as ſovereign of Myſore. The rajah having peremptorily refuſed to relinquiſh the forts, Tippoo marched towards the Travancore lines, (the boundaries of the rajah's territory) and commenced hoſtilities. Such was the ſimple ſtatement of the fact. But before we took up the cauſe of the rajah, he contended, that we ought to conſider, whether Tippoo's claim might not be founded upon law, agreeably to the eſtabliſhed feudal ſyſtem of India; and whether the rajah himſelf had acted in ſuch a manner as to be entitled to our ſupport. Cranganore was ſituated north of Travancore, and of Cochin. Cochin had been indiſputably tributary to Hyder Ally, and he believed to Tippoo. Cranganore was probably in the ſame predicament; the preſumption was certainly in favour of ſuch a ſuppoſition, as moſt of the little rajahſhips on that part of the coaſt had been at ſome time or other tributary to the Myſorean Sultan. The circumſtance of Cranganore's having been in the poſſeſſion of the Dutch, was obſerved to be of no conſequence, as ſtill it might have owed fealty to Tippoo.

The rajah of Travancore had long wiſhed to obtain theſe forts, and had applied about two years

before

before to Sir Archibald Campbell, then governor of Madras, for permiſſion to negociate a purchaſe; but Sir A. Campbell expreſſed his direct diſapprobation of the meaſure. After that gentleman had left India, the rajah wrote to his ſucceſſor Mr. Hollond, briefly obſerving that he had completed the purchaſe of the forts of Cranganore and Jacottah, with the concurrence of the Britiſh government. In ſuch a tranſaction, he conceived, that there appeared, on the part of the rajah, more deceit than honour.

In defence of Tippoo's conduct, he thought likewiſe it might be fairly argued, that it was impoſſible for him, as ſultan of Myſore, to behold the transfer of theſe forts to the rajah of Travancore with indifference. In the hands of the Dutch, a mere trading company, Cranganore was of little importance; but in the poſſeſſion of an active ally of the Britiſh government, it aſſumed a very different aſpect.

As he queſtioned the juſtice, ſo had he his doubts upon the policy of the war. The Mahrattas and the nizam were to be our allies. In his opinion, little dependance could be placed on either. Mahratta faith was as proverbial in India as the *Punica fides* had been in ancient Rome. And could we, he exclaimed, ſo eaſily forget the general confederacy of 1780 among the native powers; a conſpiracy headed by the nizam himſelf, the object of which was, to exterminate the Britiſh nation from India?

On the ſubject of reſources, he remarked, that Tippoo had an army of 150,000 men, a large corps of Europeans, well officered, and an admirable train of artillery. He poſſeſſed a revenue of five millions, and could boaſt a treaſury of at leaſt eight or nine millions. To all this what could we oppoſe, but an exhauſted treaſury, and a tottering credit?

Mr. Francis ſeconded the motion, and argued againſt the impolicy of extending our territories in India, and of forming alliances with the native princes of that country. He obſerved, that there exiſted a mutual jealouſy between Tippoo and the nizam, which it was our intereſt to encourage. But the Mahrattas were the power, which we had moſt reaſon to dread. It would therefore be extremely unwiſe to extirpate Tippoo, if his extirpation depended upon our will, as ſuch a circumſtance would give the Mahrattas an extent of territory, and a degree of influence, which might prove highly dangerous to the Britiſh intereſts in India.

Mr. Dundas ſtated, that Cranganore, Jacottah, and Cochin were places of conſiderable ſtrength in the hands of the Dutch. That politic people, being alarmed at the warlike preparations of Tippoo, pointing towards the quarter in which theſe poſſeſſions were ſituated, became deſirous of making over the forts of Cranganore and Jacottah to the rajah of Travancore, whom they knew to be our ally; that, by thus in effect throwing themſelves under the protection of the Britiſh government, they might raiſe a barrier to Cochin, their moſt valuable poſſeſſion on the continent of India. After the purchaſe was completed, Tippoo Sultan ſet up a ſort of claim to the forts in queſtion by way of obtaining a pretext for his hoſtile proceedings. But this was not the firſt time that

the ambitious views of Tippoo had been manifeſted. In the year 1788 he advanced with a formidable army to the frontiers of Travancore, without the leaſt provocation on the part of the rajah; and was with difficulty induced, notwithſtanding the ſpirited remonſtrances of the Britiſh government, to retire to his own dominions. He was repreſented as a reſtleſs tyrant, ever bent upon ſchemes of aggrandizement, and ever viewing us with a jealous and a hoſtile eye. We had on our part moſt religiouſly kept the treaty of Mangalore, but he had continually ſhewn an inclination to violate it.

Mr. Dundas remarked, that, how numerous ſoever the troops of our adverſary might be, and whatever might be his revenues, we had little to fear on that head, as our army in India was perhaps the fineſt that had ever appeared in that part of the world; and as, inſtead of ſupporting a war againſt the French, the Dutch, the Mahrattas, all the European and all the native powers, we ſhould contend with only one of them.

Mr. Fox, in ſupporting the grounds taken by Mr. Hippeſley and Mr. Francis, ſaid, that he truſted that a war for conqueſt would never be undertaken by England, either in India or in Europe.

The motion paſſed without oppoſition.

On the 28th of February, Mr. Hippeſley moved, that the 35th clauſe of an act made in the 24th year of his preſent majeſty, which diſavowed all ſchemes for the extenſion of our territories in India, might be read; and that the 1ſt, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 23d, and 44th reſolutions of the houſe of commons, on the 15th of April 1782, might be likewiſe read. He then quoted ſeveral extracts from the correſpondence of the government of Fort St. George, in the years 1768, 1770, and 1771, tending to prove, that it would be always our beſt policy to regard the Mahrattas with a diſtruſtful dread, and to preſerve at any price the friendſhip of the ſultan of Myſore.

Previouſly to entering upon the grounds of the war, the members of oppoſition ſeverely animadverted on the treaties of offenſive and defenſive alliance, which had been recently concluded with the Mahrattas and the nizam. As Tippoo's invaſion of the territory of Travancore was allowed to be the origin of the war, it was remarked, that the defence of the rajah, the reparation due to him, and his future ſecurity, ought to have been particularly provided for in thoſe treaties; but that in fact he was not once named in them. Not a ſingle word occurred, which alluded to the cauſe of the quarrel, or from which it might be inferred, that the intereſts of the rajah were ever thought of. We could only collect from them, that Tippoo was a common enemy, that having had engagements with the three contracting parties, he had acted with infidelity towards all; and that we ought to deprive him of the means of diſturbing the general tranquillity in future.

The queſtion of our interference was ſtated to be ſimply this: whether by any act of guarantee, expreſſed or implied, in the treaty of Mangalore, we were bound to defend the rajah of Travancore in thoſe dominions only, which he poſſeſſed at the date of the engagement, or to extend our protection to ſubſequent acquiſitions made by him, without our conſent or knowledge.

ledge. Upon the ſuppoſition that we were bound to defend him in thoſe dominions only, which he poſſeſſed at the date of the engagement (a ſuppoſition certainly the moſt reaſonable) there could not exiſt the leaſt poſſible occaſion for our involving ourſelves in the buſineſs.

But arguments were not only brought againſt the neceſſity of our interference, but againſt the juſtice of it. The rajah was ſaid to be the aggreſſor, and not Tippoo. In ſupport of this opinion, ſeveral extracts were quoted from the correſpondence of our governors in India, one of which was to the following effect, "That the rajah, by engaging in new connections with the Dutch, and by making concluſive purchaſes of forts or places in the territories of one of the tributaries of Tippoo Sultan (viz. the rajah of Cochin,) not only without his conſent, but even at the time when ſuch tributary was threatened with his reſentment, would juſtly draw Tippoo's reſentment upon himſelf, and by the ſame tranſaction forfeit all right to the company's friendſhip or interference in his favour." That the rajah acted under the conſciouſneſs of being engaged in an unjuſt and diſhonourable tranſaction, appeared from the duplicity which he practiſed towards the Britiſh government; for the court of directors declared that nothing exiſted on the Madras records to corroborate his aſſertion of having obtained our conſent to the purchaſe; and Sir Archibald Campbell himſelf expreſsly denied, that he had ever given ſuch conſent; but obſerved, that on the contrary he had ſignified his entire diſapprobation of the meaſure.

The impolicy of the war was ſtrongly urged. Inſtead of attempting to annihilate the Myſorean power, it was contended that it would be our greateſt wiſdom to ſupport and encourage it; and to preſerve it as a uſeful barrier againſt the more formidable power of the Mahrattas. In this point of view, preſent ſucceſs would prove future calamity; and the extirpation of the tyrant, whom we oppoſed, our own ruin.

But, whatever our inclinations might be in this reſpect, it was confidently aſſerted that we were by no means equal to the expences of an Indian war. It was remarked, from the confeſſion of our governors themſelves in India, that our revenues were exhauſted; that the importance of the places in diſpute could not be oppoſed to the ſerious conſequences of engaging in hoſtilities; and that it was a conteſt, which, even if attended with ſucceſs, could not prove advantageous to our affairs. In the ſingle article of bullocks, it was conceived that we ſhould incur an annual expence of 700,000 l. Under ſuch circumſtances, a prudent government, inſtead of yielding to every ſlight impulſe of reſentment, ſhould have liſtened to an accommodation; inſtead of inflaming the quarrel, ſhould have laboured to appeaſe it.

In reply it was ſtated, that an attack had been actually made by Tippoo Sultan on the lines of Travancore, which we were bound by the treaty of Mangalore to reſent: on that ground alone had we entered into the war. The conduct of the rajah had not been ſuch as

as to juſtify our deſertion of him. But even granting that he had been guilty of an error, our Indian governors would by no means have acted prudently, if they had given him up to the vengeance of Tippoo. The pretended claim of that tyrant to the forts, was not the real origin of the war. Had this been the caſe, he would certainly have remonſtrated previouſly to any hoſtile preparations; inſtead of that, he marched with 150,000 men to the lines of Travancore, before he had made the leaſt complaints againſt the rajah's conduct. His plea of a prior claim, was a mere pretext afterwards ſet up to give a colour of juſtice to his ambitious deſigns againſt the rajah's dominions. By getting poſſeſſion of Cranganore and Jacottah, the keys of the rajahſhip of Travancore, he hoped to obtain the ability of overrunning, at his pleaſure, the whole kingdom. It muſt likewiſe be evident, that whenever Tippoo ſhould be maſter of theſe forts, there would be an end of our own ſecurity in the Carnatic.

So far from conſidering the Mahrattas as our natural enemies, it was ſaid that we ought to regard them as our beſt and moſt uſeful allies. The only Indian prince, who could be a real object of dread, was the enterprizing and unprincipled uſurper of Myſore.

A peaceful negociation was aſſerted to be impoſſible. It had been attempted at the commencement of the diſpute; but Tippoo had twice attacked the lines of Travancore, during the very period in which his meſſengers were on their way to Madras with letters, breathing pretended profeſſions of peace. Upon the whole, it was contended, that the war was not leſs founded in juſtice than in policy.

Mr. Fox, who ſpoke with his uſual energy againſt the war, among other things, reprobated in very pointed terms the alliance, which had been entered into with the Mahrattas and the Nizam, for the purpoſe, as he conceived, of extirpating Tippoo, and plundering his territories. It was ſingular, he obſerved, that at a time when the enlightened policy of the nations of Europe had abandoned all offenſive alliances, as if aſhamed of their having ever exiſted, we ſhould continue that diſgraceful ſyſtem in India, a country where we profeſſed to maintain, and declared that we would maintain, the greateſt moderation. The moſt ſtriking inſtance of an offenſive alliance formed in Europe, was the family compact of the Houſe of Bourbon: that compact, as far as it was offenſive, became annihilated, as ſoon as a better government was eſtabliſhed in France; and he expreſſed a conviction, that it would never be revived.

Mr. Pitt denied, that the treaties to which Mr. Fox alluded were intended to aim at the extirpation of Tippoo, and the diviſion of his kingdom.—Mr. Francis made a ſeries of motions, tending to cenſure the principles of the war, and to prevent its farther proſecution, which were all negatived.

On the 22d of March Mr. Dundas read the following reſolutions: "That it appears to this houſe, that the attacks made by Tippoo Sultan on the lines of Travancore, on the 29th of December 1789, the 6th of March, and 15th of April, 1790, were unwarranted and unprovoked infractions of the treaty entered into

o at Mangalore on the 10th of March 1784."

"That the conduct of the governor general of Bengal, in determining to profecute with vigour the war againſt Tippoo Sultan, in conſequence of his attack on the territories of the rajah of Travancore, was highly meritorious."

"That the treaties entered into with the Nizam on the 1ſt of June, and with the Mahrattas on the 7th of July 1790, were wiſely calculated to add vigour to the operations of war, and to promote the future tranquillity of India; and that the faith of the Britiſh nation was pledged for the due performance of the engagements contained in the ſaid treaties."

The arguments, which had been advanced in the preceding debate, both for and againſt the war, were a ſecond time brought forward, and urged with new force and ability. The conduct of lord Cornwallis, in making the treaties with the Mahrattas and the Nizam, was warmly ſupported by Mr. Dundas on every ground of wiſe and juſt policy.—The reſolutions paſſed without a diviſion.

In the houſe of lords, on the 11th of April, lord Portcheſter entered into a long diſcuſſion of the ſame ſubject; and reprobated, in the ſtrongeſt language, the whole proceedings of our government in India, pointing out the injuſtice and diſaſtrous conſequences of the war; a war, which he aſſerted the barbarous policy of the board of controul had ſent forth to deſolate the plains of India, and render execrable the Britiſh name. His lordſhip's motions for cenſuring the war, and for procuring peace upon moderate and equitable terms, were negatived by a majority of 77. Immediately after the former deciſion, lord Grenville roſe and made the ſame motions in approbation of the war, as had previouſly paſſed in the houſe of commons; which were carried by a majority of 52.

The attention of the Britiſh parliament, which guards with unceaſing ſolicitude the intereſts of our widely-extended dominions (dominions, from ſome part or other of which, according to the old boaſt of the Spaniſh monarchy, the light of the ſun may be ſaid never to be withdrawn) was next attracted from our eaſtern to our weſtern poſſeſſions; from the conſideration of the neceſſity to which we were driven, of proſecuting an active war againſt a powerful Indian monarch, to the diſcuſſion of a milder and more humane queſtion—the propriety of aboliſhing our traffic in ſlaves.

So early as the 4th of February, Mr. Wilberforce had moved for the appointment of a committee to receive and examine evidence on this ſubject; which motion, after a ſhort debate, was put and carried. A conſiderable body of evidence having been thus taken, on the 18th of April, in a committee of the whole houſe, Mr. Wilberforce entered into a long and minute diſcuſſion of the ſubject. He commenced with giving an accurate detail of the unfair manner in which ſlaves were obtained on the coaſt of Africa. He particularized many acts of the moſt flagrant cruelties; and expoſed all the mean devices and barbarous policy of thoſe unfeeling men who were concerned in this bloody traffic. Different tribes of Indians, he ſaid, were encouraged to make war on each other for the

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ſake of taking priſoners, and of thus providing the market with ſlaves; the adminiſtration of juſtice in moſt parts of Africa was converted into an engine of oppreſſion; and every fraud, every violence, was practiſed, that low cunning and brutal ferocity could ſuggeſt. After dwelling for ſome time upon the many diſgraceful actions which were committed in the uſual mode of procuring the ſlaves, he made a variety of remarks upon their unparalleled ſufferings under the horrors of the middle paſſage, and after their arrival at the deſtined ſoil of ſervitude and wretchedneſs. He next contended, that the abolition of the trade would not operate to the real detriment of our Weſt India iſlands. He obſerved that, notwithſtanding the barbarous treatment, which the negroes have long experienced, their numbers have not on the whole decreaſed, but in ſome iſlands have been lately on the increaſe; whence he argued, that, when the planter ſhould be deprived of all proſpect of a future market, he would be induced to pay a proper attention to the health, morals, and comfort of his ſlaves, and by thus conſiderably augmenting not only their happineſs but their numbers, would render continual ſupplies from Africa unneceſſary. He then proceeded to conſider the conſequences of the abolition in another point of view, in its probable effects on the marine. The Guinea trade, inſtead of being a nurſery for ſeamen, was, in his idea, their grave. It appeared from the Liverpool and Briſtol muſter-rolls, that in 350 ſaveſhips, having on board 12,263 perſons, there were loſt 2,645 in twelve months. All attempts to meliorate the condition of the negroes, without the total abolition of ſlavery, he conſidered as likely to prove inefficacious and unſafe. Their ſituation, he thought, could never be much amended by a gradual abolition, or by any laws of regulation, which the Weſt Indian legiſlatures might chooſe to adopt. The advantages of the trade, in a commercial point of view, he deemed it almoſt an unbecoming condeſcenſion to diſcuſs; but could its advocates prove (what he knew never could be proved) that it was of conſiderable importance to this country, either in its immediate operation, or remote effects, "ſtill, ſhould he exclaim, ſtill there is a ſmell of blood, which all the perfumes of Arabia cannot remove." He concluded by moving, "That the chairman be inſtructed to bring in a bill to prevent the farther importation of ſlaves into the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies."

Notwithſtanding the ſtrong bias of popular opinion in favour of all ſentimental queſtions; notwithſtanding the loſs of character, which was hazarded by appearing to defend a traffic, branded with every poſſible term of opprobrium, and againſt which, as generally repreſented, every feeling of the heart recoils; the propriety of continuing the ſlave trade was very ably ſupported, on the grounds of juſtice, policy, and humanity. On the juſtice of the trade, conſidered in an abſtract point of view, it was remarked, that as a man muſt have an equal right to ſell his liberty and labour as any part of his property, a compact of ſuch a kind, where no compulſion has been uſed, muſt be held binding according to the known law of nations. Voluntary ſtipulations there-

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fore of this nature were both legal and juſt. Nor could there be any reaſon to think otherwiſe of thoſe compacts, by which priſoners of war and culprits, whoſe perſons were amenable to the laws of their country, were ſold to ſlavery againſt their wills; as ſuch unhappy people muſt be acknowledged to be under the power, and at the diſpoſal, of the party who contracted in their names. The converſe of this propoſition, viz. that as the trade was juſt, conſidered in the abſtract, ſo would the abolition of it, in conſequence of the long ſanction given to it by parliament, be manifeſtly unjuſt, was likewiſe urged. Upon the faith of parliament conſiderable property was ſaid to be embarked in this trade, the total loſs of the greateſt part of which would immediately follow its ſudden abolition.

Its policy was maintained with equal confidence. In oppoſition to the remarks of Mr. Wilberforce, it was ſtrongly aſſerted to be an important nurſery for ſeamen. Lord Rodney's authority was quoted, who had declared, that our being enabled to obtain from the Guinea ſhips ſo numerous a body of men inured to the climate, when we wiſhed to ſend a fleet to the Weſt Indies, upon the breaking out of a war, was a conſideration of great weight. It was ſtated that Liverpool alone could ſupply the navy with 993 ſuch ſeamen annually. Nor were the deaths of thoſe, who were engaged in the ſlave trade, ſo numerous as had been ſuppoſed. Only five men out of a hundred were ſaid to be loſt upon an average. A ſecond argument on the point of policy was urged from the conſideration of its importance to the revenue. The exports to Africa were eſtimated at 800,000l. to which might be added the exports and imports of the Weſt Indian trade, to the amount of at leaſt ſix millions a year; a trade very likely to be materially affected, perhaps completely ruined, by the propoſed abolition.

But, although the propoſition may at firſt appear ſtrange, the humanity of the ſlave trade was a ground ſtrenuouſly maintained. It was remarked, that, bloody as it was ſuppoſed to be, the effuſion of blood would be much greater, if our ſlave-ſhips were no longer permitted to viſit the coaſts of Africa. It was this identical traffic, iniquitous and inhuman as it had been called, which ſnatched many miſerable wretches from inevitable death; it being a fact ſufficiently known, that it was the general practice of the Africans to ſell thoſe priſoners and culprits only, whom otherwiſe their ſanguinary laws and cuſtoms compelled them to murder. Conſidered in this point of view, ſo far from having ſacrificed, this calumniated trade has ſaved the lives of thouſands.

The various evidences, which had been adduced to prove the horrid cruelties practiſed upon ſlaves, were repreſented to be in ſome inſtances falſe, in many partial, and in almoſt all exaggerated. In addition to the above arguments, conſiderable ſtreſs was laid upon the inſufficiency of our abolition to effect a complete annihilation of ſlavery, as other nations would immediately take up the lucrative traffic, when abandoned by us. Or, granting the abolition to be effectual, the conſequences were aſſerted to be no leſs than the total ruin of

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our Weſt Indian iſlands for want of proper hands to cultivate them. At any rate, what, it was aſked, could be the immediate operation of ſuch a meaſure on our colonies, what but the creation of diſguſt and alarm in the mind of the injured planter, and of a diſpoſition to revolt, to commit acts of rapine and murder, in that of the unenlightened negro?

On the other hand, the injuſtice of the trade was warmly inſiſted upon by the advocates of the abolition; but their arguments ſeemed to turn more upon moral than legal injuſtice. It was obſerved, that, as no one nation had a right to violate the happineſs of another, to introduce diſcord and miſery, upon any pretence whatever, and as our interference among the natives of Africa was exactly of ſuch a deſcription, that interference muſt be conſidered as an act of injuſtice. Beſides, crimes were ſaid to be continually perpetrated, and wars purpoſely made, to ſupply us with ſlaves; and as tranſactions of this kind were univerſally allowed to be founded on injuſtice, would not a ſimilar imputation attach upon thoſe who, by purchaſing the ſlaves when offered for ſale, afforded encouragement to ſuch atrocious proceedings?

The ground of its policy was much queſtioned; but that of its humanity reprobated in the ſtrongeſt terms. Admitting that a few priſoners of war might be murdered, if not ſold to our dealers, ſtill it was aſſerted, that the worſt of deaths would be preferable to a life of ſlavery. Upon this occaſion many inſtances were quoted, of treatment towards theſe wretched people too horrid almoſt to mention; and a powerful appeal was made from the judgment to the feelings of the houſe: but ſuch accounts were conſidered, by the oppoſite party, as greatly miſrepreſented, or at beſt as only capable of proving exceptions to a general line of milder conduct. It was admitted, that other nations might purſue the trade if we abandoned it. Proper regulations, however, might in ſome meaſure prevent them; but at the worſt we ſhould have the conſolation of reflecting, that the guilt would not reſt on our heads. As a complete anſwer to the objection, that the intended abolition would prove the ruin of our colonies, it was confidently aſſerted that the ſtock of ſlaves, which they at preſent contained, if well managed, and mildly treated, would be fully competent so all the requiſite labour, and furniſh a ſufficient ſupply for future exigences.—Mr. Wilberforce's motion was loſt by a majority of 75.

If the cauſe of liberty was ſuppoſed to have ſuffered by the preceding deciſion on the ſlave trade, that of toleration was patronized and ſupported by the houſe in a manner which ſufficiently exculpated the views, and reflected honour on the liberality of the church party. In our volume for 1790 * we remarked, that the diſſenters, in their laſt application to parliament for the repeal of the teſt laws, had included the caſe of their brethren (as they called them) who embraced the catholic religion; thus attempting to make one common cauſe with the members of that perſuaſion. We likewiſe hinted, that this ap-

* Page 72.

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plication was rejected principally upon the ground of political expediency, and not from any inclination to controul the freedom of religious opinion. The proceedings of the preſent ſeſſion ſufficiently evinced the truth of our interpretation in this inſtance. A bill was introduced, and unanimouſly carried, for the relief of catholics, who, by ceaſing to be formidable to the ſtate in a political point of view, had ceaſed to become proper objects of legal penalties and diſabilities.

On February 21ſt, Mr. Mitford moved for a committee of the whole houſe, to enable him "to bring in a bill to relieve, upon condition and under certain reſtrictions, perſons called proteſting catholic diſſenters, from certain penalties and diſabilities, to which papiſts, or perſons profeſſing the popiſh religion, are by law ſubject." He prefaced his motion, by obſerving, that it was well known there was great ſeverity in the laws now ſubſiſting againſt Roman catholics, but that the extent of ſuch ſeverity was not equally known. In Burn's Eccleſiaſtical Law, no leſs than ſeventy pages were occupied with an enumeration of the penal ſtatutes ſtill in force againſt them. The preſent reign was the only one (except the ſhort one of James the Second) ſince the reign of queen Elizabeth, in which ſome additional ſeverity had not been enacted againſt this deſcription of people. He remarked, however, that the extreme rigour of the ſtatutes in queſtion during the reign of Elizabeth could not be much a ſubject of wonder, when it was conſidered that the Pope had excommunicated that queen, and abſolved her ſubjects from their oath of allegiance.

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Wyndham. He ſtated two principles, which he conceived were generally ſuppoſed to juſtify the enacting of penal ſtatutes againſt perſons of any particular religious perſuaſions: one was the ground, that their opinions were in themſelves falſe and erroneous; the other, that the conſequences deducible from ſuch opinions, were liable to make them bad citizens, and dangerous ſubjects. In the firſt inſtance, he thought that the principle of action might fairly be termed a zeal for perſecution; in the latter, he acknowledged it to be of a very different deſcription. In all caſes of danger, he thought that we ſhould conſider, 1ſt, the will of thoſe from whom danger was apprehended; and 2dly, the power which they poſſeſſed, to execute whatever it might be their will to execute, if they could. In this point of view, he did not conceive that the conduct of the Roman catholics had been ſuch as to warrant the ſeverity with which they had been treated in the laſt century. At any rate, it was impoſſible to deem them formidable at the preſent period, when the power of the pope was conſidered as a mere ſpectre, capable of frightening only in the dark, and vaniſhing before the light of reaſon and knowledge.

Mr. Stanley, member for Lancaſhire, obſerved, that he had for many years reſided in a country, where the Roman catholics were extremely numerous. From the opportunities, therefore, which his local ſituation afforded him of examining their conduct, he was thoroughly convinced, that there did not

not exiſt more loyal ſubjects, or perſons more attached to the family on the throne, in any part of the kingdom.

Mr. Fox thought the propoſed bill too confined in its views; he wiſhed it to go farther, and to eſtabliſh complete toleration. His own idea upon the ſubject of toleration was, that the ſtate had no right to enquire into the opinions of people, either political or religious; it had a right only to take cognizance of their actions. Such perſecution and oppreſſion as exiſted in England did not exiſt in any other country. In all the king of Pruſſia's dominions univerſal toleration prevailed; in the united ſtates of Holland, in the united ſtates of America, and in France, there was likewiſe to be found univerſal toleration. What could be the reaſon of this? Would it be ſaid, that Pruſſia was too little monarchical for a monarchy; or Holland too little ariſtocratical for an ariſtocracy; or that liberty was not ſufficiently extended to ſatisfy the friends of freedom in America or in France? Yet, although toleration fully obtained in a monarchical and in an ariſtocratical government, as well as in two democracies, under our boaſted conſtitution it was narrowed and confined in ſhackles diſgraceful to humanity.

In a committee of the whole houſe on the 1ſt of March, Mr. Mitford moved for leave to bring in his propoſed bill. He wiſhed not for the general repeal of the penal ſtatutes in queſtion; but merely for an exemption from their operation in favour of a few; an exemption, which he truſted could give no poſſible cauſe for alarms. His intention was not to admit Roman catholics of any deſcription to ſituations of truſt, or places under government; he only hoped to have them conſidered as men of honour and loyalty.

Mr. Fox confeſſed, that the alarm againſt popery in the laſt century was in ſome degree founded in reaſon; but that an improper mode was taken to ſuppreſs the object of that alarm. But no ground for ſimilar apprehenſions exiſted at the preſent moment, or was likely to exiſt in future. It ſeemed, therefore, to him perfectly reaſonable, that we ſhould expunge from our ſtatute books thoſe ſanguinary laws, which could not now be defended, even upon the hackneyed plea of ſtate neceſſity. The papiſts, he thought, without diſtinction entitled to ample relief; they had all behaved well, and deſerved encouragement. He concluded his ſpeech with an admonition to perſons in power, quoting the old proverb, "As you are ſtout be merciful;" and from thence recommending to them, in proportion to the ſuperiority of their ſtrength, neither to tyrannize over the few, nor to trample upon the weak, but to take care that their proceedings never ſwerved from the dictates of humanity and juſtice.

Mr. Burke contended, that the penal ſtatutes againſt Roman catholics ſhould be conſidered more in a political than a religious point of view. As a proof of this aſſertion, he pointed out the preamble of the 27th of Elizabeth, which, inſtead of aſſigning any religious purpoſe as the ground-work of the proceeding, expreſsly declared, that the act was paſſed ſolely for the ſuppreſſion of a dangerous faction in the ſtate. He agreed, however, that as the motive which could alone be pleaded

ed in juſtification of ſuch ſtatutes, no longer exiſted, a repeal of them was both reaſonable and proper. It was the duty of government to make the people happy; but this, he remarked, could not be the caſe, while every juſtice of the peace was made an inquiſitor, and a man, who worſhipped God in his own way, liable to be condemned for high treaſon.—The motion was put and carried without oppoſition.

After the bill had been brought in, and had paſſed the houſe of commons, upon the ſecond reading of it in the houſe of lords, on the 31ſt of May, a debate commenced upon the propriety of ſeveral clauſes, which were afterwards amended in a committee. The bench of biſhops took a diſtinguiſhed and honourable part in this debate. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhop of St. David's, the biſhop of Peterborough, and the biſhop of Saliſbury, ſpoke upon the occaſion. The general principle of the bill was admitted by them to be juſt and humane; and conſequently entitled to their cordial ſupport. The biſhop of St. David's ſpoke much at length. His lordſhip's principal objection to it was, that the form of the oath of allegiance, which it enjoined, was ſuch as would moſt probably offend the feelings of thoſe, whom the bill itſelf was intended to relieve. He did not object, becauſe the bill gave too much toleration; but becauſe it would not in fact give that degree of it which it profeſſed to hold forth. The doctrine, that princes excommunicated by the ſee of Rome might be depoſed and murdered by their ſubjects, was declared by the oath to be impious, heretical, and damnable. The catholics felt not the leaſt diſinclination to expreſs their diſapprobation of ſuch a doctrine; but from ſcruples, founded on a tender regard for the memory of their progenitors, they could not bring themſelves to brand it with the harſh terms, which the oath preſcribed. The reverend biſhop therefore remarked, that he was induced to trouble the houſe with his obſervations upon this occaſion, ſolely from a hope of impreſſing the minds of their lordſhips with what he felt ſtrongly impreſt upon his own, that the objections of theſe people were not idle cavils, but fair, honeſt and conſcientious ſcruples.

In a committee of the whole houſe on this bill, June 4th, the oath, as it at firſt ſtood, was upon the biſhop's motion expunged, and the ſame oath, which was taken by the Roman catholics in Ireland in the year 1774, with ſome very ſlight alterations, ſubſtituted for it.

CHAP. V.

Two meſſages from the king; one relative to the government of Canada, and the other to the war between Ruſſia and the Porte. State of the queſtion relative to the ceſſion of Oczakow demanded by the empreſs. Debates on this ſubject in parliament. Renewed on different days by ſeveral motions made on the part of oppoſition. Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox introduce the praiſes of the French revolution. Mr. Burke riſes in great emotion immediately after Mr. Fox, but is ſtopped by a call for the queſtion. Debates on the ſame meſſage in the houſe of lords. Meſſage reſpecting Canada taken into conſideration in the houſe of commons. Mr. Pitt fully opens the outlines of his intended bill, forming a new conſtitution for the province. Mr. Fox appears to acquieſce in the principle of the propoſed meaſure. Quebec bill not oppoſed till the farther conſideration of the report. Re-commitment moved by Mr. Huſſey. Seconded by Mr. Fox, who objects to moſt of the leading principles of the bill: he expreſſes a ſatisfaction at the preſent diffuſion of knowledge and liberty in the world, and alludes to Mr. Burke's book on the affairs of France. Anſwered by Mr. Pitt, who agrees to the re-commitment. Co-incidence of the declarations relative to the French revolution, made by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox in the debates on the armament againſt Ruſſia. Mr. Burke ſhews no diſpoſition to introduce the ſubject previous to Mr. Fox's remarkable panegyric. Great alarm of oppoſition at the proſpect of the diſcuſſion by Mr. Burke. Motion to adjourn the re-commitment of the Quebec bill till after the Eaſter receſs. A member of oppoſition declares his intention of calling any perſon to order, who on this queſtion ſhall involve general principles of government, and the conſtitutions of other countries. Mr. Fox admits that he had ſo alluded in his former ſpeech on this bill, and re-aſſerts his opinions. Mr. Burke profeſſes a ſenſe of public duty in ſtating his principles, when the occaſion ſhall preſent itſelf again. General expectation of this diſcuſſion. Eaſter receſs.

IN the courſe of this buſy ſeſſion two meſſages were delivered from his majeſty, which as they gave riſe to many warm and important debates, affecting, and yet likely to affect, the politics of this country, and all Europe, will form the contents of this and the following chapter. The firſt in order of time related to the government of Canada, the regulation of which province had confeſſedly been long under the conſideration of the king's miniſters, and had been curſorily brought to the notice of the houſe in former ſeſſions. The Quebec bill, which aroſe out of this meſſage, proceeded regularly through the houſe for ſix weeks unoppoſed. It is principally intereſting, as in its latter ſtages it gave occaſion to the public declaration of a breach between Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, which was the fore-runner of a more ſerious, becauſe much more extenſive ſchiſm in the party of oppoſition. But as the immediate origin of this diſpute in parliament, whatever may have been the remote and prediſponent cauſe, is to be found in the debates on the other meſſage, we muſt here depart a little from that

that order, which we in general prefer as the moſt ſimple, of taking up each ſubject chronologically as it began, and purſuing it to a concluſion.

The Quebec bill was ſtill in its ſilent progreſs through the houſe, when the other meſſage was delivered, on the 28th of March. It imported that, "as his majeſty's endeavours, in conjunction with his allies, to bring about a pacification between Ruſſia and the Porte had proved ineffectual, his majeſty had judged it requiſite, for the purpoſe of adding weight to his repreſentations, to make ſome farther augmentation to his naval force."

The ſtate of the queſtion was as follows.—The empreſs had by conqueſt wreſted a very conſiderable tract of country from the Turks, who, driven to extremities, were deſirous of peace. It was aſſerted that Great Britain and Pruſſia, who acted as mediators on this occaſion, inſiſted that the empreſs ſhould reſign the whole of her newly acquired territories; a reſignation which ſhe was willing to make, excepting as far as related to the town of Oczakow and its dependencies, the country of the Oczakow Tartars, between the Neiſter and the Bog. The poſſeſſion of this conqueſt ſhe ſeemed at all hazards determined to retain, and it certainly was of much importance to her. That part of Ruſſia, which approaches neareſt to the diſtrict of Oczakow was ſaid to be particularly weak and vulnerable; whence at the commencement of hoſtilities the Turks, and their tributary Tartars, had it in their power to over-run and plunder at pleaſure ſo unguarded a part of the Ruſſian dominions. A predatory incurſion of this kind into New Servia, at the beginning of a former war, is related in the Memoirs of Baron de Tott. The invaders, when a force ſufficient to avenge their ravages was collected, uſed to retire, and were always ſure of immediate protection under the guns of Oczakow. This miſchief, however, was in a great meaſure checked by the acquiſitions of Ruſſia under the treaty of peace in 1774, which made her miſtreſs of Cherſon and the whole country conterminous with New Servia, between the Dnieper and the Bog, as well as of the town and fortreſs of Kinburn, on the Eaſtern bank of the Dnieper, oppoſite to Oczakow:—not to mention her ſubſequent ſeizure of the Crimea and Cuban in 1784. Still Oczakow was a poſt which, ſituated at the mouth of the Dnieper, and ſuperior to Kinburn as a naval ſtation, gave the enemy an opportunity of cutting off entirely the communication of Cherſon, and all the interior dominions of Ruſſia on that river with the Black Sea, and of annoying all the commerce of her new poſſeſſions in the Crimea. Her armies could not advance toward Beſſarabia without danger of having all their ſupplies intercepted. Much time therefore was loſt, and no inconſiderable waſte of men and money incurred, before the empreſs could obtain ſecurity in this quarter, ſo as to carry war into the heart of the Ottoman empire.

It is true, that this fortreſs had been in the hands of the empreſs from the latter end of 1788, and that Great Britain had ſhewn no very anxious alarm on that account; but it was a very different queſtion, whether, under a treaty of peace, it ſhould be permitted to remain, and be united to Ruſſia. She had in fact obtained

by the laſt treaty every thing that was really eſſential to enſure her tranquillity, if indeed ſhe could ever have entertained any ſerious apprehenſions, in the preſent wane of the Ottoman creſcent. What ſhe now demanded pointed only to offenſive meaſures in future, perhaps at a ſeaſon when the great neighbouring ſtates might be leſs at liberty to watch and controul her. We * have always conſidered Oczakow as a principal key of the Turkiſh provinces. The change which the ceſſion of this poſt would make in the relative ſituation of the two powers, ſhould hoſtilities again break forth, may be eſtimated from the hiſtory of its reduction in 1788. Though the empreſs, the year before, had carried an army in her train to Cherſon, and in very few months after had increaſed it to ſeventy thouſand men, with a hundred and twenty pieces of cannon for this very ſiege, yet it was not till nearly a year and a half from the date of the firſt hoſtilities, and after the credit of Ruſſia had been ſtrained in raiſing ſupplies, that Oczakow ultimately fell. And it was then only taken by an accident, in a laſt effort of deſpair.

The ſucceſſor of the great Frederick had early ſhewn a prudent and juſt jealouſy of the ambitious Catharine, and had endeavoured to counteract her views of aggrandizement. His meaſures for this purpoſe have been already in part narrated in † our former volumes, and will be reſumed in the eighth chapter of our preſent volume. Here it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that he had in particular re-animated Poland. He had driven from her diets the influence of his great northern rival. Under his protection ſhe had taken ſteps to re-aſſert her independence: ſhe had dared to require the evacuation of her territories by the Ruſſian armies; and had begun in conſequence to aſſume again her rank among the nations of Europe. To crown all, at the date of this meſſage, the court of Berlin had approved the ſcheme of that conſtitution, which in little more than a month from this period was carried into effect by the virtuous but unfortunate Staniſlaus, and which, (the very antitheſis of the new French conſtitution) bettered the political condition of every man in the kingdom, from the prince to the peaſant, without bloodſhed, in a ſingle day.

To all, or nearly all theſe meaſures, which had been already put in execution, Great Britain had given her countenance. We had alſo, in concert with Pruſſia and Holland, offered to ‡ mediate a peace in the Eaſt of Europe, ſoon after the fall of Oczakow. We interpoſed to keep Denmark from aſſiſting Ruſſia againſt Sweden; and this was done with a determination, avowed to the world, of ſupporting the balance of power in the North. In the following ſummer, we made a new treaty with Pruſſia; a treaty of more than defenſive alliance, a ſtrict and perpetual union, to protect not only the intereſts of the two contracting powers, but "the

* See our volume for 1769, p. 17.

† See our volume for 1789, from p. 55 to p. 67; and State Papers for the ſame year, p. 341.

‡ See declaration from Mr. Elliott to count Bernſtoff, April 23, 1789.—Annual Reg. 1789. State Papers, p. 336.

tranquillity of Europe," and "the public ſecurity." The meaning of theſe terms was clear from the time when it was negociated, and the circumſtances out of which it aroſe; yet neither this treaty nor the memorial of Mr. Elliott, had drawn down any cenſure or adverſe comment. We had now a ſecond time preſſed our mediation on Ruſſia, and a ſecond time in vain.

On the other hand, Ruſſia had not only perſiſted in declining our interference; ſhe had alſo refuſed to renew any commercial treaty with us. At the ſame time ſhe made one with France, and another with Spain: in addition to which, ſhe entered, with thoſe two kingdoms and Auſtria, into a quadruple alliance, plainly pointed againſt Great Britain. This was her conduct towards us and our allies: while to Poland ſhe had given notice, ſo early as 1789, that ſhe ſhould conſider the new arrangements of the republic as a violation of her treaty and guarantee. She had thus laid in her claim to a ground of hoſtility againſt that unfortunate country, at a more convenient opportunity.

Such was the object in diſpute, and ſuch the political map of Europe, as far as it is connected with his meſſage.—It was taken into conſideration the day after it was delivered.

The miniſter moved an addreſs to his majeſty after the uſual form. He ſupported the meaſure, which was the object of the addreſs, upon the ground, that we had a direct and important intereſt in the war between Ruſſia and the Porte; and that as our endeavours to effect a pacification had hitherto proved unſucceſsful, we were under the neceſſity of arming, in order to give greater weight to our repreſentations.

He conceived, that having entered into defenſive alliances, which were admitted to be wiſe and politic, we ought to adhere to them, and, if poſſible, to prevent any changes in the general ſtate of affairs, which might render them nugatory. Pruſſia was our ally; any event, therefore, which might affect that power, and diminiſh its influence on the continent, would be injurious to ourſelves, as far as our mutual intereſts were united. The progreſs of the Ruſſian arms againſt the Porte, gave ſufficient cauſe for alarm; for ſhould ſucceſs ſtill attend them, and the power of the Porte be farther humbled by its aſpiring rival, Pruſſia would inſtantly feel it; and not Pruſſia alone, but all Europe itſelf, which might prove in danger of being ſhaken to its very foundation.

Mr. Fox, after ſome general animadverſions on the doctrine of miniſterial confidence, expreſſed his conviction, that Pruſſia could not be endangered by any progreſs, which the Ruſſian arms might make in Turkey. The real ſtate of the diſpute between the empreſs and ourſelves, he conſidered to be ſimply this: the empreſs offered to cede all her conqueſts between the Neiſter and the Danube, and propoſed only to retain thoſe, which were ſituated between the Neiſter and the Don; but we inſiſted, that ſhe ſhould ſurrender all her conqueſts without a ſingle exception. Our only ground therefore of quarrel, was her unwillingneſs to reſign the tract of country above mentioned; which, although in general barren and unprofitable, was yet particularly deſirable to her, as it contained a place of much

value in her eſtimation, the town of Oczakow. But he remarked, that Oczakow was taken in the year 1788, ſubſequent to which period we had been informed by his majeſty from the throne, that there was every proſpect of a continuance of peace. He accuſed miniſters of not having followed up their ſyſtem of defenſive alliance with conſiſtency. In the negociations at Reichenbach, when they found the emperor diſpoſed to peace, they had neglected the opportunity of ſecuring the empreſs by the ſame means and with the ſame arguments, which might then have been eaſily effected. An alliance with Ruſſia appeared to him the moſt natural and the moſt advantageous, which we could poſſibly form.

The miniſter contended in reply, that the aggrandizement of Ruſſia and the depreſſion of Turkey would materially affect both our political and commercial intereſts. To the queſtion, Why had we not armed ſooner? he anſwered, that during our diſpute with Spain we had neither been ſo free to act as now, nor was the neceſſity then ſo urgent, notwithſtanding the previous capture of Oczakow. He conſidered the accuſation againſt miniſters, of their not having taken pains to include the empreſs in the negociations at Reichenbach, as trivial and unfounded, for when the emperor manifeſted a favourable diſpoſition, it was thought unwiſe to ſuſpend the negociations with him at the riſk of their being entirely broken off, in order to wait for the concurrence of the empreſs.

Mr. Burke obſerved, that the attempt to bring the Turkiſh empire into the conſideration of the balance of power in Europe was extremely new, and contrary to all former political ſyſtems. He pointed out in ſtrong terms, the impolicy and danger of our eſpouſing the Ottoman cauſe. But the queſtion ſeemed not to be, Whether Ruſſia ſhould or ſhould not diſmember the Turkiſh empire? it was merely this, Whether ſhe ſhould poſſeſs herſelf of Oczakow or not. When the empreſs conſented to cede all her conqueſts between the Neiſter and the Danube, ſhe condeſcended in his idea to do more than could well be expected from one in the career of victory. He remarked, that the alliance, which we had made with Pruſſia and Holland, was never before ſuppoſed to have been formed for the purpoſe of preſerving the balance of power. But what would be the conſequence of our interference? We were, it appeared, to plunge ourſelves into an immoderate expence, in order to bring Chriſtian nations under the yoke of ſavage and inhuman infidels. If we acted in this wanton manner againſt the empreſs of Ruſſia, might we not reaſonably ſuppoſe, that her reſentment would burſt forth againſt us, when we the leaſt expected it, when its effects would be more alarming, and when another armament would be requiſite to repel her threatened vengeance? The addreſs was carried by a majority of 93 only.—Ayes 228—noes 135.

The oppoſition having divided in ſuch conſiderable numbers upon the preceding queſtion, Mr. Grey, on the 12th of April, moved:

1. "That it is, at all times, and particularly under the preſent circumſtances, the intereſt of this country to preſerve peace."

2. "That it is neither reaſonable nor juſt to take up arms for the purpoſe

poſe of dictating terms of peace between nations engaged in hoſtilities, without any reference either to the cauſe of the diſputes or the circumſtances of the war."

3. "That the refuſal of an offer of mediation is no juſt cauſe for war."

4. "That during the progreſs of the war between Ruſſia and the Porte, and ſince the taking of Oczakow, this houſe has received repeated aſſurances from the throne, that the ſituation of affairs continued to promiſe to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace."

5. "That, convinced of the truth of the aſſurances which we have received from the throne, this houſe has hitherto conſidered the intereſts of Great Britain as not likely to be affected by the progreſs of the Ruſſian arms on the borders of the Black Sea."

6. "That we are not bound by any treaty to furniſh aſſiſtance to any of our allies, except in the caſe of an attack upon them."

7. "That none of the poſſeſſions of this country, or of any of its allies, appear to be threatened with an hoſtile attack from any foreign nation."

8. "That the expence of an armament muſt be burdenſome to the country, and is, under the preſent circumſtances, as far as this houſe is informed, highly inexpedient and unneceſſary."

A nation's right to attack, Mr. Grey obſerved, could only be reaſonably founded on a principle of ſelf-defence; no war, therefore, ſhould be juſtified upon the bare ground of political expediency. To redeem a right, to provide againſt danger, and to repel an attack, were the only good reaſons, which could be aſſigned in extenuation of an offenſive war. In the inſtance of arming againſt Ruſſia, he maintained, that we had nothing of this kind to offer in excuſe for our conduct. We had no danger ourſelves to dread, nor had any attack been made upon our ally. But if miniſters conceived that Europe was in general endangered, the houſe ſhould be informed, before the country was plunged into a war, how the ſimple poſſeſſion of the town of Oczakow by the Ruſſians, could make the balance of Europe totter on its beam.

In ſupport of Mr. Grey's arguments it was remarked, that the court of Berlin had never been thought ſupine or inattentive to its intereſts; yet that the late king of Pruſſia had guaranteed places of infinitely more importance to the empreſs than Oczakow. So far from conſidering Ruſſia as increaſing in ſtrength and power by her conqueſts to the ſouth, a conviction was declared, that every acceſſion of territory to her in that quarter was an acceſſion of weakneſs: and that therefore the true policy to be adopted, the true method to prevent her diſturbing the tranquillity of Europe, would be to permit her to purſue her preſent ſchemes. But was the idea to be carried to its utmoſt extent, was the empreſs to realize all her imputed views of ambition, was ſhe to get poſſeſſion of Conſtantinople itſelf, and expel the Turks from all their European provinces; ſtill he contended, that mankind, ſo far from being injured, would be conſiderably benefited by it.

Many ſevere animadverſions were likewiſe made in the courſe of this

debate, upon that unlimited confidence, which miniſters were ſuppoſed to claim as their due. The unreaſonableneſs of ſuch a claim was pointed out, and its dangerous tendency expoſed in the warmeſt terms, in language which almoſt bordered on perſonality.

The members of the cabinet themſelves ſtudiouſly avoided all kind of diſcuſſion. It was nevertheleſs aſſerted, by thoſe who ſupported their meaſures, that the poſſeſſion of Oczakow by the empreſs would facilitate not only the acquiſition of Conſtantinople, but of all Lower Egypt and Alexandria, which would give to Ruſſia the ſupremacy of the Mediterranean, and render her a formidable rival to us, both as a maritime and commercial power. The queſtion was ſtated to be, not, Of what intrinſic importance the Turkiſh empire might be in itſelf, individually conſidered? but rather, How would a defalcation of it in favour of Ruſſia operate on the general ſafety of Europe, and the particular intereſts of Great Britain? But the empreſs was not only charged with deſigns upon the Porte; her ambitious views were ſuppoſed to comprehend the extinction of all the northern powers.

Mr. Dundas remarked, that miniſters thought it their duty to preſerve a total ſilence upon the ſubject before the houſe, while a negociation was pending.—The motion was loſt by a majority of only 80.

In this day's debate Mr. Sheridan, whoſe ſilence during the former part of the ſeſſion had been matter of ſome ſpeculation, bore away the palm of oppoſition. He was uncommonly brilliant, eloquent, and ſevere. Nor did he on this occaſion leſs diſplay the ſtateſman than the orator. He took a wide range over the ſyſtem of Europe, and in concluding adverted to the French revolution; on which ſubject he expreſſed, in very ſtrong language, his immutable adherence to the opinions formerly declared by him, and intimated his wiſh for the preſervation of peace with the new government of that nation.

The diminution of the miniſter's majority upon the laſt diviſion, occaſioned another diſcuſſion of the ſame ſubject on the 15th of April, when Mr. Baker moved, "That it is at all times the right and duty of this houſe, before they conſent to lay any burdens on their conſtituents, to enquire into the juſtice and neceſſity of the object, in the proſecution of which ſuch burdens are to be incurred."

"That no information has been given to this houſe, which can ſatisfy us, that the expences to be incurred by the preſent armament are neceſſary to ſupport the intereſt of theſe kingdoms, or will contribute to the great and important object of reſtoring the tranquillity of Europe on a ſecure and laſting foundation."

Much the ſame mode of reaſoning, as had been adopted upon the former occaſions, was again urged with equal force, and in a tone of triumphant anticipation. The oppoſition declared, that they did not wiſh to enquire into the ſecrets of the pending negociation; but ſimply to be informed what were its views. It was the object only of the negociation, which they required to be divulged; and not the means, by which that object was purſued.

The miniſter obſerved, that notwithſtanding the many calls which had been made upon him, and the many harſh epithets which had been applied

applied to his silence, his sense of duty to his sovereign and his country should still remain the rule of his conduct. He meant, therefore, to enter into no detail of the pending negociation; to offer no explanation inconsistent with his official duties. He contended, that sufficient information had been given for the simple act of voting the armament, his majesty having expressly stated in the message, that such a measure was necessary to give effect to the negociations, in which he was engaged, for laying the foundation of a solid and lasting peace. He confessed, however, that the house was not pledged to support a war without farther explanation. The house might give confidence to the servants of the crown, pending a negociation; but that was substantially different from pledging itself to support a war, should the negociation prove unsuccessful. That, which was a sufficient cause for an armament, might not be a sufficient cause for a war.

The debate was concluded by Mr. Fox, who spoke with more than his usual force and fire. Among other things he recalled the attention of the house to what had been previously stated as the utmost wish of opposition, that ministers would explain only the object of the negociation, without entering into the particular means which were employed in its prosecution. Of the former, the house claimed an indisputable right to judge; the latter it confided to the executive power. In the present instance, too much, he conceived, had been disclosed for confidence, and too little for conviction. He maintained, in opposition to the minister, that nothing could justify an armament, which would not justify a war. Mr. Fox, in the course of his speech, alluded to the French revolution, which he introduced more particularly toward the conclusion, in a manner similar to that of Mr. Sheridan, in the former debate. He was more explicit than Mr. Sheridan as to the points, which were the objects of his admiration; and he uttered a compendious but splendid panegyric on the new constitution of that country.

As soon as Mr. Fox sate down, Mr. Burke rose, in much visible emotion; but the cry of "Question!" having been begun from the opposition benches, and caught by many on all sides in the house (for it was then after three in the morning), he unwillingly gave way to the division.

The motion was negatived by a majority of 92.

This important question was discussed for the last time in this session, on the 25th of May. It was brought on by a motion of Mr. T. Grenville, proposing an address to his majesty, which after asserting the right of parliament to advise the crown in the exercise of the prerogative of making war and peace, proceeded indirectly to censure the conduct and supposed views of ministers, and advised against all subsequent proceedings of an hostile nature. Mr. Grenville, in a speech of much erudition and ability, made a variety of remarks upon the right, which that house possessed, of giving advice on these subjects, and produced many precedents of its exercise from our earliest records of parliament: especially from the reign of Edward the Third, who called no less than sixteen parliaments, or great councils, for the express purpose of submitting his negotiations

and

and treaties to their conſideration. Precedents alſo were cited from more modern times, and in the preſent century, under the reigning family. The next point made was againſt the terms of the vote of credit, which was general and unlimited. It was explained, that a vote of this kind having paſſed in the year 1717, ſuch were the abuſes of it, and ſo large were the ſums ſquandered in conſequence, as to give riſe to a ſettled rule, now for the firſt time infringed, that a vote of credit ſhould only be aſked and granted for a certain and ſpecific ſum. The third branch of his argument related to the grounds of the preſent armament, one principal object of which, he hinted, might be, to put Dantzick and Thorn into the poſſeſſion of the king of Pruſſia, contrary to the faith of former treaties.

Mr. Pitt acceded to the doctrine, that the houſe of commons had an undoubted right to adviſe the crown; but argued againſt the expediency of uſing that right, as in the preſent inſtance, while a negociation was actually pending. The vote of credit, which the houſe had already paſſed, could not with much propriety be called a general vote of credit, as it put leſs in the power of miniſters, than if a vote had been given for the ſpecific ſum of a million, which was known to be the uſual practice of the houſe upon ſuch occaſions. In one caſe, miniſters would have had the million excluſive of what might have been ſpared from the ſupply of ways and means; in the other, they really poſſeſſed nothing more than that with which the ſupply of ways and means alone furniſhed them. He poſitively denied any intention on the part of miniſters, of attempting to procure for Pruſſia any acquiſition of territory.

This addreſs was loſt by a majority of 94.

In the houſe of lords the ſame ſubject was argued on the 29th of March, the 1ſt of April, and 9th of May. On the 29th of March, miniſters moved an addreſs to his majeſty, thanking him for his communication, &c. In the courſe of this debate, which turned upon the topics already given, they declared, that the propoſed war was a war of expediency only, and not neceſſarily occaſioned by any treaty of alliance with Pruſſia, or with any other power. The addreſs was carried by a majority of 63.—Contents 97, noncontents 34.

The motion, on the 1ſt of April, was made by earl Fitzwilliam; the principal objects of which were, to diſavow the neceſſity of our interference between Ruſſia and the Porte, as ariſing from any poſſible conſtruction of the Pruſſian treaty; and to declare, that there exiſted no reaſonable ground whatever for any hoſtile preparation againſt Ruſſia. In ſupport of the motion, it was aſſerted, that if only a diſtant proſpect of danger to the intereſts of Pruſſia were to be conſidered as a ſufficient cauſe for our engaging in a war, and commencing hoſtilities, the Pruſſian treaty, which had been termed a defenſive treaty, would be converted into an offenſive one. To this obſervation a former anſwer was given, that the war would be ſolely a war of expediency. The general arguments advanced by the oppoſition were ſimilar to thoſe which had been ſo ſucceſsfully urged in the houſe of commons to the diminution of the

miniſter's

miniſter's majority, and the complete embarraſſment of the cabinet. The previous queſtion was moved and carried.—Contents 94, non-contents 34.

Earl Fitzwilliam took up the queſtion again on the 9th of May, and argued chiefly upon the ground, that a war with Ruſſia would materially injure our commercial intereſts. His lordſhip entered into a minute detail of the nature and importance of our Ruſſian trade, which he aſſerted to be greatly in favour of this country. The imports, his lordſhip eſtimated at one million and a half, and the exports at nearly 400,000l; but as the imports conſiſted chiefly of raw materials, which were abſolutely neceſſary for our manufactures, he conſidered the advantage to be clearly on our ſide. The principal articles of importation were tallow, bar-iron, hemp and deals, an exact account of the value of which his lordſhip very accurately ſtated to the houſe.

Lord Grenville, on the other hand, contended, that information of ſuch a kind as that, upon which lord Fitzwilliam had reaſoned (an information, which was alone collected from the cuſtom-houſe accounts) might be in many caſes fallacious; at leaſt as to the conſequences built upon it; and if not fallacious, was almoſt always in the eye of the houſe imperfect, from the partial manner in which it was uſually ſtated. He aſſerted, that admitting the importance of the raw materials imported from Ruſſia, a war with that country would not deprive us of them, as we might be able to obtain the ſame commodities, perhaps upon more advantageous terms, from Poland through the medium of Pruſſia. "But the intereſts of Great Britain," ſubjoined his lordſhip, "require us to conſider the balance of power, as well as the balance of trade; and to ſacrifice, if neceſſary, ſome ſmall commercial conveniences, for the preſervation of that political proſperity, without the enjoyment of which, commerce itſelf would be annihilated."—When the houſe divided, there appeared for the motion 29, againſt it 96.

Towards the concluſion of the ſeſſion it was propoſed in the houſe of lords, to "addreſs his majeſty not to prorogue parliament, until the anſwer ſhould arrive to the laſt meſſage ſent to Peterſburgh concerning the negociation pending between Great Britain and Ruſſia."—This motion was negatived without a diviſion.

The adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt had never encountered ſo rude a ſhock as from this diſcuſſion. Yet it is probable, that had he been at liberty to divulge all which he then knew of the danger hanging over the North, and which ſubſequent events have unfolded to the world, his conduct might have been viewed in a very different light: at leaſt, we have reaſon ſo to ſuppoſe from the recent language of his moſt violent opponents, who, when it was too late, would have urged an actual war in defence of Poland. But while he acted from his knowledge, parliament and the people were under the neceſſity of judging from their own. Their ſenſe was intelligibly declared againſt him: he acknowledged, and obeyed it.

It is ſaid that a meſſenger having been ſent to the court of Berlin, to notify the delivery of the king's meſſage to parliament, he was after the firſt debate recalled by another meſſenger, who proceeded forward with

diſpatches

diſpatches of a very different tendency from thoſe which were originally intended. From that moment we loſt all weight in the Northern balance of power. The conſequences to the affairs of that quarter we ſhall hereafter be called to relate.—We now turn to the hiſtory of the Quebec bill.

So early as the 4th of March the miniſter moved for leave to bring in this bill. On this occaſion he opened all the ſeveral heads of his plan with a detail unuſually full. Scarcely a regulation of the moſt minute kind was left unexplained.

It was propoſed to divide the country into two provinces, and ſubject it to two diſtinct governments. The legiſlature was to conſiſt of a council and houſe of aſſembly for each diviſion; the aſſembly to be conſtituted in the uſual manner, but the members of the council to be members for life, a power being at the ſame time reſerved to his majeſty, of annexing to certain honours an hereditary right of ſitting in the council. All laws and ordinances were to remain in force, until altered by the new legiſlatures. The Habeas Corpus act, which had already been eſtabliſhed by an ordinance of the province, was to be continued as a fundamental principle of the conſtitution. A proviſion was to be made for the proteſtant clergy, in both diviſions, by an allotment of lands in proportion to thoſe which had been already granted. The tenures, which had been a ſubject of diſpute, were to be ſettled, in Lower Canada, by the local legiſlature; but in Upper Canada, as the ſettlers were principally Britiſh, or Britiſh coloniſts, the tenures were intended to be ſoccage tenures. A new remedy was alſo given in cauſes of appeal. The judgment of the privy council was no longer to be final. There was now to be a laſt reſort to the houſe of lords. Above all, to prevent any ſuch diſcontents as had occaſioned the ſeparation of the united ſtates of America from the mother country, it was provided, that the Britiſh parliament ſhould impoſe no taxes but what were neceſſary for the regulation of trade and commerce; and that even thoſe ſhould be levied and diſpoſed by the legiſlature of each diviſion.

There was certainly nothing of an over-ſtrained tone in this ſyſtem. On the contrary, the influence of the crown was taken below the ſtandard of the conſtitution in our other colonies. An hereditary ariſtocracy, mixed with an ariſtocracy holding ſeats for life, would certainly be leſs dependent on the king than counſellors named and removed at pleaſure, as in our Weſt India iſlands, and in the royal governments of North America before the ſeparation of the united ſtates. Nor was it an innovation more favourable to the prerogative, that an appeal now was to lie from the king in his privy council, to the king in the great council of the peers in parliament. At the ſame time the legiſlature put bounds to its own ſupremacy in regard to taxation, and voluntarily renounced for ever a principle which had been aſſerted as juſt and neceſſary, at the price of a long and burthenſome war.

On this opening of the meaſure, no objection to the principle of a ſingle regulation was even intimated. Mr. Fox alone ſpoke, and very ſhortly. He ſeemed to imply at

at leaſt his acquieſcence, if not his approbation; though, as he juſtly ſaid, he could not decidedly approve, what he had not yet ſeen. He did ſee the bill. It was read without a remark; it was read a ſecond time, which is the cuſtomary ſtage of oppoſing the principle, but the principle was not oppoſed. The blanks were filled up in the committee, yet neither the paucity of members, named for the aſſemblies, nor the large proportion of land allotted to the church, excited any hoſtile obſervation. On the 25th of March the report was made from the committee, and counſel were heard, as a petition had been preſented againſt the bill. Mr. Limburner, the agent from the province, was alſo heard in part, and delivered in the whole of his notes, when the miniſter moved, that the farther conſideration of the report ſhould be poſtponed. A converſation enſued, in the courſe of which Mr. Fox ſuggeſted the propriety of a re-commitment, but declared that it was not his intention to preſs it on the houſe; and the miniſter's motion was carried without a diviſion, or a debate.

Such was the calm that uſhered in a meaſure, deſtined in its progreſs to be attended with ſo much ſtorm and tempeſt. Indeed it ſeemed not unlikely, that in one more ſuch deſultory converſation would have ended the whole diſcuſſion of the Quebec bill. But the other meſſage, of which an account has already been given, happened in the interval; and the firſt diviſion of the minority upon it running ſo unexpectedly high, their general ſpirit of attack againſt the miniſter was proportionably exalted. The Quebec bill was then before the houſe. There was already a petition againſt it, and more could eaſily be obtained. Some were offended becauſe they had not been conſulted, and others were alarmed becauſe they had little to hope and ſomething to fear from the operation of any new law on a trade already lucrative. To cheriſh the particular diſcontents of theſe bodies of men, and add them to the general diſſatisfaction cauſed by the armament againſt Ruſſia, was an obvious policy and a cheap gain. Accordingly a ſtrong language of oppoſition was now taken up for the firſt time againſt the Quebec bill.

When the conſideration of the report was to have been reſumed on the 8th of April, Mr. Huſſey, after preſenting a new petition, moved the re-commitment. Mr. Fox ſeconded, and enforced the motion of Mr. Huſſey. In breaking ground, he took poſt on the political philoſophy of the day. He expreſſed his hope, that, * in promulgating the ſcheme of a new conſtitution, the houſe would keep in view thoſe enlightened principles of freedom, which had already made a rapid progreſs over a conſiderable portion of the globe, and were every day haſtening more and more to become univerſal.

He objected to the propoſed plan of dividing Canada into two

* This ſentence, and one or two others, containing alluſions or ſtrong expreſſions of a ſimilar tendency, are ſupplied from the Parliamentary Chronicle. The ſpeech, as given in the Parliamentary Regiſter, is very nearly the ſame, except theſe omiſſions.—There is nothing on the Quebec Bill, in Stockdale's Debates, before the 6th of May.

provinces. The reaſon which had been aſſigned for this diviſion appeared to him ſtrongly to militate againſt it. It had been remarked that thus the French and Engliſh Canadians would be completely diſtinguiſhed from each other. But he conſidered ſuch a meaſure as big with miſchief; and maintained that the wiſeſt policy would be to form the two deſcriptions of people into one body, and endeavour to annihilate all national diſtinctions.

He next objected to the propoſed mode of repreſentation. The number of which the two aſſemblies was to conſiſt, the one of ſixteen, the other of thirty members, he thought much too ſmall. A country, like France, three or four times larger than Great Britain, might require a proportionably greater number of repreſentatives; but the reverſe therefore did not equally follow. Nor did he approve of the clauſe which permitted the ſame aſſemblies to remain undiſſolved for the period of ſeven years. Why we ſhould adopt a ſeptennial bill, in preference to an annual or triennial one, he confeſſed to be beyond his comprehenſion. By a ſeptennial bill Canada would probably be deprived of ſeveral of the few repreſentatives that were allowed it; for as moſt of its more reſpectable citizens were perſons engaged in trade, it was not likely that they ſhould be able to attend their legiſlative duties for ſo long a period.

But although the aſſemblies would conſiſt of ſo ſmall a number, the legiſlative councils in both provinces were in this reſpect to be unlimited. Inſtead of being hereditary councils, or councils named by the king, as in our Weſt Indian iſlands, or choſen by electors, as in the united ſtates of North America, they were to be compounded of the former two. For his own part, he ſhould have preferred to all other forms that of a council freely and frequently elected. On no terms would he have had hereditary counſellors. He meant not to diſcuſs the general propoſition of what utility hereditary powers and hereditary honours might be, abſtractedly conſidered; but he confeſſed, that he ſaw nothing ſo good in them as to make him wiſh for their introduction among a people to whom they were at preſent unknown. In kingdoms where they already formed a part of the conſtitution, he did not think it prudent to deſtroy them; but to give them birth in countries where they had no previous exiſtence, appeared to him extremely unwiſe. He could not account for ſuch a proceeding, unleſs it was from a wiſh, that, as Canada had formerly been a French colony, an opportunity might be afforded of reviving thoſe titles and honours, the extinction of which ſome gentlemen ſo much deplored, and of awakening in the Weſt that ſpirit of chivalry which had ſo completely fallen into diſgrace in a neighbouring kingdom. He aſked, if thoſe red and blue ribbands, which had loſt their luſtre in the old world, were to ſhine forth again in the new? It ſeemed to him peculiarly abſurd to introduce hereditary honours in America, where thoſe artificial diſtinctions ſtink in the noſtrils of the natives.

He diſapproved of giving the clergy ſo large a portion of the lands as one ſeventh. Nor did he think

think the bill leſs exceptionable as far as it related to the regulation of appeals, the trial by jury, and to the Habeas Corpus act. The two laſt proviſions ſhould have been made integrant parts of it, and not have been left to a mere ordinance of the province: and from the regulation of appeals the ſtage of the king in council ſhould be ſtruck out, and the appeal at once be given to the houſe of lords. He hinted again, towards the concluſion of his ſpeech, that the governments eſtabliſhed in the united ſtates of North America would have furniſhed better models. As the love of liberty was gaining ground, in conſequence of the diffuſion of literature and knowledge through the world, he thought that a conſtitution ſhould be formed for Canada as conſiſtent as poſſible with the genuine principles of freedom. This bill, in his opinion, would not eſtabliſh ſuch a government, and that was his chief reaſon for oppoſing it.

Mr. Pitt replied to the obſervations of Mr. Fox; but at the ſame time aſſented to the re-commitment of the bill, which he was anxious to have fully diſcuſſed. The diviſion into two provinces he conſidered to be a fundamental part of it, as being the moſt likely method to produce that coalition of French and Engliſh parties, which he admitted with Mr. Fox to be extremely deſirable. If there were only to be one houſe of aſſembly, and the two parties, as might be ſometimes expected, prove equal, or nearly equal, in numbers, a perpetual ſcene of factious altercation would ſucceed, and the breach become wider. On the other hand, by the eſtabliſhment of two diſtinct aſſemblies, all cauſe of complaint would be removed; while the French ſubjects, being left to their own free choice, and not influenced by the pride of party, would moſt probably adopt the Engliſh laws, from an unprejudiced obſervation of their ſuperior utility.

He conceived that the number of which the aſſemblies would conſiſt, according to the preſent population of Canada, could not with propriety be augmented; but that, when the population was actually increaſed, there would not be the leaſt objection to any reaſonable addition.

With regard to the duration of the aſſemblies, he thought the ſpace of ſeven years preferable to a ſhorter period; particularly as the governor would have leſs influence in the Canadian councils and aſſemblies than in thoſe of our Weſt Indian colonies.

He entirely differed from Mr. Fox in his idea of the legiſlative council, who ſeemed to wiſh that it might be made elective, according to the plan which had lately been purſued in America. Whether France and America had choſen well for themſelves, under the peculiar circumſtances of the reſpective countries, he meant not to enquire; but he found no difficulty in declaring, that he was convinced our own conſtitution was the beſt for us. The word *republicaniſm* he wiſhed not to uſe in an obnoxious ſenſe, but he was fully perſuaded, that none of thoſe republican principles, which Mr. Fox had deſcribed as reſulting from a greater extenſion of light and learning, and which were ſuppoſed to give unparalleled ſplendour to the conſtitutions of France and America, would improve the Britiſh conſtitution. An ariſto-

ariſtocratical principle being one neceſſary part of a mixed government, he thought it proper that there ſhould be ſuch a council in Canada as was provided by the bill, and which might in ſome degree anſwer to our houſe of lords.

As to the allotment of one ſeventh part of the lands for the maintenance of the clergy, he remarked, that this proportion (a proportion much leſs than one tenth of the produce of the lands) had almoſt become an eſtabliſhed cuſtom in England, where land was given in commutation for tythes. But this, as well as every other part of the bill, if neceſſary, might become a ſubject of future reviſion.

It is unjuſt to lean too much on particular words and phraſes attributed to the members of either houſe. Our public reports of proceedings in parliament are not ſufficiently accurate for ſuch a purpoſe. But the general tenor and complexion of Mr. Fox's ſpeech cannot be miſtaken. Yet if he ſpoke as he felt, and was reſtrained by no conſiderations of prudence, his arguments were neither irregular nor impertinent. Perhaps, when the minds of all men were fermenting with the awful leſſon of the French revolution, and the fundamental principles of all government and civil order involved in the oppoſite opinions of that event, it was almoſt impoſſible but theſe topics, more or leſs, muſt colour the debates on this occaſion. It was a queſtion of exerciſing the higheſt power of legiſlation over a country firſt conquered, and afterwards ceded by treaty; it aſſerted, therefore, the right of conqueſt, and the power of ceſſion, under the law of nations, the authority of which is ſtrenuouſly denied by the great teachers of the Rights of Man, and the whole body of which on this very queſtion has been indecently called * "an avowed code of mitigated rapine, and ſyſtematized murder." A new conſtitution was to be formed; of courſe this led to abſtract principles, and firſt maxims of government. That conſtitution was to be given to a people living in America, but originally coloniſts from France; conſequently nothing was more natural than to look to the conſtitutions both of the ſtates in whoſe neighbourhood they are placed, and of the nation from whom they are deſcended.

The ſame remark, however, will not apply to the debates on the other meſſage, in which it ſeemed, notwithſtanding, as if all incidental opportunities of introducing the French revolution were ſtudiouſly ſought, and eagerly ſeized. This certainly has more the appearance of ſome premeditated deſign. It might be done to familiarize parliament and the country, in their preſent temper, to theſe declarations. The leaders of the minority certainly now thought the road to power lay open before them. And had they ſucceeded, it would undoubtedly have been the beſt anſwer to all future attacks on this ſcore to have been able to ſay—"Theſe ſentiments we have never diſguiſed; we explicitly avowed them in the very moment of your

* See the "Parallel between the Conduct of Mr. Burke and that of Mr. Fox," page 13.

returning

eturning confidence." Poſſibly (and t was ſo reported) the more im-nediate followers of Mr. Fox, whoſe entiments on this ſubject were in niſon with his, demanded ſome uch ſtep, as neceſſary to manifeſt heir independence of the duke of ortland and his friends, who co-ncided in general with the doc-rines of Mr. Burke.—It has alſo een ſaid (not quite conſiſtently ith the other report) that Mr. heridan, having been much cen-ured by ſome of his political friends or his indiſcretion on this very ead in the laſt ſeſſion, had, in diſ-uſt, withdrawn all active ſupport f his great talents from oppoſition; nd that now, as the price of his re-urn, he inſiſted on being counte-anced in a ſhort but explicit avow-l of his opinions. But whatever nay have been the cauſe, the fact itſelf is ſtriking.

From the Friday, when the re-ommitment of the Quebec bill was noved and carried, nothing de-erving the name of a debate took lace, till the Tueſday following, hen Mr. Grey made his motion or a committee on the ſtate of the ation. It has been already ſeen, hat Mr. Sheridan then adverted to he affairs of France: it will be ow neceſſary to ſtate a little more articularly what he ſaid. All diſ-uſſion on the merits of the French evolution he profeſſed to waive; ut he affirmed, in a very emphati-al manner, his adherence to his nown opinions. They ſtill remain-d fixed, he ſaid, and would continue mmortally the ſame. He held forth he ancient government of France s characterized by a buſy reſtleſs pirit of intrigue; he conſidered the nmity between the two countries s now wholly paſt away; and he recommended the preſervation of peace on our part. "He hoped "that what had happened in France "would prove an uſeful leſſon here, "and that we ſhould have leiſure to "improve by ſtudying it."—In ſome reports he is farther repreſented to have charged miniſters with "being "eager to cultivate all the vices of "the old French ſyſtem, and deſpiſe "all the virtues of the new."

Mr. Burke had not been preſent at Mr. Fox's ſpeech on the Quebec bill; he muſt, however, have known the ſubſtance of it, as it had early attracted general notice; nor did it require his ſagacity to diſcover the tranſient ſarcaſm at his beautiful and affecting lamentation over the departed genius of chivalry. Mr. Sheridan's ſpeech in this debate he did hear; and it was the ſecond time, within four days, that the topic had been brought forward. Yet he ſhewed no diſpoſition to precipitate himſelf and the houſe into it, though an occaſion, if he had choſen to take it, was now fairly offered.

On the ſucceeding Friday Mr. Baker made a motion ſimilar to that of Mr. Grey. Mr. Fox on that night not only trod in the foot-ſteps of Mr. Sheridan, but he pro-ceeded to ſtill greater lengths. He was more direct and full. His whole ſyſtem of external politics, he acknowledged, had ſuffered a change with the change of the French conſtitution. He had for-merly been anxious for maintain-ing the balance of power, but now he owned himſelf to be very in-different about it: not becauſe our ancient rival and enemy might ſeem too poor or too weak, to give us any immediate diſturbance, but "* becauſe ſhe had erected a go-"vernment, from which neither

* Parliamentary Regiſter.

" inſult nor injury could be dreaded " by her neighbours." He praiſed that government, in its internal relation, as good, becauſe it aimed to make thoſe who were ſubject to it happy; and obſerving that he knew different opinions were entertained upon the point by different men, he added, that he for one admired the new conſtitution of France, conſidered altogether, as * " the moſt ſtupendous and glorious " edifice of liberty which had been " erected on the foundation of hu- " man integrity in any time or coun- " try."

Mr. Fox has ſince ſaid, that he meant to approve only the revolution,—the deſtruction of the abſolute monarchy. Perhaps it might be difficult to reconcile the metaphor, in which all reports at the time agreed, with this correction: but the correction he did make, and had a right to make it. Still, while the panegyric remained full, unequivocal and abſolute, puſhed as it was many degrees beyond the greateſt length to which any member had hitherto gone in that aſſembly, it muſt have excited proportionably ſtrong ſenſations in thoſe who, ſeeing nothing but injuſtice in the original work of demolition, thought it only aggravated to the higheſt pitch by the weakneſs and wickedneſs, apparent to them in the plan of the edifice that was ſubſtituted. Mr. Burke felt it accordingly, and made an effort to give immediate utterance to his feelings; but the manner in which he was ſtopped has been already related. Mr. Fox is known ſince to have regretted the injudicious zeal of thoſe who would not ſuffer Mr. Burke to anſwer him on the ſpot. The contention, he has ſaid, might have been fiercer and hotter, but the remembrance of it would not have ſettled ſo deep, and rankled ſo long in the heart.

From this moment a rupture between theſe two illuſtrious friends was diſtinctly foreſeen. The very next morning the party, with whom they both acted, ſhewed ſigns of great alarm. All within was in commotion. Every influence, that promiſed moſt ſucceſs, was employed to prevent by perſuaſion, the renewal of that, which had been ſuppreſſed in the firſt inſtance by clamour. Some, even of thoſe who agreed with the opinions of Mr. Fox, threw forth whatever they could of a conciliatory kind to Mr. Burke and his connections. They profeſſed, and appeared, to be ſincerely afflicted at the conſequences likely to flow from the expected diſcuſſion. They did not heſitate to accuſe Mr. Fox of imprudence for declaring that, which if he had not declared, the ſame men would probably have condemned him for puſillanimity. On the other hand, many, who abhorred the French revolution little leſs than Mr. Burke himſelf, yet were decided on the expediency of paſſing over for the preſent the dangerous ſentiments, as they thought them, which they had recently heard. They did not hold it neceſſary to ſeparate from their great leader on account of mere ſpeculations, hitched into a digreſſion, whatever might be the miſchief of their tendency, and in whatever terms of pernicious eloquence they were conveyed. They conſidered it as more juſt to

* The terms of this panegyric are taken from Mr. Burke's "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs," as the beſt authority, and hitherto uncontradicted.

wait until the direct colliſion of theſe principles with the public weal of the ſtate ſhould force forward ſome meaſure that might be made a teſt, not of opinions, but of conduct. In the mean time they were willing to flatter themſelves that the train of events ſtill proceeding in France might develope the atrocious effects of thoſe doctrines in ſo convincing a manner, as ſufficiently to prove the radical fallacy or iniquity of the whole ſyſtem to a man like Mr. Fox, who was underſtood even then to admire only in the groſs, and diſapprove in the detail.

In theſe reaſons, it is not improbable that without being conſcious of it to themſelves, they may have been influenced in ſome degree by feeling how much it would coſt them at once to diſentangle themſelves from the ties of friendſhip and the trammels of party. Mr. Burke had more fortitude. Though he had always been the champion of party, in the pure and genuine ſenſe of the word, and had a longer and more intimate friendſhip with Mr. Fox than moſt others of the ſame connection, yet he now heard, or believed he heard, the imperious call of a public duty, more ſacred than all the deareſt and ſtrongeſt bonds of perſonal and political attachment. He had from the firſt regarded what was paſſing in France as calculated to act in the rebound upon this kingdom. The publication of his "Reflexions" for a time checked, but not ſtopped, the progreſs of the affiliated ſocieties, here. They were ſtunned with the blow diſcharged at them*, but they ſoon recovered, and again raiſed their heads higher than ever. They now renewed their exertions with redoubled vigour. They applauded and circulated with much activity Mr. Paine's "Rights of Man," and other ſimilar pamphlets. The newspapers teemed with addreſſes, votes, and reſolutions, and every mail was laden with freſh congratulations and incitements to the Jacobin ſocieties in France. Bold and eager, they wanted now only the ſanction of ſome more diſtinguiſhed name than they yet poſſeſſed to lead them. Mr. Burke knew the great and juſt authority of his friend's name: he knew to what purpoſes his friend's panegyric on France might be abuſed, beyond the intentions of him who made it. He believed it therefore highly important to his country, that the intrinſic value of that panegyric ſhould be brought to trial in the place where it was uttered; the more ſo, perhaps, as he muſt have been aſſured that his friend could not (as he did not) maintain it in its unqualified extent. Neither was he at liberty, like others, to paſs over for the preſent what it might be painful to encounter. He ſtood already committed in the face of the houſe and his country. Had he ſtill been ſilent, after this third

*This fact appears ſtrongly marked on the face of the correſpondence publiſhed by the Revolution Society. From the month of November, 1790, when Mr. Burke's pamphlet came out, there is a ſtriking chaſm till the middle of March following. They then apologize to ſome of the Jacobin ſocieties of France for their long ſilence, becauſe they could not get a ſufficient attendance of members before. Nearly half their ſhare of the volume bears date in March and April, 1791.—It is remarkable too, that the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, which ſate in 1794, trace the plot divulged in their ſecond report from this very period, and begin their extracts from the books of the Conſtitutional Society on the 23d of March 1791. See Appendix C.

introduction of the ſubject in the ſpace of one week, they who triumphantly thanked him for provoking the diſcuſſion, would have ſounded a louder note of triumph on his ſhrinking from that diſcuſſion. He could not be wanting to himſelf, without injury to the public cauſe, which he had undertaken. He had therefore no choice. He had no way of eſcaping from his duty. Yet in diſcharging it, he muſt be aware that he could not but loſe his friend, whatever profeſſions might be made to the contrary: he could not expect to be followed even by thoſe among his own party, who thought with him; for they had pronounced what he was going to do inexpedient: nor could he look for the ſupport of miniſters; for he neither was, nor ſought to be of their party. Beſides, they had clear reaſons of ſound prudence for keeping a guarded reſerve upon the ſubject, which he was not equally bound to keep, as an individual member of parliament, not implicating the government of the country by his conduct.

His reſolution was fixed. The only remaining conſideration was, how it was to be executed. He did not think the time yet come for a direct queſtion on the matter; and to have brought it prematurely forward in that ſhape, and then to have failed in it, might have had a fatal effect on public opinion. The Quebec bill afforded a fair and regular occaſion of diſcuſſing incidentally the principles of all conſtitutions, eſpecially the American, the French, and the Engliſh; and as it was to be in a committee, he could ſpeak as often as he pleaſed, in explanation or defence of himſelf: he could (as he ſays) bring the queſtions from generalities to facts.

He now went to ſome of the members of adminiſtration, and acquainting them with enough of his purpoſe to ſatisfy them, that what he meant to ſay was ſtrictly in order, he deſired their protection ſo far as to ſecure him from being again ſilenced by clamour. To his friend himſelf he was more explicit. For when, on the day appointed for the re-commitment of the Quebec bill, Mr. Fox, for the laſt time, paid him a viſit, accompanied by a common friend, he talked over with them the plan of all which he intended to ſay, opened the different branches of his argument, and explained the limitations which he meant to impoſe on himſelf. Mr. Fox, on his part, treated him with confidence, and mentioned to him a political circumſtance of ſome delicacy. What it preciſely was, Mr. Burke declined telling, even in the heat of altercation. But from the tenor of the charge which he ſeems moſt anxious to refute, and from ſome intimations in one of Mr. Fox's anſwers, we may form a reaſonable conjecture.

The king, it ſeems, was repreſented to have uſed ſome expreſſions favourable to Mr. Fox. In order, therefore, to ſecure himſelf in his ſituation, the miniſter was aſſerted to have given out the watch-word, that Mr. Fox was by principle a republican; and it was ſuppoſed, that in purſuance of this plan, he inſtigated Mr. Burke to the diſcuſſion. Mr. Burke undeceived his friend, by relating the fact as it was. Still it was requeſted by Mr. Fox, that at leaſt the diſcuſſion might not take place on the re-commitment of the Quebec bill; but

but Mr. Burke had made his choice with too much deliberation to forego an opportunity, which he could not hope to find again in any other buſineſs then before parliament, or likely to come before it. The effect of this interview, on the whole, was (as is not unuſual in ſuch caſes) directly contrary to the purpoſe of it. Mr. Fox ſeems to have been hurt, that the entreaties of friendſhip could not prevail over a ſenſe of public duty; and Mr. Burke probably valued that friendſhip a little the leſs, when it imputed to him the folly, or the guilt, of being either an inſtrument or an accomplice in a premeditated plot for the ruin of the man whom he loved.

They walked, however, to Weſtminſter together, and together entered the houſe, where they found that Mr. Sheridan in the mean time had moved to poſtpone the re-commitment till after the holidays. In ſupporting his motion, he declared that his objections were not to any particular regulations; they were fundamental, they went to the principle of the bill itſelf. He ſeems to have been underſtood by the miniſter as announcing an oppoſition founded on abſtract principles of government; ſomething in the tone already given by Mr. Fox, that the bill was not ſufficiently accommodated to the new lights and modern philoſophy of liberty. But this was afterwards denied by Mr. Sheridan, who truſted alſo that when the bill did come under conſideration, every other diſcuſſion but that ariſing from the ſubject of the bill itſelf, would be averted. Mr. Taylor caught up the intimation, and carried it a little further. He obſerved, that the buſineſs had been improperly treated, as involving the conſideration of general principles of government, and the conſtitutions of other countries: on which ground inſinuations had been thrown out againſt ſome members of the oppoſition party. But he gave notice, that if the miniſter, or any other right honourable gentleman, ſhould wander from the proper diſcuſſion of the ſubject, he ſhould call him to order, and take the ſenſe of the houſe upon the occaſion.

Here was a palpable alluſion to Mr. Burke. Yet he did not riſe to anſwer. Mr. Fox took the opportunity of explaining what he had ſaid on the former queſtion relative to the Quebec bill. After lamenting that he had been miſunderſtood before, he admitted, that in forming a government for a colony, ſome attention muſt be paid to the general principles of all governments. In the courſe of this ſeſſion, he ſaid, he had taken opportunities of alluding, perhaps much too often, to the French revolution, and to ſhew, whether right or wrong, that his opinion on the whole, was much in its favour; but on this bill he had only introduced one levity, ſilly enough perhaps, and not worth recollection, that had any relation to the French revolution; he meant an alluſion to the extinction of nobility in France, and its revival in Canada. Certainly he had ſpoken much on the government of the American ſtates, becauſe they were in the neighbourhood of Canada, and were connected with that province. Having then obſerved that the prudence of concealing his opinions, was a quality which his deareſt friends had not very often imputed to him, and that he thought the public had a right to the opi-

nions of public men on public measures, he declared, that he never had ſtated any republican principles, with regard to this country, in or out of parliament: and among other things he ſaid, that when the Quebec bill came again to be diſcuſſed, from the great reſpect which he entertained for ſome of his friends, he ſhould be extremely ſorry to differ from them; but he ſhould never be backward in delivering his opinion, and he did not wiſh to recede from any thing which he had formerly advanced.

Mr. Fox having thus come forward to meet what he could not avoid, drew ſome remarks from Mr. Powys, who complained that the debate had turned irregularly both on retroſpect and anticipation, and hinted that Mr. Fox ſhould have imitated the example of Mr. Burke, in writing, rather than ſpeaking there, of the French revolution. Mr. Dundas then took notice of a phraſe uſed by Mr. Taylor, who explained: after which the converſation was cloſed by Mr. Burke. He in a very affecting manner aſſured the houſe, that nothing depreſſed him more, nothing had ever more afflicted him in body and mind, than the thought of meeting his friend as an adverſary and antagoniſt. After noticing the anticipation which had been ſuggeſted, and the obſervations which had been made, but to which he truſted that he had given no juſt cauſe, he declared his ſentiments, that in framing a new conſtitution, it was neceſſary to refer to principles of government and examples of other conſtitutions, becauſe it was a material part of every political queſtion, to ſee how far ſuch and ſuch principles have been adopted, and how they have ſucceeded in other places. His opinions on government, he preſumed not to be unknown; and the more he conſidered the French conſtitution, the more ſorry he was to ſee it. Once in the preceding ſeſſion he had thought himſelf under the neceſſity of ſpeaking very fully upon the ſubject; but ſince that time, he had never mentioned it either directly or indirectly; no man therefore could charge him with having provoked the converſation that had paſſed. He ſignified, however, his intention of giving his judgment on certain principles of government at the proper moment, in the future progreſs of the Quebec bill. He alluded with much candour to Mr. Fox's recent panegyric on France, as well as his own ineffectual attempt to riſe in anſwer to it, acquitting his friend from all deſign of perſonal offence in it; and he finiſhed by ſaying, that ſhould he and his friend differ, he deſired it to be recollected, that however dear he conſidered his friendſhip, there was ſomething ſtill dearer in his mind, the love of his country: nor was he ſtimulated by miniſters to take the part which he ſhould take; for whatever they knew of his political ſentiments, they had learned from him, not he from them.

Mr. Fox had thus openly given a challenge, which was accepted by Mr. Burke; and a determination of calling the latter to order was likewiſe avowed. Public expectation was big with the event.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Tranſactions during the receſs. Re-commitment of the Quebec bill. Queſtion put that the bill be read paragraph by paragraph. Mr. Burke immediately riſes, and ſpeaks to its general principle. States the nature of the act, which the houſe is going to do, and their authority to do it. Conſiders the conſtitutions moſt proper to be models for the government of a province in America colonized from France. Touches on the conſtitution of the United States in North America. Proceeds to diſcuſs the new French conſtitution. After ſome time, is called to order from the oppoſition bench. Long and violent altercation on the point of order. Mr. Burke attacked by the oppoſition. Lord Sheffield's motion to declare Mr. Burke's ſpeech diſorderly. Mr. Fox, in ſpeaking on this motion, goes into a perſonal accuſation againſt Mr. Burke of political inconſiſtency. Mr. Burke's defence. Mr. Fox riſes to reply in great agitation of mind. Mr. Burke complains of having received a ſecond and a deeper wound under the maſk of friendſhip. Mr. Pitt propoſes the withdrawing of lord Sheffield's motion. Debate reſumed on the 11th of May. Mr. Fox declares his attachment to ariſtocracy. Mr. Burke conſiders himſelf as abjured by his party. Reflections on this diſpute. Probable policy of Mr. Fox. Real cauſe of this diſunion, and the ſubſequent ſeparation of the party.

DURING the receſs, ſome common friends tried one or two mere unavailing experiments on Mr. Burke's affections: others, deſpairing to ſhake his reſolution, inveighed againſt him with very little reſerve. The daily prints in the intereſt of the oppoſition-party opened all their ſluices upon him. The plot for the excluſion of Mr. Fox from power was bruited about, notwithſtanding it had already been in effect denied and refuted by Mr. Burke; while, on the other hand, the papers favourable to the miniſter re-echoed another and more criminal plot, in which they held up Mr. Burke, not much more honourably, in the character of a king's evidence, who had impeached his accomplices. The pencil too was called in to the aid of the pen, and paragraphs were embodied in caricatures. In the mean time, however, Mr. Fox enjoyed one ſolid advantage from that, which had paſſed immediately before the holidays, as the explanation which he thought right to give of his former ſpeeches was left unaccompanied by a ſingle adverſe remark of Mr. Burke or Mr. Pitt, to impreſs itſelf on the minds of all by its own weight. * Accordingly his party repreſented him as having removed every imputation againſt him. Mr. Burke therefore muſt have felt ſo much the leſs delicacy in bringing the ſubject forward, as it could no longer prove a perſonal injury to his friend.

When the houſe re-aſſembled, they proceeded on the 6th of May to the

* See Argus, 22d April, 1791; "Appeal to Old Whigs," p. 23.

re-commitment of the Quebec bill, ſo much expected and dreaded. The chairman took the chair, and began by putting the uſual queſtion, "Whether the bill ſhould be read paragraph by paragraph?" This is one ſtage (though rather a late ſtage, according to the ordinary forms of the houſe) for debating the general principle; and Mr. Sheridan, as we have ſeen, had actually given notice that his objection would go not to the particular clauſes, but to the general principle.

On the queſtion being put, Mr. Burke immediately roſe. He remarked that, as the houſe was about to appoint a legiſlature for a diſtant people, it ought firſt previouſly to be convinced, that it was in itſelf competent to the aſſumption of ſuch a power. A body of rights, commonly called the 'Rights of Man,' had been lately imported from a neighbouring country, and held up by certain perſons in this kingdom as paramount to all other rights. A principal article in this new code was, "That all men are born free, equal in reſpect of rights, and continue ſo in ſociety." If ſuch a doctrine were to be admitted, the power of the houſe could extend no farther than to call together the inhabitants of Canada, and recommend to them the free choice of a government for themſelves. But he rather choſe to argue from another code, on which mankind in all ages had hitherto acted—from the law of nations. On this alone he conceived the competence of the houſe to reſt; from this we learnt, that we poſſeſſed a right of legiſlating for Canada, founded upon a claim of ſovereignty over that country, which was at firſt obtained by conqueſt, but afterwards confirmed and acknowledged by the ceſſion of its former government, and eſtabliſhed by a long uninterrupted poſſeſſion.

The competence of the houſe therefore being admitted, the next point to be conſidered was, after what model the propoſed conſtitution was to be formed. In Canada there were well known to be many ancient French inhabitants, and many new American ſettlers, who had migrated from the United States. It might, on this account, be proper to enquire, whether the conſtitutions of America or France poſſeſſed any thing ſuperior to our own conſtitution; any thing which, if unprovided by the bill, might make thoſe people contemplate with regret the happier ſituation of their former countrymen.

The Americans, he believed, had formed a conſtitution for themſelves well adapted to their peculiar circumſtances. They had in ſome degree received a republican education, as their ancient government partly partook of republicaniſm, reſtrained in its principles and vices by the beneficence of an over-ruling monarchy. The formation of their conſtitution was preceded by a long war, in the courſe of which, by military diſcipline, they had learned order, ſubmiſſion to command, and a regard for great men. They were trained to government by war; not by plots, murders, and aſſaſſinations. Another circumſtance of conſiderable weight was, that they did not poſſeſs among them even the materials of monarchy and ariſtocracy. They acted, however, too wiſely to ſet up ſo abſurd an idea, as that the nation ſhould govern

govern the nation; but formed a conſtitution as monarchical and ariſtocratical as their ſituation would permit: they formed one upon the admirable model of the Britiſh conſtitution, reduced to its primary principles. Yet he would not ſay, 'Give this conſtitution to the people of Canada;' for if the bare imitation of the Britiſh conſtitution was ſo good, why not give them, if poſſible, the thing itſelf? Why mock them with the ſhadow of a ſhadow, when their ſituation, in being ſtill under a mild and liberal monarchy, rendered them capable of enjoying the ſubſtance? Nothing therefore ſeemed to be apprehended from the diſcontent of the American inhabitants.

The ancient Canadians were the next objects of conſideration, and from their numbers entitled to the greateſt attention. He aſked, ſhould we give them, as being Frenchmen, the new conſtitution of France?—a conſtitution founded on principles diametrically oppoſite to our own, as different from it as folly from wiſdom, as vice from virtue; a conſtitution founded on what was called the rights of man? The authors of it had told us, and their partizans, the ſocieties here, had told us, that it was a great monument erected for the inſtruction of mankind. This was certainly done not without a view to imitation. But before we proceeded to give it to our colonies, he thought that we ſhould do well to conſider what would probably be the practical conſequences of ſuch a ſtep; to conſider what had already been the effects of a ſimilar experiment on the French Weſt Indian colonies, where the new principles of Pariſian politics had been introduced and propagated with ardour; that we might be enabled to form ſome idea of the bleſſings which we were about to confer. The mode of reaſoning from effects to cauſes was the old-faſhioned way. It had been adopted in experimental philoſophy, and might with equal propriety be applied to the philoſophy of the human mind. He ſhould therefore uſe it now.

The French Weſt Indies, notwithſtanding three diſaſtrous wars, were moſt happy and flouriſhing, till the fatal moment in which the rights of man arrived. Scarcely was this precious doctrine received among them, when Pandora's box, replete with all mortal evils, ſeemed to fly open, hell itſelf to yawn, and every demon of miſchief to overſpread the face of the earth. Blacks roſe againſt whites, whites againſt blacks, and each againſt the other in murderous hoſtility; ſubordination was deſtroyed, the cords of ſociety torn aſunder, and every man appeared to thirſt for the blood of his neighbour. The mother country, not receiving any great degree of pleaſure in contemplating this image of herſelf reflected in her child, ſent out a body of troops, well inſtructed likewiſe in the new principles, to reſtore order and tranquillity. Theſe troops, immediately upon their arrival, felt themſelves bound to become parties in the general rebellion, and, like moſt of their brethren at home, began the aſſertion of their free-born rights, by murdering their general. In proof of theſe facts, he read the account given on the 25th of April in the national aſſembly itſelf. Should ſuch an example, he aſked, induce us to ſhip off for Canada a cargo of the rights of man?

But, leſt it ſhould be objected, that the diſorders of the French Weſt

West Indies originated in local causes, he proceeded to point out the deplorable condition of France itself. The national assembly had boasted that they would establish a fabric of government, which time could not destroy, and the latest posterity would admire. This boast had been echoed by the clubs of this country, the Unitarians, the Revolution Society, the Constitutional Society, and the Club of the 14th of July. The assembly had now continued nearly two years in possession of the absolute authority which they usurped; yet they did not appear to have advanced a single step in settling any thing like a government; but to have contented themselves with enjoying the democratic satisfaction of heaping every disgrace on fallen royalty. The constitution must be expected now, if ever, to be nearly complete: to try whether it was good in its effects, he should have recourse to the last accounts of the assembly itself.

They had a king such as they wished, a king who was no king; over whom the marquis de la Fayette, chief gaoler of Paris, mounted guard. The royal prisoner having wished to taste the freshness of the country air, had obtained a day-rule to take a journey of about five miles from Paris. But scarcely had he left the city, before his suspicious governors, recollecting that a temporary release from confinement might afford him the means of escape, sent a tumultuous rabble after him; who, surrounding his carriage, commanded him to stop, while one of the grenadiers belonging to his faithful and loyal body guard, presented a bayonet to the breast ——

Mr. Burke was here called to order from the opposition bench. The moment was singularly chosen. The regularity of discussing the new constitution of France in this debate seemed to have been admitted, by his being suffered to proceed so long without objection; and if there was any part of his speech, which by no possibility could be distorted into a personal application to Mr. Fox, it was precisely this, where he was interrupted, since the fact had happened subsequently to Mr. Fox's praise of the French revolution, in the debate on the Russian armament. A very long and extraordinary altercation ensued, in which various members on both sides of the house took part. Mr. Fox, among other observations, called that day a day of privilege, when any gentleman might select his mark, and with Mr. Burke abuse the government of every other country as much as he pleased, and that in the grossest terms;—the constitutions of Zoroaster, Bramah, or Confucius, according to his fancy. He concluded by saying, that his friend was not out of order. Mr. Burke considered this as irony, but justified what he did on the same grounds as in the conversation before the holidays; and he added, that there was certainly no more impropriety in alluding to the French revolution, on the question then before the house, than there was in bringing it forward on the armament against Russia, or * in a question of finance. He afterwards declared, that he was astonished at the treatment which he received, as he had not made the least personal reflection upon any gentleman whatever. He was fully

* This had just before been done in the house of lords.

convinced

onvinced, that no member of that ouſe wiſhed to alter the conſtitu-ion. He nevertheleſs thought it is duty to diſcountenance certain octrines which were ſuppoſed to xiſt in this country, and which were ntended fundamentally to ſubvert .

Mr. Burke endeavoured no leſs han ſeven times to explain, why e thought himſelf in order; but he greater part of thoſe with whom e had hitherto acted ſeemed to iſh, by repeated interruptions, to-ally to ſilence him. He was in ome degree protected by the mi-iſter, and two or three other embers on the ſame ſide. Mr. Martin, in particular, thought him egular; and reminded Mr. Fox f ſome words of his own in he converſation before the re-eſs. But none of Mr. Burke's wn former party ſupported him. The few, who were moſt connected ith him by perſonal attachment, nd who agreed with him in their eneral principles reſpecting the rench revolution, were too ſen-bly affected to interfere. So iſtreſſing was the ſcene, that the iniſters, far from ſeeking to ad-ance their own party-intereſts by idening the breach, actually preſ-d ſeveral reſpectable members, ho were thought moſt likely to ave weight both with Mr. Burke nd Mr. Fox, to interpoſe their good fices. But the taſk was too ha-ardous and too delicate. This as not a difference ariſing from a rivate miſunderſtanding, which ould have admitted of eaſy ac-ommodation in two ſuch minds; ut the violent rent of an old iendſhip torn aſunder by the force great public principles. There as no hope of reconciling, and much danger of enflaming; an effect, which ſeemed to have followed all the ill-judged attempts to ſtifle this debate, from the moment that Mr. Burke aroſe to anſwer on the ſpot the memorable panegyric on the French revolution, introduced by Mr. Fox into the diſcuſſion of the armament againſt Ruſſia. At length lord Sheffield moved, "That diſſer-"tations on the French conſtitution "are not regular or orderly on the "queſtion 'That the clauſes of the "Quebec bill be read a ſecond time, "paragraph by paragraph.'"—This motion was ſeconded by Mr. Fox.

The miniſter, who had before been called upon for his opinion, both by Mr. Grey and Mr. Sheridan, now ſhortly drew a diſtinction between a queſtion of order and a queſtion of diſcretion. In point of diſcretion, he wiſhed the French revolution not to be diſcuſſed. But he bore teſtimony to Mr. Burke's motives, which he could trace to no other ſource than a pure regard for the conſtitution of his country; and he thought him fully in order, as the bill went to give a conſtitution to a people at once American, French, and Engliſh.

Mr. Fox then began a ſpeech, which, though introduced on the queſtion of order, profeſſed the melancholy taſk of refuting what he called charges brought wantonly and unprovoked againſt him. At the ſame time he declared, that if, after five-and-twenty years, he was to loſe the friendſhip of the man who had firſt and beſt taught him to feel, it would hurt him to the end of his life. He then paſſed to the notion of a plot againſt him, and ſaid that Mr. Burke had come down to the houſe not to debate the clauſes of the bill then before the committee, but to

ſortify miſrepreſentations of ſomething, which he (Mr. Fox) had ſaid in a former debate. This he conſidered as an evident eagerneſs to ſeek a difference of opinion, and an anxiety to diſcover a cauſe of diſpute. If Mr. Burke's intention had been to preſerve the conſtitution from any danger, with which he thought the conduct and political ſentiments of certain ſocieties threatened it, he would probably have given notice of a particular day for the purpoſe, or taken any other occaſion of doing it, than that which had furniſhed the means of groſs calumny againſt his neareſt and deareſt friend.

On the ſubject of the French revolution he knew, that their different opinions were wide as the poles aſunder. Still however he adhered to his original ſentiments; nor would he ever retract one ſyllable which he had ſaid upon it. He repeated, that he thought it, upon the whole, one of the moſt glorious events in the hiſtory of mankind. But when he ſpoke upon this ſubject, he wiſhed to be underſtood as alluding to the revolution and not to the conſtitution of France, which remained to be improved by experience and accommodated to circumſtances. The old deſpotiſm was annihilated; the new ſyſtem had the good of the people for its object; and this was the point on which he reſted. With reſpect to the effect of the example of France on ourſelves, when any man could prove that this country was in the preciſe ſituation of France at the time of her revolution, then, and not till then, would he declare, diſregarding all the obloquy which might be heaped on ſuch a declaration, that the French revolution was an object of imitation for Great Britain.

His political opinions he never wiſhed to conceal; but he by no means approved of having a day fixed to catechize him. At the ſame time he hinted to Mr. Burke, that neither his pen nor his tongue derived honour from a diſcuſſion of great events without information. If the committee ſhould decide, that Mr. Burke might purſue his argument on the French conſtitution, he reſolved to leave the houſe. He nevertheleſs meant not to ſhrink from the conteſt; but, whenever a proper period for diſcuſſion came, feeble as his powers were, compared to thoſe of his friend and maſter, he would be ready to maintain the principles, which he had aſſerted, even againſt ſuch ſuperior eloquence; to maintain, that the rights of man, how much ſoever ridiculed as chimerical and viſionary, thoſe original rights, which no preſcription could ſuperſede, no accident remove, were in fact the baſis of every rational conſtitution, and even of the conſtitution of Great Britain. Should he himſelf conquer, the glory of the day would ſtill belong to the conquered; for (as he had ſaid without a compliment, in the laſt ſeſſion) he had learned more from Mr. Burke than from all books and all men. All his political knowledge was drawn from Mr. Burke's writings, ſpeeches, and familiar converſation. During the American war, they had rejoiced together at the ſucceſſes of a Waſhington, and ſympathized almoſt in tears for the fall of a Montgomery. His friend then ſaid, that he could not draw a bill of indictment againſt a whole people; he had ſince learned to do it, and to crowd it with

ll the technical epithets, ſuch s falſe, malicious, wicked, and ſo orth, which diſgraced our ſtatute ooks. To deny that the Britiſh onſtitution was founded upon the ights of man, he conſidered as othing more nor leſs than an atempt to libel that conſtitution; and o book which Mr. Burke could ite, no words which he might uſe n debate, however ingenious, eloquent, and able, as all his writings nd ſpeeches undoubtedly were, hould ever induce him to change r abandon this opinion. Theſe topics were enlarged and impreſſed with Mr. Fox's known force.

Mr. Burke commenced his reply in a grave and governed tone of voice, obſerving, that although he had himſelf been repeatedly called to order, he had nevertheleſs heard Mr. Fox with perfect compoſure, and without the leaſt interruption. He hoped that the temper, which was eſſentially requiſite on an emergency of this important kind, would attend him through this painful contention; yet he truſted that if in the warmth of his obſervations, an expreſſion ſhould drop which might imply ſeverity, it would be imputed to his zeal, and to the anxiety of his mind, agitated as it was, and not to any intention of perſonal reproach to any individual whatſoever. The ſpeech, he remarked, to which he was to reply, was perhaps one of the moſt diſorderly ever delivered in that houſe. His public conduct, words, and writings, had not only been miſrepreſented and arraigned in the ſevereſt terms, but confidential converſations had been unfairly brought forward for the purpoſe of attempting to prove his political inconſiſtency. Such were the inſtances of kindneſs, which he had received from one, whom he always conſidered as his warmeſt friend; but who after an intimacy of more than two-and-twenty years, had at laſt thought proper, without the leaſt provocation, to commence a perſonal attack upon him. He could not conceive that the manner, in which Mr. Fox had accuſed him of having ſpoken without information, and unſupported by facts, appeared to manifeſt any great degree of tenderneſs towards him. On the ſubject however of the French revolution, uninformed as he might be ſuppoſed to be, he had not the leaſt objection to meet that right honourable gentleman hand to hand, and foot to foot, in a fair and temperate diſcuſſion.

But this it ſeemed was not the principal ground of quarrel; he was accuſed of having attempted to bring forward a diſcuſſion of French principles, in order to fix a ſtigma upon certain republican opinions, which Mr. Fox was ſaid to have advanced in a former debate. This charge he denied in the moſt poſitive terms; and ſolemnly declared, that he had made no reference whatever to any of Mr. Fox's ſpeeches; but that he had argued, as on every other occaſion, in a plain and ſimple manner. Mr. Fox himſelf was no ſtranger to the ſubject, which he had propoſed to introduce in that night's debate. He had previouſly to the laſt converſation on the Canada bill opened to Mr. Fox very fully and particularly the plan of the ſpeech in which he had now been interrupted; he had explained how far he intended to go, and what limits he meant to impoſe upon himſelf, and had ſhewn him all the books, pamphlets, and reports, which his friend had now ſuppoſed

poſed him not to have read. This he had done at his own houſe, from whence they had walked down together to that houſe, converſing upon the ſubject the whole way. Mr. Fox had then indeed diſagreed with him in opinion, but entered into no quarrel with him. He had rather been treated with confidence, and ſome private circumſtances of a political complexion had been mentioned to him, to which, notwithſtanding what had ſince happened, he felt no inclination to allude.

For a variety of reaſons he confeſſed that he wiſhed to introduce the ſubject of the French conſtitution, which he thought that he might have done perfectly in order. In the firſt place, he felt deſirous of pointing out the danger of perpetually extolling that prepoſterous edifice upon all occaſions, and in the higheſt ſtrain. Mr. Fox had himſelf termed it "the moſt ſtupendous and glorious edifice of liberty which had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any time, or country." A ſecond motive, which had indeed ſome little influence over him, was of a more perſonal nature He had been accuſed both of writing and ſpeaking of the late proceedings in France raſhly, unadviſedly, and wantonly. This charge he was certainly anxious to refute; but at the very time, when he was about to produce facts in corroboration of his aſſertions, blended with private information and reſpectable authorities, he was ſtopped in the moſt unfair and diſorderly manner. Had he been permitted to continue his ſpeech, he would have ſhewn, that the iſſue of all that has been done, and of all that was then doing in France, could never ſerve the cauſe of liberty, but would inevitably tend to promote that of tyranny, oppreſſion, injuſtice, and anarchy.

But what principally weighed with him, and determined him in his conduct, was the danger that threatened our own government, from practices, which were notorious to all the world. Were there not clubs in every quarter, who met and voted reſolutions of an alarming tendency? Did they not correſpond, not only with each other in every part of the kingdom, but with foreign countries? Did they not preach in their pulpits doctrines which were dangerous, and celebrate at their anniverſary meetings proceedings incompatible with the ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution? Did they not every where circulate, at a great expence, the moſt infamous libels on that conſtitution? At preſent he ſaid that he apprehended no immediate danger. The king was in full power, poſſeſſed of all his functions; his miniſters were reſponſible for their conduct; the country was bleſſed with an oppoſition of ſtrong force; and the common people themſelves ſeemed to be united with the gentlemen in a column of prudence. Nevertheleſs he maintained, there was ſtill ſufficient cauſe for jealouſy and circumſpection. In France there were 300,000 in arms, who at a favourable moment might be happy to yield aſſiſtance; beſides, a time of ſcarcity and tumult might come, when the greateſt danger was to be dreaded from a claſs of people, whom we might now term low intriguers, and contemptible clubbiſts.

He again adverted to the unkindneſs with which Mr. Fox had treated him, who had ripped up the whole courſe and tenour of his public and private life, with a conſiderable degree of aſperity. The right honourable

nourable gentleman, after having fatigued him with ſkirmiſhes of order, which were wonderfully managed by the light infantry of oppoſition, then brought down upon him the whole ſtrength and heavy artillery of his own judgment, eloquence, and abilities, to overwhelm him at once. In carrying on the attack againſt him, the right honourable gentleman had been ſupported by a corps of well-diſciplined troops—

Here Mr. Burke was called to order by Mr. Grey. Mr. Burke refuſed to apologize; but in his ſubſequent ſpeech, he obſerved, that the expreſſion "well-diſciplined" had nothing offenſive in it, as being applicable to any body of men who acted upon a method and in concert.

It is probable that a little incident which happened in the courſe of Mr. Burke's reply contributed to draw from him the expreſſions conſidered as diſorderly by Mr. Grey. In his ſpeech Mr. Fox had intimated an intention of leaving the houſe, if the committee ſhould ſuffer Mr. Burke to proceed. While the latter gentleman was ſpeaking, the former, being perhaps now reſolved on a rejoinder, accidentally went towards the lobby for ſome trifling refreſhment, with which he ſoon after returned to his place. But in the mean time about twenty or thirty gentlemen, of thoſe moſt perſonally attached to him, miſtaking his departure for the execution of his declared intention, roſe from their ſeats, and followed him out of the houſe.

After the interruption of Mr. Grey's call to order, Mr. Burke proceeded to remark, that he had frequently differed from Mr. Fox in former inſtances, particularly on the ſubject of a parliamentary reform, of the diſſenters bill, and of the royal marriage act; but that no one difference of opinion had ever before for a ſingle moment interrupted their friendſhip. It certainly was indiſcreet at his time of life to provoke enemies, or give his friends occaſion to deſert him; yet if his firm and ſteady adherence to the Britiſh conſtitution placed him in ſuch a dilemma, he would riſque all; and as public duty and public prudence taught him, with his laſt breath exclaim, "Fly from the French conſtitution!"

Mr. Fox whiſpered, that there was no loſs of friendſhip.

Mr. Burke replied, that he was ſorry there was. He knew the price of his conduct: he had notwithſtanding done his duty, and loſt his friend. Afterwards, addreſſing himſelf to the two right honourable gentlemen, who were the great rivals in that houſe, he expreſſed a hope, that, whether they hereafter moved in the political hemiſphere as two flaming meteors, or walked together like brethren hand in hand, they would preſerve and cheriſh the Britiſh conſtitution; that they would guard it againſt innovation, and protect it from the peſtilential breath of French philoſophy. He then (in alluſion to the mode of reaſoning under which he had introduced the topic of the French conſtitution) broke into a rapturous apoſtrophe to the immeaſurable and unſpeakable power of the Deity, to whom alone, as a being of infinite perfection, belongs the omniſcience, which ſees all things in their firſt cauſe; while to us poor weak incapable mortals, there is no rule of conduct ſo ſafe as experience. In concluſion he moved an amendment, tending to ſhew, by the inſertion of ſome words in lord Sheffield's motion,

tion, the principle of order which he had throughout asserted.

Mr. Fox rose from his seat under great agitation of mind; tears for some time impeded his utterance: but after the conflict of contending passions had a little subsided, he commenced a rejoinder as much distinguished for the sarcastic severity of the insinuations, as for the excessive, and apparently sincere, tenderness of the professions with which it abounded. He confessed that he owed many great obligations to Mr. Burke; and found, that notwithstanding all that gentleman's harshness, he must still love him. If he had given offence by any imprudent or intemperate language, he hoped, that his right honourable friend would recollect their past friendship, and forget it. It was true that they had formerly differed in their sentiments upon other occasions, without the least interruption of their intimacy. They had differed on the question of the Middlesex election, of the jury-bill, and many other instances; they had even differed in their opinions of the French revolution; for when Mr. Burke's book upon that subject was published, he had condemned the work, and every doctrine which it contained, both publicly and privately. But he could not help feeling that his right honourable friend now appeared to display something more than a mere difference of opinion; he seemed to discover a secret wish and disposition essentially to injure him; at least his conduct had that tendency: besides, as he had before remarked, he possessed himself a kind of natural antipathy to the idea of being catechized in his political principles by any man.

As to his private sentiments of the British constitution, he said, that, although he thought it imperfect and defective in theory, it was admirably adapted to this country in point of practice. Its great excellence was its corrective capacity, by which it adopted improvements; and this was the boast of my lord Coke. He had given his support to the right honourable gentleman's reform bill; was it now expected of him to declare, that he conceived the constitution would have been better without? As an avowed enemy to all tests whatever, he objected to the plan of putting every man's political opinions to the test, by obliging him to abjure every other constitution but our own. Granting that he had been indiscreet, and even warm in the terms of his opinion on the French revolution, surely it did not deserve the severe and pointed epithets which had been heaped upon him that day—

Mr. Burke said, loud enough to be heard, that he did not recollect his having used any.

Mr. Fox then observed, that if they were out of his right honourable friend's recollection, they were out of his own; from that moment they were completely obliterated and forgotten.—He then pursued his argument, and re-asserted the misinformation of Mr. Burke on the affairs of France, but believed him to have advanced what he thought the truth. Mr. Fox, however, confessed himself not to have read what had lately been written on the French and English constitutions, to which Mr. Burke alluded—the works of Mr. Mackintosh and Mr. Paine. But understanding his friend to object in principle to such free discussions, he declared

declared generally in favour of all such discussions, as useful to political and moral truth; neither would he arraign any man for proposing to incorporate into the constitution of this country, what he approved in the system of another nation.

Every constitution, he said, to be good, must be adapted. It was presumption, it was bigotry and intolerance, beyond all precedents civil or religious, to accuse of folly and vice a whole people, because they dared to think for themselves. In the year 1780 it had been the opinion of that house, "That the influence of the crown had increased, "was increasing, and ought to be diminished." To this resolution his right honourable friend had subscribed; and would he now refuse to the French the same right which he himself had exercised? For, if the influence of the British crown was thought dangerous, what in the eyes of reflecting Frenchmen must have appeared the influence of the crown of France?—He would not have alluded to Mr. Burke's conduct in the year 1780, unless he had been convinced that it redounded to that gentleman's honour, and to the glory of his character; for where could he find an incident which did not? It was not for the pleasure of drawing a malicious contrast that this circumstance had been brought forward.

He proceeded to observe, that his right honourable friend had professed an enthusiastic attachment to our own monarchical constitution. Did he remember that in the year 1783, when his majesty in a speech from the throne lamented the loss which America had sustained in being deprived of the advantages resulting from a monarchical government, how he had ridiculed that speech; and compared it to a man's opening the door after he had left a room, and saying, "At our parting pray let "me recommend a monarchy to "you?"

In applying this to the defence of the French revolution, Mr. Fox thought that event such an acquisition to the cause of freedom, from the dominion of France over the manners of other nations, as to justify his former panegyric; and he apologized for the excesses of the French people in its progress, by remarking that it was natural for them to be guilty of many extravagant and absurd actions, from the apprehension of a sudden return of that despotism which they had destroyed; experiencing the sensations ludicrously described by our great dramatic poet, when he makes Falstaff exclaim, "I fear this gunpow-"der Percy, although he be dead." If a shade was wanted to contrast the splendor of our own constitution, it was to be found not in the new system, but in the ancient despotism of France. He and his friends, however, loved our own constitution on grounds independent of all external circumstances. Yet, he said, they thought the French revolution would do good to England. It might teach ministers not to endanger the just influence of the crown by over-straining it; and the people of England, if they should be disposed rashly to give way to innovations, might receive a warning from the confusions which had occasioned so much lamentation, and which were sufficiently great to deter others from lightly incurring similar calamities, though they were trifling in comparison of the benefits to which they have led.

led. His admiration of that event (and he here again repeated it) had been misrepresented abroad; it had been said, that every man must wish to imitate what he admired. But this he denied to be conclusive reasoning. There was, however, one article of their detail, in which he was desirous of imitating the French; it was a measure in which he had been uniform throughout his political life, and in which he and Mr. Burke agreed—that of universal toleration.

Referring Mr. Burke's sublime apostrophe to the Deity, the sound philosophy of which Mr. Fox admitted, he asked, what experience we could have had of the French constitution? It was, at least, a new experiment, though perhaps not a good experiment: and he, for his part, suspected that it was not the best; because, if all the wisest men of all ages could be collected together for the purpose, they would not be able to make a new constitution of original excellence.

As to the course which the debate had taken, he should have been surprized at hearing the gentlemen around him called a "well-disci-"plined corps," could he be surprized at any thing, after the rest which he had previously heard that night? He had not requested a single individual to call Mr. Burke to order; on the contrary, he had earnestly entreated all around him not to interrupt the debate. Did his friend mean to object altogether to party as wrong? Surely that could not be his opinion, though Mr. Fox said, he hardly knew his opinion on any thing. He justified and praised the principle of party-connexion, and gloried in that to which he himself belonged. His friend, who had so long been a member of it, knew that no unbecoming influence was exercised on the minds of those who acted in it; though, perhaps, they might think that intreaties and solicitations ought to have as much power over a friend, as a hint or a nod from the other side of the house; yet it was never suggested that connexion ought to stand in the way of duty; and if, for the discharge of his conscience, Mr. Burke thought it necessary to expose what he saw alarming there, or in the nation at large, without regard to friendship or favour, to this or that side of the house, he ought to do it, though he stood alone.

After enforcing in various ways all the topics of argument already stated, he observed, towards the conclusion, that he could not help saying again, that he had been unjustly and unfairly treated; but he would not suffer that to step between him and his friend. It was his intention to keep out of the right honourable gentleman's way, until time and reflection had altered his sentiments upon the subject of their difference; when he doubted not but their common friends would endeavour to re-unite them. An appeal was also made by him to Mr. Burke's own bosom: he trusted that the quickness of temper, which led his friend to momentary heat, would equally lead him to the dispositions so much more congenial to his nature; and he hoped, that in reviewing the cause of the present dispute, it would be recollected, that they had been engaged together in a systematic opposition to ministry since the year 1784, at which period Mr. Burke moved a representation to the crown, sufficient alone to make

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the ſame of any other man. This paper he connected with the principles of the Whig party, whoſe profeſſion it was to aſſert the doctrines of the revolution in 1688; and who ſaw, in the commencement of the preſent reign, a diſpoſition to depart from the conduct, which had made the laſt two reigns ſo glorious, and to make more uſe of the prerogative. On this conſtitutional point, he ſaid, it was that in 1784 they were at iſſue; and the event of that conteſt diſplayed a power that demanded a reform. He drew from thence another argument, that our conſtitution is not perfect; and again acknowledging the great favours which he had received from Mr. Burke, during ſo many years of his life, he concluded with a quotation, expreſſing how much keener is the anguiſh to be treated with unkindneſs by one who has obliged you, than one whom you have obliged.

In the courſe of this ſpeech, Mr. Fox appeared to conſider it as a kind of charge made upon him by Mr. Burke, that their intercourſe had much leſſened within the laſt five years. But, in truth, the circumſtance was only mentioned by the latter incidentally, in ſpeaking of their habits of intimacy, which the former had introduced into the debate. Mr. Fox explained, that it had happened from accident alone, and not from any diminution of affection.

Mr. Burke now roſe again, with a warmneſs which ſeemed the reſult of much internal effort, and comented upon what had fallen from Mr. Fox. He began with remarking, that the tenderneſs which had been diſplayed in the beginning and concluſion of that gentleman's ſpeech, was quite obliterated by what had occurred in the middle part. He regretted, in a tone and manner of earneſtneſs and fervency, the proceedings of that evening, which he feared might long be remembered by their enemies to the prejudice of both. He was unfortunate to ſuffer the laſh of Mr. Fox, but he muſt encounter it.

Under the maſk of kindneſs a new attack was made upon his character and conduct in the moſt hoſtile manner, and his very jeſts brought up in judgment againſt him. Mr. Burke confeſſed, that he did not think the careleſs expreſſions and playful triflings of his unguarded hours would have been recorded, muſtered up in the form of accuſations, and not only have had a ſerious meaning impoſed upon them, which they were never intended to bear, but one totally inconſiſtent with any fair and candid interpretation.—Could his moſt inveterate enemy have acted more unkindly towards him? The event of that night's debate, in which he had been interrupted without being ſuffered to explain, in which he had been accuſed without being heard in his defence, made him at a loſs to underſtand what was either party or friendſhip.

His arguments had been miſrepreſented. He had never affirmed, that the Engliſh, like every other conſtitution, might not in ſome points be amended. He had never maintained, that to praiſe our own conſtitution, the beſt way was to abuſe all others. The tendency of all that had been ſaid, was to repreſent him as a wild inconſiſtent man, only for attaching bad epithets to a bad ſubject.

With the view of ſhewing his in-

conſiſtency, alluſions had been made to his conduct reſpecting his œconomical reform in 1780, the American war, and the queſtions of 1784; but none of theſe applied. If he thought, in 1780, that the influence of the crown ought to be reduced to a limited ſtandard, and with which Mr. Fox himſelf, at the time, ſeemed to be ſatisfied, it did not follow that the French were right in reducing it with them to nothing. He was favourable to the Americans, becauſe he ſuppoſed they were fighting not to acquire abſolute ſpeculative liberty, but to keep what they had under the Engliſh conſtitution; and as to his repreſentation to the crown in 1784, he looked back to it with ſelf-gratification, ſtill thinking the ſame. Yet he knew not how to deviſe a legiſlative cure for the wound then inflicted, as it came from the people, who were induced to decide for the crown, againſt the independence of their own repreſentatives.

The inconſiſtency of his book with his former writings and ſpeeches, had been inſinuated and aſſumed, but he challenged the proof by ſpecific inſtances; and he alſo aſſerted, that there was not one ſtep of his conduct, nor one ſyllable of his book, contrary to the principles of thoſe men with whom our glorious revolution originated, and to whoſe principles, as a Whig, he declared an inviolable attachment. He was an old man, and ſeeing what was attempted to be introduced inſtead of the ancient temple of our conſtitution, could weep over the foundation of the new.

He again ſtated, ſtill more particularly, the endeavours uſed in this country to ſupplant our own by the introduction of the new French conſtitution; but he did not believe Mr. Fox at preſent had that wiſh, and he did believe him to have delivered his opinions abſtracted from any reference to this country; yet their effect might be different on thoſe who heard them, and ſtill more on others through miſapprehenſion or miſrepreſentations.

He replied to the grounds on which Mr. Fox explained his panegyric. The leſſon to kings, he was afraid, would be of another kind. He had heard Mr. Fox own the king of France to be the beſt intentioned ſovereign in Europe. His good-nature and love of his people had ruined him. He had conceded every thing till he was now in a jail. The example of the confuſions, on the other hand, would have very little operation, when it was mentioned with tardy and qualified cenſure, while the praiſes of the revolution were trumpeted with the loudeſt blaſts through the nation.

He obſerved, that Mr. Fox himſelf had termed the new French ſyſtem a moſt ſtupendous and glorious fabric of human integrity. He had really conceived, that the right honourable gentleman poſſeſſed a better taſte in architecture than to beſtow ſo magnificent an epithet upon a building compoſed of untempered mortar. He conſidered it as the work of Goths and Vandals, where every thing was diſjointed and inverted.

As to the church in particular, it had been ſaid, that the French had aboliſhed all teſts, and given a complete unequivocal toleration. So far from it, Mr. Burke inſiſted that they had eſtabliſhed the moſt diabolical intolerance that ever exiſted on the face of the earth, and created a new teſt, not for the ſake of ſecurity, but as the means of cruelty, oppreſſion, and injuſtice,

order to afford an opportunity of depriving many thouſand individuals of their bread. The clergy were forced to take this teſt, or ſtarve; and yet France was the country where there was ſaid to be no teſt at all! He drew a ſtriking picture of the perſecutions to which the religious of both ſexes, and the pious few of the laity, were expoſed, throughout France: and he particularly inſtanced the unmanly and brutal ſeverity inflicted on the ſiſterhood of the charity of St. Lazarus, an order of nuns, who from the force of pious zeal dedicated themſelves to the moſt irkſome of duties, that of ſpending their lives in the drudgery of a loathſome hoſpital. Thoſe meritorious women were ſeized, dragged out, ſtripped, publicly ſcourged, and turned adrift to get their bread as they could, where it was a crime for any hoſpitable roof to ſhelter them; and all this was for receiving the ſacrament from a prieſt who had not taken the teſt!—The aſſembly knew of this abominable tyranny, outraging at once piety, charity, and decency, yet they had not puniſhed, nor even cenſured it.

But the new conſtitution of France was ſaid to be an experiment. He thought, we had ſeen enough of it to judge of its practical effects. The new ſovereigns of that country, he greatly apprehended, would proceed from tyranny to tyranny, from oppreſſion to oppreſſion, till the whole ſyſtem terminated in the complete ruin of that miſerable and deluded people.

Mr. Burke again expreſſed his ſorrow for the occurrences of that day; yet if the good were to many, he ſaid that he would willingly take the evil to himſelf. He ſincerely hoped, that no member of that houſe would ever barter the conſtitution of his country, that eternal jewel of his ſoul, for a wild and viſionary ſyſtem, which could only lead to confuſion and diſorder.

Mr. Pitt, after having made ſome remarks upon the ſingular ſituation, in which the houſe then ſtood with reſpect to the queſtion before it; and having declared his own opinion to be, that Mr. Burke had not been, even in the firſt inſtance, at all out of order, ſuggeſted the propriety of withdrawing the motion which had been made by lord Sheffield.

Mr. Pitt conceived that the conſtitution could be in no immediate danger; but profeſſed, that if hereafter there ſhould appear to be a more ſerious ground of apprehenſion, and that ground ſhould be diſtinctly ſtated by Mr. Burke, he ſhould be eager to give that gentleman his warmeſt and moſt effectual ſupport. He thought Mr. Burke entitled to the gratitude of his country for having on that day in ſo able and eloquent a manner expreſſed his ſenſe of the degree of danger which already exiſted; and aſſured him, that he would himſelf moſt cordially co-operate with him in taking every poſſible means to preſerve what he eſteemed the moſt perfect conſtitution in the world, and to deliver it down to poſterity as the beſt ſecurity for the proſperity, freedom, and happineſs of the Britiſh people.

The houſe adjourned to the 11th of May; on which day the clauſes of the bill were debated. Nothing very material occurred till the clauſe relating to the legiſlative council was read, when Mr. Fox roſe to object to it. He took this opportunity of entering into a declaration of his political opinions.

There could be no good and complete ſyſtem of government, he ſaid, without a due mixture of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy: and however unfavourably one gentleman might conſtrue his ſentiments, yet he conſidered our own ariſtocracy as the proper poiſe of the conſtitution, the balance that equalized and meliorated the powers of the two other extremes, and gave firmneſs and ſtability to the whole. He nevertheleſs did not think it wiſe, in an infant government, where no previous materials of ſuch an ariſtocracy exiſted, to make that branch of the legiſlature hereditary. Property was and had ever been eſteemed to be the true foundation of ariſtocracy, and upon that he propoſed to build the ariſtocracy of Canada, ſince an act of parliament could not give nobility like an Engliſh peerage. He thought it beſt to make the council elective, with a higher qualification both for the electors and the elected, after the model of the American conſtitutions, where the three powers of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy, were judiciouſly blended, although under different names. He ſpoke at much length on theſe topics.

This declaration ſeemed to give great ſatisfaction to the miniſter, who remarked, however, that a different impreſſion reſpecting Mr. Fox's ſentiments had been made both in that houſe and abroad, by the debate of the former night. Believing him now to be truly ſincere, he congratulated himſelf, that he might expect to have, he might be ſure of having, the aid of ſuch eloquence and talents to reſiſt any attempt at any time to impair or deſtroy any part of that edifice, which for its beauty and perfection was the admiration of the whole world, and the ineſtimable bleſſing of this country. He ſpoke in the moſt animated terms of the principle of ariſtocracy in a mixed government; but combated the amendment ſuggeſted by Mr. Fox.

Mr. Burke deſired the protection of the houſe to the ſituation in which he ſtood. He found, that a ſentence of baniſhment from his party had been pronounced againſt him. The houſe he hoped would not conſider him as a bad man, although he had been baniſhed by one party, and was too old to ſeek another. Being thus, without any juſt cauſe, ſeparated from his former friends, he confeſſed that he ſeverely felt his loſs; but that, what he felt like a man, he would bear like a man. He truſted at leaſt, that he ſhould meet a fair and open hoſtility, to which he would oppoſe himſelf with manly firmneſs, for the very ſhort period that he ſhould continue a member of that houſe.

He then once more aſſerted the purity of his motives; and complained of the imputations thrown upon his conduct. And as to the charge of abuſing republics, in order to recommend monarchy, he affirmed that he had never abuſed any republic, ancient or modern, but he had not termed France a republic: no, it was an anomaly in government; he knew not by what name to call it, nor in what language to deſcribe it. It was a compound (and he recited the verſes from Milton) of the ſublimely obſcure and tremendous figure of Death, having the likeneſs of a kingly crown upon the ſeeming

* This ſeems to allude to the paragraph, which ſee in p. 2, of the "Appeal."

head,

head, with the cry of hell-hounds, that bark unceaſingly round the waiſt of Sin. It was a ſhapeleſs monſter, born of Hell and Chaos.

On the ſubject of the clauſe, he agreed with the miniſter. In a monarchy, he contended, that the ariſtocracy muſt ever be nearer to the crown than to the democracy, becauſe it originated in the crown as the fountain of honour; but in thoſe governments which partook not of any thing monarchical, the ariſtocracy there neceſſarily ſprang out of the democracy. He denied property to be the ſole foundation of ariſtocracy. He pointedly condemned a cloſe, and praiſed an open, ariſtocracy. The power of rewarding virtue and talents by a peerage, he conſidered as a royal prerogative of the moſt beneficial kind. He entered into an accurate analyſis of the houſe of lords; and finally objected to the council propoſed by Mr. Fox, which he thought in fact to be of a democratical conſtitution. Neither did he find any recommendation of it from experience; and in proof of this, he went at length into the conſtitutions of the American colonies before their independence, ſhewing that all equally rebelled.

He afterwards recurred to his own ſituation; and defining with much nicety the diſtinction between a faction and a party, declared, that he might be of a faction, but could not be of a party with thoſe who continued to reprobate the principles of his book. Then, having touched on ſome other points perſonal to himſelf, he cloſed his ſpeech by obſerving, that at a time when open and avowed attempts were made to circulate pamphlets and diſſeminate doctrines ſubverſive of the prerogative, and conſequently dangerous to the conſtitution, it was unwarrantable for any good ſubject to be day after day holding out a parade of democracy, in order to ſet the unthinking many raging againſt the crown. He conceived that there then exiſted a run againſt monarchy; but this had been raſhly repreſented as the mere idle coinage of his own brain; he truſted however, that the houſe would not reſt too ſecurely upon ſuch a repreſentation, but take care in time to guard againſt the impending danger. In ſaying what he had upon the ſubject, he was conſcious that he had done his duty; and hoped that he had in ſome meaſure averted, what might otherwiſe have effected the downfal of our juſtly-boaſted conſtitution—ſupported by ſuch reflections, he was not deprived of conſolation, although excluded from his party; a gloomy ſolitude might reign around him, but all was unclouded ſunſhine within.

Mr. Fox again roſe, and began by ſaying, that he had before been careful not to intermix any remarks on French affairs; but his opinions remained unaltered. Among other things, he declared, that he thought the conſtitution was more liable to be ruined by an increaſe of the power of the crown, than by an increaſe of the power of the people. As to Mr. Burke's obſervation of his being excluded from the party, Mr. Fox aſſerted, that, if that gentleman was ſo excluded, it was his own choice; for that if he would repent, he might be aſſured that his friends would ever be ready to receive him, to reſpect and love him. He nevertheleſs at the ſame time inſinuated that Mr. Burke had miſuſed the functions and privileges of the houſe, by holding long diſcourſes,

perſonal to himſelf, and relative to imaginary plots which had no foundation in fact, and by thus preventing a committee from doing its duty in examining the clauſes of an important bill. He hinted likewiſe that the right honourable gentleman's vanity miſled him, when he ſuppoſed that the diſcuſſion of perſonal topics in that houſe would have the leaſt influence on public opinion.

Mr. Burke, in reply, did not take any notice of theſe freſh attacks upon him, of being repreſented as a vain man, a troubleſome member of the houſe, and a dreamer of viſionary dangers; but ſimply remarked, that having paſſed his youth without encountering any party diſgrace, he had been ſo unfortunate indeed as to incur it in his age; nevertheleſs he wiſhed it to be underſtood, that he ſolicited not the friendſhip of any man, or of any party in that houſe. If he conſented to accept the return of old friendſhip from thoſe with whom he had acted till now, he would enjoy it from their eſteem, not from their weakneſs; from their juſtice, not from their humanity. It was propoſed to him to repent, as the condition of being again reſpected and loved; but he would never, with contrition and penitence, court a reconciliation to which, as a preliminary, he muſt make a ſacrifice of thoſe principles of the conſtitution, in which he had been educated, and which through life he had approved, admired, and defended.

Thus ended a friendſhip which had laſted for more than the fourth part of a century, between two men, of whom poſterity will only doubt which to place higheſt among the moſt ſplendid examples of human talents. We could have wiſhed, had it been poſſible, to have given the ſeveral ſpeeches at full length; but it is hoped that the general caſt and complexion of the diſpute have been preſerved with fidelity. To that end all the accounts which could be obtained have been compared, and all again tried by the teſt of Mr. Burke's "Appeal," which contains much of the ſubſtance of theſe debates, and ſtands yet uncontradicted in point of fact; and with reluctance it muſt be added, that ſome of the reports, commonly eſteemed of good authority, required the caution of ſuch a check in every part. Neither has diligence been ſpared (it may be thought perhaps that too much has rather been uſed) in bringing together every thing which could tend to illuſtrate the immediate riſe and progreſs of this diſſenſion, previous to the re-commitment of the Quebec bill. The ſubject ſeemed to demand it. It was due in juſtice to an individual, who has been ſometimes charged with a deſign to injure his friend, and ſometimes repreſented as led aſtray by a blind intemperance; but who has himſelf conſtantly aſſerted, that he was diſcharging, under a ſevere affliction of body and mind, a neceſſary duty to his country, paramount to all conſiderations of private friendſhip, by giving an early warning of a public danger, the origin of which, a ſecret committee of the houſe of commons has ſince referred to this very point of time. It was alſo due to the public. For the reception which Mr. Burke's opinions have found on the affairs of France, and their connection with this kingdom, has given the whole nation an intereſt in his credit, and the purity of his motives in this reſpect. That they were pure, the internal evidence of the whole tranſaction,

action, fairly reviewed, and the teſtimony of the miniſter to a part within his knowledge, appear to eſtabliſh beyond a doubt.

On the other hand, tho' the charge againſt his conſiſtency, brought by Mr. Fox, was wholly irregular, both as to the queſtion of order, or the merits of the French revolution, and was a clear and direct perſonal attack upon him, we do not think that it aroſe from a want of friendſhip; for we believe the profeſſions of Mr. Fox to have been affectionately ſincere. Neither do we think that it was an ebullition of that temper in Mr. Fox, which he himſelf confeſſed to be warm; for it was ſo circumſtantial, and deſcended to ſuch minute points of conſiderable antiquity, as to carry with it every appearance of having been premeditated. It ſeems to have been extorted from him againſt all the feelings of his heart, by the exigency of his ſituation. He probably feared leſt the ſchiſm, which was now actually begun, might ſpread farther. He wiſhed therefore to erect the barrier of ſuppoſed conſiſtency to ſtop the ſeceſſion of others, and to ſtrengthen it by the terror of puniſhment to all who ſhould paſs it. He endeavoured to eſtabliſh a bond of indiſſoluble union againſt the miniſtry of Mr. Pitt, on the principle of the conteſt in 1784, and to ſet that above all other principles. This policy, however, has been ineffectual. A ſeparation followed, where Mr. Burke had made a crack. But in truth the real cauſe of diſunion is not to be found in any occurrence of this ſeſſion, nor even in the affairs of France; theſe were only occaſions, which forced into notice a diviſion before exiſting, and ariſing from a real difference of principle. "The "political friends, with whom Mr. "Burke ſet out in life," as he ſaid in the laſt debate, "were moſt of "them gone where he muſt ſoon "follow, and another party had "ſucceeded them, with whom he "had acted." Mr. Burke, and the few who remained with him, ſo far from being inconſiſtent, adhered rigidly to their old principles, and applied them to the French revolution, while their new aſſociates, now forming a majority of the party under Mr. Fox, floated down the current of the popular tide. This is the clue to the ſeparation very candidly and truly given by a writer full of acrimony againſt Mr. Burke, and a profeſſed champion on the other ſide. He deſcribes the judgment of Mr. Burke on French affairs, as fettered by ſyſtem *. "The oracle of a "great ariſtocracy," ſays he, "it had "been neceſſary for you to form a "† *creed*; and you had neglected the "progreſs of the human mind ſub"ſequent to its adoption:" while he tells us that Mr. Fox, on the other hand, came to the ſubject "un"ſhackled by the chains of ſyſtem, "at liberty to remark and follow "the progreſs of opinion, and me"riting the ſingular praiſe of *being* "*more near* the level of his age "than any *profeſſed ſtateſman* in "Europe." The hiſtory of this progreſs of opinion in the party would be curious and inſtructive—but we muſt purſue our narrative of the proceedings in parliament.

* Parallel between the Conduct of Mr. Burke and that of Mr. Fox, p. 8.
† Thoughts on the Cauſes of the preſent Diſcontents, 1770.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Queſtion as to the rights of juries in caſes of libel, a diſputed point of long ſtanding. Warmly agitated in the year 1771. *Bill then moved by Mr. Dowdeſwell: drawn by Mr. Burke. Mr. Fox now takes up the buſineſs. He moves for a grand committee on courts of juſtice. Mr. Erſkine ſeconds the motion. At the ſuggeſtion of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox withdraws his motion, and obtains leave to bring in a bill for the removal of all doubts reſpecting the rights and functions of jury. Firſt reading of the bill. Its preamble rejected at the ſecond reading. The conſideration of the bill in the houſe of lords poſtponed on the motion of the lord chancellor. Finance committee. Budget. Mr. Sheridan moves forty reſolutions relative to the public income and expenditure in a committee of the whole houſe. Report of the committee. India budget. Sir Gilbert Elliot moves for a repeal of the tiſh act, in favour of the church of Scotland. Royal burghs of Scotland. Sierra Leona bill. King's ſpeech. Prorogation of parliament.*

IN the laſt chapter, we ſaw that Mr. Fox, while charging Mr. Burke with inconſiſtency, alluded to their former difference of opinion on the rights of juries: but by a ſingular coincidence of events, in the very next buſineſs that occupied the attention of the houſe, he was to build no little ſhare of his own glory on his own inconſiſtency relative to this ſubject. He was himſelf to bring forward a bill* very ſimila

* That our readers may the better compare the two bills, we ſhall give them here in oppoſite columns. The former is taken from one of the daily papers of January the 18th, 1771, and is alſo to be found in the Appendix to the Life of Lord Chatham; the latter is tranſcribed from the ſtatute-book, as it ultimately paſſed the following year.

Jury Bill of 1771.

I. Whereas doubts and controverſies have ariſen, concerning the right of jurors to try the whole matter charged in indictments and informations for ſeditious and other libels; for ſettling and clearing the ſame in time to come, be it enacted, &c. that from and after, &c. the jurors who ſhall be duly impanelled and ſworn to try the iſſue between the king and the defendant, upon any indictment or information for a ſeditious libel, or a libel under any other denomination or deſcription, ſhall, to all intents and purpoſes, be held and reputed, in law and in right, competent to try every part

Jury Bill of 1791.

I. Whereas doubts have ariſen, whether, on the trial of an indictment or information for the making or publiſhing any libel, where an iſſue or iſſues are joined between the king and the defendant or defendants on the plea of not guilty pleaded, it be competent to the jury impanelled to try the ſame to give their verdict upon the whole matter in iſſue; be it therefore declared and enacted by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority

similar to that on which he had many years before oppoſed his late friend.

The rights of juries, in caſes of libel, to try the whole iſſue, was a queſtion of long ſtanding. The doctrine which prevailed in our courts of juſtice had certainly taken root there long before the time of lord Mansfield. But while he preſided in the king's bench, the trial of Mr. Almon, for the re publication of Junius's Letter to the King, happening in a juncture of public ferment, gave riſe to ſeveral warm debates in both houſes of parliament; lord Camden, in the upper, and ſerjeant Glynn and Mr. Dun-

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Jury Bill of 1771, *(continued.)*

part of the matter laid or charged in the ſaid indictment or information, comprehending the criminal intention of the defendant, and evil tendency of the libel charged, as well as the mere fact of the publication thereof; and the application by innuendo of blanks, initial letters, pictures, and other devices, any law or uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

II. Provided that nothing in the act be conſtrued to prevent or reſtrain the judges or juſtices, before whom ſuch iſſues ſhall be tried, from inſtructing the jurors concerning the law upon the matter ſo in iſſue, as fully as may be done in other miſdemeanors, where the jurors do and ought to try the whole matter; nor to reſtrain the jurors from finding the matter ſpecial, if the law to them ſhall ſeem difficult and doubtful.

III. Provided alſo, that nothing herein contained ſhall be conſtrued to take from the defendant, after verdict found, the right of laying ſuch evidence before the court in which ſuch verdict was found, as may tend to mitigation or extenuation of his ſaid offence, as has been uſually practiſed before this act.

Jury Bill of 1791, *(continued.)*

of the ſame, that on every ſuch trial, the jury ſworn to try the iſſue may give a general verdict of guilty or not guilty, upon the whole matter put in iſſue upon ſuch indictment or information, and ſhall not be required or directed, by the court or judge before whom ſuch indictment or information ſhall be tried, to find the defendant or defendants guilty, merely on the proof of the publication by ſuch defendant or defendants of the paper charged to be a libel, and of the ſenſe aſcribed to the ſame on ſuch indictment or information.

II. Provided always, that on every ſuch trial the court or judge, before whom ſuch indictment or information ſhall be tried, ſhall, according to their or his diſcretion, give their or his opinion and directions to the jury on the matter in iſſue between the king and the defendant or defendants, in like manner as in other criminal caſes.

III. Provided alſo, that nothing herein contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to prevent the jury from finding a ſpecial verdict in their diſcretion, as in other criminal caſes.

IV. Provided alſo, that in caſe the jury ſhall find the defendant or defendants guilty, it ſhall and may be lawful for the ſaid defendant or defendants to move in arreſt of judgment on ſuch ground, and in ſuch manner, as by law he or they might have done before the paſſing of this act, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

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ning in the lower houſe, particularly diſtinguiſhing themſelves on the popular ſide. At length, Mr. Dowdeſwell, who led the friends of the marquis of Rockingham in the houſe of commons, moved for leave to bring in a bill for ſettling doubts in this reſpect. The bill was actually drawn by Mr. Burke. But it was ſtrongly attacked in the newſpapers by an anonymous writer, ſuppoſed to be Mr. Horne Tooke; it received but a hollow ſupport from the friends of lord Shelburne, and the leave to introduce it was directly oppoſed by the party of Mr. George Grenville. Mr. Dowdeſwell's motion was in conſequence loſt. Mr. Fox, in theſe diſcuſſions, took part with the majority. What he ſaid has not been preſerved, but ſome veſtiges of one of his ſpeeches appear in an anſwer of Mr. Burke.

There is a ſort of underſtood rule in parliament, that when a member has once been in poſſeſſion of any queſtion, it is not to be taken up by any other member, unleſs the original mover conſents or declares that he does not intend to renew it. But a ſilence of twenty years might perhaps be conſidered as a virtual dereliction. However it happened, Mr. Fox, it is ſaid, did not conſult with Mr. Burke on this occaſion, though he mentioned his purpoſe of agitating the ſubject ſo early as February, two months prior to any ſymptom of a public breach between him and his friend.

On the 20th of May, he moved for a grand committee on courts of juſtice. He entered into a long and argumentative ſpeech on the doctrine of libels, in which he contended, that the jury ought not only to find the publication, and the innuendos, but to decide upon the intention; that they were judges as well of law as of fact.

From libels he adverted to the proceedings of the court of king's bench in caſes of quo warranto.—He thought, that there ought to be a ſtatute regulating the conduct of that court with regard to the granting of informations, and enabling it to give double coſts in caſes of frivolous applications.

Mr. Erſkine, who ſeconded the motion, ſupported it with much eloquence and ability. To diminiſh the privileges of juries, was in his idea to throw away the only ſecurity which the people poſſeſſed againſt the overwhelming prerogatives of the crown. In civil caſes, he remarked, it was the undoubted province of the judge to decide upon the queſtion of law, matters of property being too intricate for the deciſion of a jury; but this rule ought never to obtain in criminal caſes, where the guilt, conſiſting in the intention, ſeemed a point peculiarly adapted to the conſideration of a jury, and could only be properly aſcertained by their verdict.

The attorney general coincided in opinion with Mr. Fox. He nevertheleſs exculpated the judges from the charge of having acted with impropriety in countenancing a contrary doctrine, conceiving that they were in ſome degree bound to follow the uninterrupted courſe of precedents, and to be determined by what had been the uniform practice of their predeceſſors.

Mr. Pitt ſupported the ſame argument. He declared, that, although he ſhould with great diffidence ſet up his own opinion againſt the eſtabliſhed practice of the judges, yet he could not but confeſs that it went directly againſt that practice; for

for he ſaw no reaſon why, on the trial of a crime, the whole conſideration of the caſe might not preciſely go to the unfettered judgment of twelve men, who were ſworn to give their verdict honeſtly and conſcientiouſly. He objected however to the going into a committee; but recommended the plan of ſettling the whole buſineſs by a ſhort ſeparate bill.

Mr. Fox adopted the ſuggeſtion of Mr. Pitt, and withdrawing his former motion, moved "For leave to bring in a bill to remove all doubts reſpecting the rights and functions of juries in trial of criminal cauſes." He alſo moved "For leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the act of the 9th year of queen Anne, chap. 20, relative to quo warranto." Both motions paſſed unanimouſly.

The bill was read a firſt time on the 25th of May, when Mr. Mitford and the ſolicitor general expreſſed a wiſh, that ſo important a bill might not be hurried through the houſe.

Mr. Erſkine argued for the neceſſity of a parliamentary interference in the preſent inſtance; obſerving, that when a practice erroneous in its principle had long obtained, as in the caſe under conſideration, it was not by the authority of a judge, but of the legiſlature, that it ought to be corrected.

On the ſecond reading of the bill, May 31ſt, objections were made to the preamble, which ſtated, "that in all criminal proſecutions by indictment or information, the jury have always had, and by the law of England were intended to have, a juriſdiction over the whole matter in iſſue." After ſome debate, the whole paragraph was omitted, upon the ground, that it was beſt to avoid any general propoſition in the preamble, which was not neceſſary to introduce the enactment of the bill.

It was debated in the houſe of lords, on the 8th of June, when the chancellor oppoſed its farther progreſs in that ſeſſion. His lordſhip ſaid, that although its principle met with the concurrence of all thoſe noble and learned friends, with whom he had converſed on the ſubject, yet in conſideration of the advanced ſtate of the ſeſſion, and the importance of the bill, he ſhould move, "That inſtead of being read a ſecond time on that day, it ſhould be read a ſecond time that day month."

Lord Camden declared himſelf a friend to the bill, not becauſe it tended to alter the law of the land, but becauſe it eſtabliſhed it. He contended, that the jury already did poſſeſs, and always had poſſeſſed, a legal right to form their verdict on the whole caſe, law, fact, and intention, how much ſo ever this right might have been diſcountenanced by the judges.

Lord Loughborough purſued a ſimilar line of argument. He conſidered the bill as a declaratory bill, the object of which was, not to make that law, which was previouſly ſuppoſed to be of a different deſcription, but to declare and explain, what was underſtood to be at that inſtant the exiſting law of the land. The bill, he ſaid, was agreeable to the direction, which as a judge he had himſelf always given in caſes of libels. He wiſhed therefore to be ranked among its warmeſt advocates; nevertheleſs, ſince they were arrived at a period of the ſeſſion, when it was impoſſible for them to proceed with it conſiſtently with the

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reſpect which was due to themſelves, to the ſubject itſelf, to the rights and to the tranquillity of England, he concurred in the prudent propoſal of deferring it.

Lord Grenville ſupported the ſame ſide of the queſtion. He thought that it would be unwiſe and indecorous for their lordſhips to proceed in ſuch a bill without the aſſiſtance of the judges, from whom a declaration of what was underſtood to be the exiſting law upon the ſubject would come with more weight and authority, than from any other quarter.

The marquis of Lanſdowne ſpoke much in favour of the liberty of the preſs; but againſt its licentiouſneſs. He paid ſome very high compliments to the diſtinguiſhed abilities, profound knowledge, and inflexible integrity, of the judges.—His lordſhip profeſſed himſelf to be a zealous friend to the bill; and argued againſt the propoſed delay.

The lord chancellor's motion was carried, and the bill of courſe poſtponed.

A committee was appointed, on the 8th of April, upon the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, to enquire into the ſtate of the public income and expenditure *. The report of this committee, and at the ſame time the ſeveral accounts relative to the public income and expenditure, were referred to the conſideration of a committee of ways and means, on the 18th of May.

Mr. Pitt ſaid, that he ſhould lay before the committee, as ſhortly and diſtinctly as poſſible, the articles of expenditure, and of ways and means, of the year. He thought it however proper to ſeparate from them thoſe articles, which had been already provided for in the armament budget, and which amounted to the ſum of 3,133,000l.

EXPENDITURE.

	£.
Navy - - -	2,131,000
Army - - -	1,853,000
Ordnance - -	443,000
Deficiency of land and malt tax - -	400,000
Deficiency of grants -	207,000
Miſcellaneous ſervices	694,000
Sum total of the ſupplies	5,728,000

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land and malt tax -	2,750,000
Surplus of laſt year -	303,221
Lottery - - -	306,250
Surplus of the permanent taxes, after having deducted the intereſt and charges of the public debts, civil liſt, &c.	2,110,000
Outſtanding balance of accounts - -	154,000
Probable increaſe of receipts on tobacco, land-tax arrears, and hemp duty - -	120,000
	5,743,471
Deduct three-quarters of a year's annuity, due to the duke of Clarence	9,000
Sum total of ways and means - -	£. 5,734,471

Mr. Pitt remarked, that the ways and means exceeded the ſupplies by a few thouſand pounds only. He did not think it neceſſary to detain the committee by entering into a diſcuſſion of the ſtate of the finances, particularly when he conſidered the

* See State Papers, p. 200 *.

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very able and accurate report, which they had received from the finance committee.

Mr. Sheridan admitted that the day was at laſt arrived, when he could agree with Mr. Pitt, that the report of the committee of finance was as fair a report as could be expected. There were nevertheleſs certain omiſſions on both ſides the account, which would not have happened, had he himſelf been a member of the committee. It was not however his intention to diſcuſs the report at that time; but he would ſoon name a particular day for the purpoſe.

On the 3d of June the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee on the report of the ſelect committee appointed to examine the ſeveral papers relative to the public income and expenditure, when Mr. Sheridan brought forward ſome reſolutions on the ſubject of the finances, of which he had given a previous notice. In the commencement of his ſpeech he ſeverely cenſured the general inattention of the houſe to all revenue concerns. It was not, he remarked, a little extraordinary, when a ſelect committee, which had been appointed to examine and reviſe the report of the committee of 1786, had made an eſtimate of the probable expence of the future peace eſtabliſhment, exceeding the eſtimate of the committee of 1786 by half a million, that the houſe ſhould have received that eſtimate without aſking a ſingle queſtion reſpecting the cauſe of the increaſe. He then drew a compariſon between the report of 1786 and that of 1791, in order to ſhew, that the expenditure had exceeded the revenue. He then read the following reſolutions, which he ſubmitted to the conſideration of the committee:

1. Reſolved, That it appears, that the ſelect committee of 1786 proceeded upon a ſuppoſition, that the annual and permanent taxes then ſubſiſting were likely to produce annually the ſum of 15,397,471 l.

2. That the ſelect committee of 1786 ſtate, that a farther conſiderable increaſe in the then ſubſiſting taxes beyond their eſtimate might be expected, if the due collection thereof could be ſecured by meaſures adequate to the purpoſe, and ſuch as would probably afford an ample proviſion for any deficiencies which might at any time be found in certain extraordinary reſources, before enumerated by the ſelect committee.

3. That it appears, by the report of the ſelect committee of 1791, that the produce of the ſaid taxes, from the 5th January 1786 to the 5th January 1787, amounted only to the ſum of 14,405,702 l. being 991,769 l. leſs than the ſum eſtimated;

That the produce of the ſaid taxes, upon an average of the firſt two years (viz. 1786 and 1787) amounted only to 14,864,834 l. being 532,637 l. leſs than the ſum eſtimated;

That the produce of the ſaid taxes, upon an average of the firſt three years (viz. 1786, 1787, and 1788) amounted only to 15,037,263 l. being 360,208 l. leſs than the committee eſtimated;

That the produce of the ſaid taxes, upon an average of the firſt four years (viz. 1786, 1787, 1788, and 1789) amounted only to 15,222,708 l. being 174,763 l. leſs than the committee eſtimated;

And

And that the produce of the ſaid taxes, upon an average of five years (viz. 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1790) has amounted to 15,448,479 l. leaving an exceeding of 51,008 l. beyond the eſtimate of the ſaid ſelect committee.

4. That in this calculation the ſelect committee of 1791 have not adverted to all the additional impoſitions which ought to have been deducted from their eſtimate.

5. That the total net produce of the public income, upon an average of the laſt five years (viz. from 6th January 1786 to 5th January 1791, both incluſive) has amounted annually, including a fifty-third weekly payment, to a ſum not exceeding the ſum of 15,618,775 l.

6. That the average expenditure during the ſame period, including the ſums paid to the American loyaliſts, and on account of other temporary miſcellaneous ſervices, and the ſums iſſued to the commiſſioners for diſcharging the national debt; and adding the eſtimated expence of the militia for the years 1789 and 1790; but excluſive of the expence of the armament in 1790, and of any addition to the navy debt ſince 1786; has amounted annually to a ſum exceeding the ſum of 16,855,109 l.

7. That the average exceſs of expenditure beyond the average income, during the above period, has amounted annually to a ſum exceeding 1,236,334 l.

8. That the total net produce of the public income, upon an average of the laſt three years (viz. from 6th January 1788, to 5th January 1791, both incluſive) has amounted annually, including a fifty-third weekly payment, to the ſum of 16,030,286 l.

9. That the average expenditure during the ſame period, including the ſums paid to the American loyaliſts, and on account of other temporary miſcellaneous ſervices, and the ſums iſſued to the commiſſioners for diſcharging the national debt; and adding the eſtimated expence of the militia, for the years 1789 and 1790; but excluſive of the expence of the armament in 1790, and of any addition to the navy debt ſince 1786; has amounted annually to a ſum exceeding 16,978,073 l.

10. That the average exceſs of expenditure, beyond the average income, during the above period, has amounted annually to 947,787 l.

11. That the expence of the armament in the year 1790, ſeparately provided for, and not included in the above accounts, has amounted to a ſum exceeding three millions.

12. That it appears that the addition to the navy debt, ſince 31ſt December 1785, is eſtimated by the ſelect committee at 457,950 l. and that, by an account delivered to the houſe ſince the report of the committee, this debt appears to have been farther increaſed.

13. That the total amount of the exceeding of expenditure in the five years before ſtated, excluſive of this addition to the navy debt, and of the expence of the armament in 1790, amounts to the ſum of 6,181,670 l.

14. That the extraordinary reſources, by which this deficiency has been ſupplied during the above period, have amounted to the ſum of 6,191,105 l. and have ariſen from the following articles; viz.

	£.
From reſpited duties paid in by the Eaſt India company -	522,500

From

	£.
From arrears of land-tax granted prior to 1786	131,467
Ditto malt - -	14,875
From ſums remaining in the Exchequer on 5th January 1786 -	1,172,119
From impreſt monies, and monies repaid -	820,165
From money repaid on account of advance for foreign ſecret ſervice	34,000
From ſale of French prizes - -	3,000
From army ſavings and Chelſea penſioners -	1,091,147
From profit on the annual lottery - -	1,212,692
Raiſed by way of tontine - -	1,002,140
Ditto by granting ſhort annuities -	187,000
	£.6,191,105

15. That from the nature of the articles which have compoſed theſe extraordinary aids, no ſimilar aſſiſtance, to any conſiderable amount, can be expected in future, excepting from the article of a lottery, ſhould the legiſlature continue to think it right to avail itſelf of that expedient.

16. That the ſelect committee, appointed in 1786, to examine and ſtate the accounts relating to the public income and expenditure, and to report what might be expected to be the annual amount of the ſaid income and expenditure in future, have ſtated the expected future expenditure upon a permament peace eſtabliſhment, including the annual million to be paid to the commiſſioners, at the ſum of 15,478,181 l.

17. That the ſelect committee, appointed in the preſent year 1791, to examine into the amount of the public income and expenditure during the laſt five years, and alſo to report to the houſe what may be expected to be the annual amount in future, ſtate the expected expenditure, upon a permanent peace eſtabliſhment, including the annnal million to be paid to the commiſſioners, at the ſum of 15,969,178 l. a ſum exceeding the permanent peace eſtabliſhment, as ſtated by the committee of 1786, by 490,997 l.

18. That in the report of the ſelect committee in 1786, the accounts are ſtated to have been prepared on a calculation of a permanent peace eſtabliſhment towards the end of the year 1790.

19. That the ſelect committee of 1791 ſtate no time when their eſtimate of a permanent peace eſtabliſhment may be expected to commence.

20. That the expence of the preſent year, according to the ſervices already voted, and excluſive of any extra expence for the preſent armament, will amount to the ſum of 16,833,920 l. or more; exceeding the permanent peace eſtabliſhment of the ſelect committee of 1786, by the ſum of 1,355,739 l. and the enlarged eſtimate of the committee of 1791, by the ſum of 864,742 l.

21. That the ſelect committee of 1786 calculate the amount of the permanent peace eſtabliſhment, under the five heads of navy, army, ordnance, militia, and miſcellaneous ſervices, at 3,913,274 l. viz.

Navy - -	1,800,000
Army - -	1,600,000
Ordnance - -	348,000
Militia - -	91,000
Miſcellaneous ſervices	74,274
	£. 3,913,274

22. That the ſelect committee of 1791 calculate the amount of the permanent peace eſtabliſhment, under the ſame five heads of navy, army, ordnance, militia, and miſcellaneous ſervices, at 4,347,569l. viz.

Navy - -	2,000,000
Army - -	1,748,842
Ordnance - -	375,000
Militia - -	95,311
Miſcellaneous ſervices	128,416
£.	4,347,569

exceeding, in theſe five articles, the eſtimate of 1786, by the ſum of 434,295l.

23. That the ſelect committee of 1791 do not appear to have thought it within their province to enquire into, or to ſtate any ground or neceſſity for ſuch increaſe.

24. That the ſums voted for the ſervice of the preſent year under the above heads, but including no proviſion for the preſent armament, are as follow:

Navy - -	2,131,000
Army - -	1,853,000
Ordnance - -	443,000
Militia - -	95,311
Miſcellaneous ſervices, including the ſums to the American loyaliſts, and other allowances - -	690,000
£.	5,212,311

exceeding the eſtimate of 1786 by the ſum of 1,299,037l. and the eſtimate of 1791, by 864,742l. but deducting the ſum of 306,000l. of the ſum voted to the loyaliſts, as being to be defrayed by the profits of the lottery, then exceeding the eſtimate of 1786 by the ſum of 993,037l. and the eſtimate of 1791, by the ſum of 558,742l.

25. That the ſelect committee, eſtimating upon an average of the three laſt years, and adverting to the additional week's receipt in 1790, have calculated the future probable annual income at the ſum of 16,030,286l. excluſive of the profits on a lottery.

26. That the receipt of each of the two laſt years appears to have conſiderably exceeded that ſum.

27. That in the receipt of the latter year, the great increaſe appears to have ariſen under the head of exciſe; and that, in the articles of ſpirits and ſpirit licences alone, the exceeding in the receipt of the year 1790, over the receipt of the year 1786, amounts to the ſum of 599,355l.

28. That it appears to have been highly proper in the ſelect committee to calculate, upon an average of three years at leaſt, the future expected income; at the ſame time it appears to this committee, that, on a review of the whole of the accounts, the future income may reaſonably be expected to amount to the ſum eſtimated by the ſelect committee.

29. That upon this eſtimate, it appears that our future income is calculated as likely to exceed our future expenditure by the amount of 61,108l. per annum.

Income - -	16,030,286
Expenditure - -	15,969,178
Balance - - £.	61,108

30. That this balance is wholly inadequate to provide for thoſe extraordinary expences which are actually foreſeen and admitted by the ſelect committee; for, though the

the ſelect committee ſtate, that they do not conceive that "it falls within their province to conſider what other extraordinary expences, not included in any eſtimate before them, may occur in a courſe of years;" yet they further ſtate, that "the only article of this nature, which has been brought diſtinctly under their view, is the amount of the money remaining due upon the principal and intereſt of the American and Eaſt Florida claims, which has been directed by parliament to be paid by inſtalments:" and it further appears, that this article, ſo diſtinctly brought to the view of the ſelect committee, is ſtated by them to have amounted, on 10th of October 1790, to 1,546,062 l. excluſive of the intereſt payable on ſuch part of it as remains undiſcharged, and excluſive alſo of further annual payments and penſions to American loyaliſts, amounting to 54,211 l. per annum.

31. That beſides this article, ſo ſtated by the committee, it appears from the ordnance eſtimate, inſerted in their appendix, that the eſtimate of the future annual expence of that office is, "excluſive of ſuch ſums as are contained in the eſtimate of the board of land and ſea officers, additional works for ſecurity of his majeſty's dock-yards, and of any other fortifications, or other new works, to be carried on in the Weſt Indies, North America, or elſewhere."

32. That to meet theſe heavy articles of inevitable extra expence, or the expence attending the preſent armament, or for any future exceeding under the head of "miſcellanies," beyond the ſum laſt eſtimated, the ſelect committee refer us to no extra reſource than can be relied on, but that of a lottery.

33. That admitting the future income to meet the eſtimated expenditure, or even ſo to increaſe, as with the aid of a lottery to ſatisfy the above certain extra demands, in the courſe of the five years next enſuing, yet will the public income remain wholly unequal to afford the ſmalleſt aid to any new and unforeſeen demand that may ariſe, either for any armament or any other unforeſeen contingency within that period, or to ſpare the ſmalleſt ſurplus towards the reduction of the unfunded debt, already increaſed to a degree, and continued at an amount, wholly unprecedented in time of peace, in the annals of this country.

34. That the experience of the three laſt years, in the courſe of which the unexpected and heavy expence of two armaments has been incurred and ſatisfied, while a third remains to be provided for, would render it highly improvident in this committee not to advert to the probability of ſimilar events recurring.

35. That the ſum ſtated by the ſelect committee to have been actually applied to the diſcharge of the public debt, amounts to 4,750,000 l. from which it is admitted that there ſhould be deducted the tontine million increaſed on the navy debt, and other articles of debt contracted, to the amount of 1,602,589 l. leaving a balance of 3,147,411 l.

36. That in the account of the debt contracted, no allowance is made for ſuch part of the old navy debt as now bears intereſt, and which muſt be conſidered as additional debt; nor are the ſhort annuities granted in 1789 admitted, although the inſtalment repaid, inſtead of being paid over to the commiſſioners

for reducing the national debt, was applied to the ſervices of laſt year;

37. That the annual intereſt of the capital ſtock, ſtated to have been purchaſed by the commiſſioners for reducing the national debt, up to the 1ſt of February 1791, amounts to the ſum of 203,170 l. from which is to be deducted the increaſed annual charge for the intereſt of the tontine loan, viz. 42,262 l. leaving the ſum in favour of the commiſſioners 160,908 l.; and if from this ſum a further reduction is made for the increaſe of intereſt on the navy debt, ſtated, ſince the report of the ſelect committee, to amount to 49,888 l. that ſum will be reduced to 111,020 l.

38. That the permanent addition to the peace eſtabliſhment, ſtated by the ſelect committee of 1791, as to remain on the five articles before enumerated, amounts to 434,295 l.; ſo that while an annuity to the amount of 111,020 l. has been redeemed by the commiſſioners on behalf of the public, in the form of re-purchaſing debt, an annuity of four times that amount is propoſed to be entailed on the nation, in the form of increaſed eſtabliſhment.

39. That upon due conſideration of the report made this day from the committee of the whole houſe, to whom the conſideration of the report from the ſelect committee of 1791 was referred, and alſo upon conſideration of the two reports of 1791 and 1786, and of the ſeveral accounts before the houſe relative to the public income and expenditure, it appears proper and neceſſary to declare, that the great increaſes propoſed to the permanent peace eſtabliſhment in the report of 1791, ought not to be conſidered as receiving countenance or approbation from the houſe of commons, until the cauſes of the ſame ſhall be explained, and the neceſſity of them made manifeſt.

The committee was adjourned to the 6th, when the ſubject was reſumed. Mr. Sheridan ſaid, that he had endeavoured to ſhew, how diffident a finance committee ſhould be, when they wiſhed to prove, what would be the probable amount of our future revenue and expenditure. The committee of 1786 fell ſhort in their calculations by about 900,000 l.; and all the accounts which Mr. Pitt had laid before the public, year after year, he conceived to be fallacious. He remarked, that the committee of 1786, with a great degree of confidence, had laid down a peace eſtabliſhment, which was to have taken place at the end of the year 1790; but that the committee of 1791 had added between 4 and 500,000 l. to that peace eſtabliſhment, without alledging a ſingle reaſon for ſo conſiderable an increaſe.

Mr. Pitt obſerved, that it would be unreaſonable, becauſe the committees of 1786 and of 1791 had differed reſpecting the amount of the peace eſtabliſhment, to place no confidence in any eſtimate whatever. It was not he thought extraordinary, that the committee of 1791, perceiving ſeveral particulars, in which the committee of 1786 had failed, ſhould have made proviſion for that failure in future; nor was ſuch trifling miſtakes to be wondered at, as the committee of 1786 was the firſt in the hiſtory of this country, which had been appointed to aſcertain the whole of the peace eſtabliſhment.

Mr. Sheridan's firſt reſolution was then put, and paſſed with an amend-

ment

ment. The second was negatived. The third and fourth passed with amendments.

On the following day the committee took under its consideration Mr. Sheridan's remaining resolutions, of which the 16th passed without any alteration; the 11th, 17th, 20th, 23d, 25th, and 30th passed with various amendments; the rest were either negatived, or withdrawn.

On the 8th the following report, containing the resolutions of Mr. Sheridan, which had passed according to the above statement, with several others, moved in addition by Mr. Pitt and his friends, was received by the committee, and agreed to.

"Resolved, That it appears that the select committee of 1786 proceeded upon a supposition that the annual and permanent taxes then subsisting were likely to produce annually the sum of 15,397,471 l. viz. the land tax 1,967,650l. the malt duty 632,350l., and the permanent taxes 12,797,471 l.

"Resolved, That it appears, by the report of the select committee of 1791, that the produce of the said permanent taxes, in the year 1786, was 11,836,531 l., being less by 960,940l. than the sum estimated—in the year 1787, 12,754,795 l., being less by 42,676l. than the said sum—in the year 1788, 12,812,952l., being more by 15,481 l. than the said sum——in the year 1789, 13,209,871 l., being more by 412,400l. than the said sum—and in the year 1790, 13,782,393l., being more by 984,922l. than the said sum, including 193,000l. being the amount of one fifty-third weekly payment.

"That the produce of the said taxes, upon an average of the first two years (viz. 1786 and 1787) amounted to 12,295,663 l., being 501,808 l. less than the sum estimated.

"That the produce of the said taxes, upon an average of the first three years, (viz. 1786, 1787, and 1788) amounted to 12,468,092 l., being 329,379 l. less than the sum estimated.

"That the produce of the said taxes, upon an average of the first four years, (viz. 1786, 1787, 1788, and 1789) amounted to 12,653,537 l., being 143,934 l. less than the sum estimated.

"That the produce of the said taxes, upon an average of five years, (viz. 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1790) amounted to 12,879,308 l. being 81,837 l. more than the sum estimated.

"That the produce of the said taxes, upon an average of the last four years, (viz. 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1790) amounted to 13,140,002 l., being 342,531 l. more than the sum estimated.

"That the produce of the said taxes, upon an average of the last three years (viz. 1788, 1789, and 1790) amounted to 13,268,405 l., being 470,934 l. more than the sum estimated.

"And that the produce of the said taxes, upon an average of the last two years, (viz. 1789 and 1790) amounted to 13,496,132 l., being 698,661 l. more than the sum estimated.

"Resolved, That in this calculation, the select committee of 1791 have adverted to all the additional impositions which ought to have been deducted from their estimate, except tobacco licences, which amount in the whole to 81,753l.;

and that they have made no allowance for the diminution arising from the exemptions allowed in the horse tax, or for the repeal of the tax upon linens and stuffs.

"Resolved, That no complete account can yet be given of the produce of the land and malt taxes for the last five years;

"That the net produce of the land tax appears liable to no material variation from year to year, and may be stated at 1,972,000l., being 5,000l. more than the sum estimated;

"That the net produce of the malt tax in the years 1786, 1787, and 1788, appears to have been upon an avverage 597,171l. being 35,179l. less than the sum estimated.

"Resolved, That it appears, by the report of the select committee of 1791, that the total amount of the interest and charges of the public debt, and of the sums issued for the reduction thereof, of the charges upon the aggregate and consolidated fund, and of the sums granted for the supplies (including the deficiencies of land and malt, the deficiency of grants for the year 1785, and the amount of the prizes in the lotteries of the several years, with the charges attending them) has been, during the last five years, 38,116,916l.; and that the whole of the above charges (except the sum of 207,000l., which remained to be provided for in the present year, under the head of deficiency of grants) has been defrayed by the produce within the said five years of the permanent taxes, by the annual aids on land and malt, and by the sums arising from extraordinary resources, with the addition of a loan of one million raised by tontine, and of 187,000l. raised by short annuities.

"Resolved, That, over and above the sums granted for the supplies, there appears to have been an increase in the navy debt within the said period, which is stated at 457,950l. and an arrear incurred in the ordnance, under the head of Unprovided, to the amount of 61,909l.; and that the deficiency of grants of the year 1790 exceeds that of the year 1785 by the sum of 80,590l.

"Resolved, That the sum voted for defraying the expence of the armament of 1790, and for the charge of 6,000 additional seamen for the service of the present year (amounting to 3,133,000l.) is not included in the above account; but that a separate provision has been made for discharging the same, independent of the future income of the country, as estimated by the committee of 1791.

"Resolved, That the select committee appointed in 1786 to examine and state the accounts relating to the public income and expenditure, and to report what might be expected to be the annual amount of the said income and expenditure in future, have stated the expected future expenditure upon a permanent peace establishment, including the annual million to be paid to the commissioners, at the sum of 15,478,181l.

"Resolved, That the select committee, appointed in the present year 1791 to examine into the amount of the public income and expenditure during the last five years, and also to report to the house what may be expected to be the annual amount in future, state the expected expenditure, upon a permanent

permanent peace eſtabliſhment, including the annual million to be paid to the commiſſioners, at the ſum of 15,969,178 l. which is excluſive of the ſum of 12,000 l. ſince charged on the conſolidated fund for the payment of an annuity to his royal highneſs the duke of Clarence; and that the above ſum exceeds the permanent peace eſtabliſhment, as ſtated by the committee of 1786, by 490,997 l. of which 42,203 l. is on account of the increaſe in the intereſt and charges of the national debt; 2,000 l. on account of the intereſt on exchequer bills; 14,499 l. on the difference in the charges on the aggregate and conſolidated funds, and of the produce of the appropriated duties; 300,000 l. in the navy; 1,148,842 l. in the army; 27,000 l. in the ordnance; 4,311 l. in the militia; and 54,142 l. in the miſcellaneous ſervices.

"Reſolved, That the exceeding in the eſtimate ſtated by the committee of 1791, on the five heads of navy, army, ordnance, militia, and miſcellaneous ſervices, above the eſtimate ſtated by the committee of 1786, on the ſame five heads, amounts to the ſum of 434,295 l.

"Reſolved, That the ſelect committee of 1791 do not appear to have thought it their duty to inquire into, or to ſtate any opinion reſpecting the ground or neceſſity for ſuch increaſe, under the above heads of ſervice, the eſtimates and accounts of which come annually under the reviſion of parliament.

"Reſolved, That the expence of the preſent year, according to the ſervices already voted, and excluſive of any extra expence for the preſent armament, will amount to about the ſum of 16,833,920 l. exceeding the permanent peace eſtabliſhment of the ſelect committee of 1786 by the ſum of 1,355,739 l.—and the enlarged eſtimate of the committee of 1791 by the ſum of 864,742 l.; but that there is included in the above ſum of 864,742 l. an exceſs of 131,405 l. upon the navy, which is more than accounted for by the ſum voted for the repairs of frigates in merchants yards, which expence will not recur again—and an exceſs of 107,484 l. upon the army, which is more than accounted for by no allowance being made in the grants of this year for army ſavings, ſimilar to that which is made in the eſtimates of 1786 and 1791, and by an advance of 71,569 l. on account of troops ſerving in India, which is to be repaid by the Eaſt India company—and an exceſs of 68,676 l. upon the ordnance, of which 61,907 l. ariſes from the diſcharge of ordnance unprovided, and alſo, an exceſs of 557,177 l. under the head of miſcellaneous ſervices, of which 432,444 l. is on account of American ſufferers, an article of expence expreſsly excluded from the eſtimates above mentioned, and the remainder on account of various miſcellaneous ſervices peculiar to the preſent year.

"Reſolved, That the ſelect committee, eſtimating upon an average of the three laſt years, and adverting to the additional week's receipt in 1790, have calculated the future probable annual income at the ſum of 16,030,286 l. which exceeds the future expenditure, as eſtimated by the ſaid committee, by a ſum of 61,108 l.—that the above income is calculated upon a revenue which appears to have been progreſſively increaſing, and is excluſive of any addition to be expected from the

amount of the taxes of 1789, or from the increaſed produce of the duties on tobacco—and likewiſe excluſive of the profits of the lottery, which amounted in the preſent year nearly to 300,000l. and of any ſums to ariſe from any incidental or extraordinary reſources.

"Reſolved, That the money remaining due upon the principal and intereſt of the American and Eaſt Florida claims, which has been directed by parliament to be paid by inſtalments, is ſtated to have amounted, on 10th October 1790, to 1,546,062l. excluſive of the intereſt payable on ſuch part of it as remains undiſcharged, and excluſive alſo of farther annual payments and penſions to American loyaliſts, amounting to 54,211l. per annum.

"Reſolved, That, beſides this article ſo ſtated by the committee, it appears, from the ordnance eſtimate inſerted in the appendix, that the eſtimate of their future annual expence of that office is excluſive of ſuch ſums as are contained in the eſtimate of the board of land and ſea officers for additional works for ſecurity of his majeſty's dock-yards, and of any other fortifications, or other new works, to be carried on in the Weſt Indies, North America, or elſewhere.

"Reſolved, That during the laſt five years, the ſum of 5,424,592l. including 674,592l. ariſing from annuities expired or unclaimed, and from dividends on ſtock bought, has been applied to the reduction of the national debt; that the ſums by which the debt has been increaſed within the ſame period, appear, by the report of the ſelect committee, to have amounted to 1,602,589l. leaving a balance of 3,822,003l.; and that the annual intereſt on the ſtock bought, and the preſent amount of the annuities expired or unclaimed, appears to be 254,804l.: in addition to the million annually charged on the conſolidated fund."

When the report of theſe reſolutions was made to the houſe, Mr. Sheridan moved his own reſolutions, in order to have them entered upon the journals; and the miniſter put the previous queſtion on each of them, except the laſt. This mode of getting rid of them, inſtead of negativing them, was conſidered by Mr. Sheridan as an implied admiſſion of his facts. When he came to the laſt, which was a reſolution of inference, he altered the preamble a little, ſo as to make it apply to the miniſter's reſolutions, that day received by the houſe; and in that ſhape it was moved and negatived.

There was of courſe much debate, and much converſation on the different points contained in the oppoſite ſets of reſolutions, during the various days which this ſubject occupied. We have however conceived it unneceſſary to preſerve in any degree all that was ſaid, as the merits of the queſtion between the two contending parties may beſt be collected from the facts and inferences propoſed on the one ſide, and thoſe carried on the other, in the form of reſolutions of the houſe. It was the undoubted object of Mr. Sheridan, by taking the method which he purſued, to have his ſentiments clearly and explicitly ſtated on record, and the miniſter profeſſed fairly to join iſſue. But the events that followed on the continent, and ultimately drew Great Britain into the preſent war, have now put an end altogether to this

this diſpute, which related chiefly to the balance of our permanent income and expenditure in a time of peace, and the probable diminution of the national debt, under the plan of Mr. Pitt, without new taxes.

While the finances of our own country were undergoing this full and accurate diſcuſſion, another ſubject of the ſame kind was, according to a late wiſe regulation, brought forward by Mr. Dundas, who opened the Indian budget on the 24th of May. After much correſpondence with the ſeveral preſidencies, he was at length, for the firſt time, enabled to ſtate the revenues of our Oriental poſſeſſions from ſomething like a regular account. Hitherto he had been obliged to make out rather an eſtimate than an account, from a number of detached accounts ſent home by the ſeveral preſidencies. He was now furniſhed with accounts from each, ſhewing the whole receipt and expenditure for three years, on which he could ſtrike an average, and alſo with a compariſon of the eſtimated and actual receipt and expenditure for the laſt year, which might ſerve as a teſt of the reliance to be placed on thoſe eſtimates, whence alone the balance of the current year muſt always of neceſſity be calculated. This mode of keeping the company's accounts was certainly a great improvement in the adminiſtration of their affairs; and the proſpect which this clearer inſight into their real ſituation afforded, was proportionably pleaſing. Mr. Dundas laid before the houſe, with very few accompanying obſervations, a variety of papers, which contained the following general information relative to the Indian finances.

ACTUAL REVENUES of 1789-90.

			Sterling.
Bengal -	current rupees	5,62,06,561 -	£.5,620,656
Madras -	pagodas -	31,39,519 -	1,255,808
Bombay -	rupees -	14,42,405 -	167,319
Total Revenues	- - -		7,043,783

ACTUAL CHARGES of 1789-90.

Bengal - -	current rupees	3,12,01,486 -	£.3,120,149
Madras -	pagodas -	43,47,537 -	1,739,015
Bombay -	rupees -	48,02,685 -	557,110
			£. 5,416,274

Total

Total revenues, as above	- -	7,043,783
Actual charges, as above	- -	5,416,274
		1,627,509
Expences of Bencoolen and Pinang	-	43,944
Net revenues	- -	1,587,765
Add the amount of import ſales, and of certificates		263,940
		1,847,505
Deduct intereſt on the debt	- - -	438,426
Surplus revenue	- -	£. 1,409,079

Mr. Dundas expreſſed a conviction, that the day was much nearer, when the reſources of India would furniſh aſſiſtance to this country, than when this country would be obliged to lend her aid and ſupport to India.

He candidly mentioned one fact, which it ſeems a debt of juſtice to Mr. Fox to notice. In the month of November 1783, when the latter gentleman moved his celebrated India bill, he eſtimated the debts of the company at nearly ten millions, while the company themſelves rated their debts at only four millions; but in truth Mr. Dundas ſaid, before the year 1785, they actually did owe above ten millions.

An inclination was ſhewn by ſeveral members to controvert ſome parts of the ſtatement made by Mr. Dundas. Mr. Benfield in particular gave notice of a motion on the ſubject. He meant to have propoſed the inſtitution of a committee to examine the papers and accounts; but he afterwards waived it, in conſequence of the late period of the ſeſſion, which, he thought, would hardly allow time for a report. The principal objections to the Indian budget were, that the expences of the exiſting war with Tippoo Sultan did not appear, and that no conſideration was had of the company's circumſtances at home, and no account given of the encreaſe or decreaſe of their debts and property here, without which the true ſituation of their affairs could not be ſeen. This latter objection was admitted; but it was anſwered that the account of the territorial revenues was the only ſubject of that day, and not the commercial concerns or general condition of the company. Mr. Dundas moved, and carried without a diviſion, nineteen reſolutions, to the effect of the ſtatement which has been given above.

Towards the concluſion of the ſeſſion ſir Gilbert Elliot endeavoured to obtain an exemption from the teſt act in favour of the members of the Scottiſh church.—His motion was negatived by a majority of 87.

On the 27th of May Mr. Sheridan brought forward his promiſed motion, relative to the internal government of the royal burghs of Scotland; in the conſideration of which ſubject, the houſe reſolved to

to proceed early in the next ſeſſion.

The laſt legiſlative meaſure which paſſed the houſe, was a bill creating the eſtabliſhment of a company at Sierra Leone on the coaſt of Africa, for the purpoſe of cultivating Weſt Indian and other tropical productions. A ſettlement had been attempted on the ſame ſpot ſome few years before; and a ſmall diſtrict was purchaſed from one of the native princes; but the project had entirely failed, and not a trace of the ſettlers remained. This miſcarriage however did not prevent ſome adventurers, of humane and benevolent intentions, from reviving the ſcheme on a larger ſcale, and with a greater capital. Their object was to aboliſh the ſlave trade, by promoting the gradual civilization of Africa, and encouraging a commerce there in the articles of coffee, cotton, and ſugar; which Mr. Devaynes, who had long reſided there, aſſerted, from his own knowledge, to grow almoſt ſpontaneouſly in many parts not far from Sierra Leone. At the ſame time they thought it prudent to limit their riſk to their reſpective ſhares, without involving their whole fortunes; and in this view the bill was neceſſary to them. It was oppoſed, but feebly and ineffectually, by ſome few of the Weſt Indian intereſt in the houſe; and paſſed on the 30th of May, by a conſiderable majority. The deſign was undoubtedly good and laudauble, but the ſucceſs does not promiſe to be equal: at beſt it ſtill hangs in ſuſpence.

The ſeſſion was at length concluded on the 10th of June, by a ſpeech from the throne; in which his majeſty expreſſed his particular acknowledgments for the meaſures which had been adopted in defraying the expences of the year, in ſuch a manner as not to make any permanent addition to the public burthens; and likewiſe for the proviſions which had been made for the good government of Canada. His majeſty aſſured parliament, that he was not yet enabled to acquaint them with the reſult of the ſteps which he had taken to re-eſtabliſh peace between Ruſſia and the Porte; but hoped, that this important object might be effectuated in ſuch a manner as not to diſturb the general tranquillity of Europe.—Parliament was then prorogued to the 16th of Auguſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

General pacification of the North during the years 1790 *and* 1791. *Some particulars of the death and character of the Emperor Joseph the Second. Haughty memorial from the Hungarian nobility, a few weeks before the death of the Emperor. Their requisitions in general granted; hesitation as to the restitution of the royal crown of Hungary; which, however, is restored a few days before the death of the Emperor, and received with an extravagance of joy. Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who succeeds to the Austrian hereditary dominions, arrives at Vienna. Critical state of Germany. Difficulties and embarrassments of Leopold, through the misconduct of his predecessor. States liable to be more immediately prejudiced or endangered by a partition of the Ottoman dominions. Great objects in view with the Prussian alliance, to bring Austria to a separate peace with the Porte. Obstinacy of Joseph, on this head, had been on the point of drawing on an immediate war. Leopold under a necessity of appearing for some time to persevere in the same system. King of Prussia's conduct with respect to Poland. Leopold shackled, in his conduct with Prussia, by many peculiar circumstances, from which his predecessor had been free. Offensive and defensive alliance between Prussia and the Porte increases Leopold's difficulties. Campaign opened on the Danube. Orsova taken. Giurgewo besieged, and Widdin menaced. Gen. Thurn defeated and killed, and the siege of Giurgewo precipitately abandoned. Armistice on the Danube. Congress at Reichenbach, and conventional treaty concluded between the Kings of Hungary and Prussia, under the mediation and guarantee of Great Britain and Holland. Some particulars of this treaty, which relieves Leopold from all his difficulties. Death of the celebrated Marshal Laudohn. Intermarriages between the royal houses of Austria and Naples; Ferdinand, Leopold's second son, having previously obtained the grand duchy of Tuscany. Dissentions, factions, and distractions in Hungary, with their causes. Designs to throw off the Austrian dominion. Firm, temperate, and judicious conduct of Leopold. Refuses to sign* 24 *articles presented to him. Diet, sitting at Buda, represent their constitutional right to be consulted, and the necessity of their concurrence, to render valid any questions of war or peace. Leopold consents to their sending deputies to assist at their negociations with the Porte. Unusual concurrence of circumstances which tended to frustrate the designs of the malcontents in Hungary. Farther account of the factions and parties which divided that country. New diploma presented to Leopold for his acceptance previous to the coronation, firmly rejected by him. Leopold elected King of the Romans, and crowned Emperor at Frankfort. Armistice, under the mediation of the Prussian minister, concluded in the Grand Vizir's camp at Silistria; and congress appointed at Sistovia for negociating a peace. New Emperor arrives at Presburgh. Met by the diet. States choose the Arch-duke Leopold to be Palatine of the kingdom. Coronation. The Emperor grants, as favours, those conditions which he rejected as demands; and gains the affections of the whole nation. Extraordinary change, within a few months, in Leopold's circumstances. Emperor restores the rights, privileges,*

vileges, and conſtitution of the Milaneſe, of which they were deprived by Joſeph. Enlarges the immunities granted to the Jews. Definitive treaty of peace concluded at Siſtovia with the Ottoman Porte, under the mediation of the three allied powers.

THE pleaſing event, which realized the benignant hopes expreſſed by the king in taking leave of his parliament, we are now to relate.—But as the bleſſings of peace were gradually diffuſed over the North, and as we omitted the whole of this ſubject in the hiſtory of the preceding year, we muſt here purſue her progreſs, ſtep by ſtep, to Germany, Sweden, and laſtly in the preſent year to Ruſſia.

One great obſtacle to the quiet of Germany was removed by the death of the Emperor Joſeph the Second, which marked the commencement of the year 1790. His long and grievous illneſs, frequently attended with extreme bodily torment, rendered the grave, if not a welcome, at leaſt a neceſſary refuge, from a ſituation of the greateſt miſery. He faced the approaches of death like a Chriſtian; and had the magnanimity to order a preſent of ten thouſand florins to the phyſician who had the courage to acquaint him, not only with the impoſſibility of his recovery, but that his diſſolution was hourly to be apprehended; and that, from the nature of his diſorder, the fatal ſtroke was liable to be ſo ſudden as not to afford a moment's previous notice. He, however, lingered ſeveral days after this prediction, and under this hard ſentence; during which time he tranſacted as much buſineſs as was well poſſible in his condition, and ſigned a number of diſpatches. Death was rendered more than uſually irkſome upon this occaſion, through the heart-felt ſenſe which he entertained of the diſtracted and dangerous ſtate in which he was to leave his dominions; and, probably, through bitter reflections on his own conduct, by which they had been thus unhappily involved: this indeed was confirmed, as well by ſeveral circumſtances, as by expreſſions which burſt from himſelf in different agonizing paroxyſms. The former circumſtance induced him to wiſh ardently for a few weeks longer life, in the hope that he might be able in ſome degree to ſettle and compoſe public affairs before he left the world.

In this melancholy ſtate, his death was probably ſomewhat accelerated by a heavy private calamity, which went to his heart, and deeply embittered his laſt moments. This was the unexpected death of his beloved niece, the arch-ducheſs Elizabeth, conſort of his nephew Francis, whom, we have heretofore ſeen, he had intended to propoſe to the electoral college as king of the Romans, and conſequently his ſucceſſor in the empire. This princeſs was of the houſe of Wirtemberg, and ſiſter to the grand-ducheſs of Ruſſia. Joſeph felt the greater intereſt in her favour, from her having been choſen by himſelf, on account of her many excellent qualities, to be the wife of his nephew. He accordingly regarded her with a conſtant and truly paternal affection; and ſhe became, by many degrees, the greateſt favourite with him of his whole family. The attachment was mutual, as the event unfortunately ſhewed. For the arch-ducheſs being then, for the firſt time, great with child, and the time

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of parturition approaching, but not arrived, ſhe was ſo deeply ſtruck by the diſmal ſituation of the emperor, whom ſhe conſtantly attended, and by the evident ſigns of approaching diſſolution, which ſhe too well perceived, that her affections, thus violently moved, brought on a premature labour; in which ſituation, though the infant, a daughter, ſurvived, the princeſs unhappily loſt her life. The emperor was ſo continually urgent in his enquiries about the health of the arch-ducheſs, that there was no poſſibility of concealing this fatal ſtroke from him. His grief and anguiſh were ſo extreme as to exceed all deſcription: and he continued momentarily growing weaker and worſe, from the Thurſday on which ſhe died, until the ſucceeding Saturday morning, when he expired, between five and ſix o'clock, in the 49th year of his age.

Feb. 20th, 1790.

He cloſed his life with great ſigns of piety and contrition; and certainly felt, with the utmoſt poignancy, the diſorders which had ſprung up, and the miſchiefs which had ſpread to ſo wide an extent, under his government; whether he attributed them to the real cauſe or not. He was almoſt conſtantly attended, by day and by night, during the latter and hopeleſs ſtage of his illneſs, by his two favourite generals, the Marſhals Lacy and Laudohn, and even very conſtantly by old Marſhal Haddick, notwithſtanding his great age; and he ſeemed, on different occaſions, particularly affected by the thoughts of parting from his old military friends and companions. He took leave of Laudohn in the moſt affectionate manner a few hours before his death; preſſing his hand with a fervour which could not have been imagined, conſidering his weakneſs; and telling him at the ſame time, that he truſted in him for the defence and preſervation of his dominions.

A few weeks before his death, and when he was in ſuch a ſtate that few, probably, who were not blinded by affection, entertained any hope of his recovery, he received a very haughty memorial from the Hungarian nobility, in which they made the following demands, in very high terms:—The reſtoration, in the moſt ample manner, of their antient rights and privileges—the return of the royal crown of Hungary, which had been removed from their capital to Vienna, after the death of Maria Thereſa—that the people ſhould be at liberty to lay by the German, and to reſume their old native dreſs—and, that all public acts ſhould be kept and recorded either in the Latin or the Hungarian language, inſtead of the German, as was now the practice. On a compliance with theſe requiſitions, the noble Huns promiſed, on their part, to defend the kingdom to the laſt drop of their blood, and to ſupply the emperor's armies in general with every neceſſary which their country produced.

The reception which this memorial met from Joſeph ſufficiently ſhewed how much his diſpoſition was changed, and how greatly public and private calamity had tended to ſoften his temper. Without any comment upon the language or manner of the memorial, he complied with the greater part of the requiſitions; and about three weeks before his death confirmed

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theſe conceſſions by a public decree. Of all his late regulations, he reſerved only three articles, eſtabliſhing a general toleration, providing for the ſupport of the parochial churches and clergy out of the revenues of ſome ſuppreſſed monaſteries, and ſecuring a degree of liberty to the peaſantry. His diſcrimination in retaining theſe, perhaps did him no leſs honour than his facility in yielding all the reſt. He ſeemed, however, ſtill to linger, as to the reſtoration of the royal crown, in a manner which did not redound much more to his credit, than the ſhameful ſeizure of it had done in the firſt inſtance. For we are to bear in mind, that he never had worn that crown as a king which he ſeized as a robber. The arbitrary projects with which his head was ever teeming, had prevented him, during the long period of time which elapſed ſince the deceaſe of his mother, from ever obtaining a legal or formal poſſeſſion of that noble kingdom, by the uſual and neceſſary forms of a coronation, becauſe he would not be bound by the eſtabliſhed capitulations or compacts between the ſovereign and the people, which were the conditions upon which he was to receive the crown.

But his ſpirit was now ſo broken down, and his former projects appeared ſo vain, and were, in the effects which they produced, ſo exceedingly unfortunate and ruinous, that at the time of paſſing the decree we have mentioned in favour of the Hungarians, he bound himſelf by a voluntary promiſe, that if he were alive in the enſuing month of May, and was at all able to undergo the fatigue, he would proceed to that kingdom for the purpoſe of being crowned. But the time was paſt, and never after recovered!

The crown, with the reſt of the regalia of Hungary, was not, however, ſent off from Vienna, until a very few days before the emperor's death; ſo that theſe precious relicks of antiquity, which that people rated at ſo ineſtimable a value, did not arrive at their ancient capital of Buda, until the day after his deceaſe. The joy of the Hungarians upon this occaſion was almoſt beyond credibility. Triumphal arches were erected in all the towns thro' which the cavalcade paſſed; and not only the common people aſſembled every where in prodigious crowds to receive it, but were accompanied by all the neighbouring nobility; and feſtivity and joy were ſpread through the country.

Towards the cloſe of the preceding year, the emperor ſeemed to liſten not unfavourably to ſome overtures of peace which were made by the Ottomans. He even propoſed the aſſembling of a congreſs at Buchareſt to conduct the negociations; and as a proof of his being ſerious in this buſineſs, he immediately diſpatched expreſſes to London, Paris, and Berlin, to acquaint theſe powers with the propoſals and demands offered and made, as alſo with the intended congreſs: at the ſame time he nominated the barons Herbat and Thugut, with M. Walburg, ſecretary of the court, to proceed to Buchareſt on his part. The empreſs of Ruſſia too ſent inſtructions to prince Potemkin, at Jaſſy, containing at once her categorical demands, and ſhe was alſo in treaty with Sweden; but about the period of Joſeph's death the laſt lingering hope of peace was known to have vaniſhed.

We have ſo fully detailed the conduct and actions of this prince in our former volumes, from the time of his acceſſion to the Imperial throne, on the demiſe of his father in the year 1765, to that of his ſucceeding to the ſole poſſeſſion of all the vaſt power and dominion then appertaining to the houſe of Auſtria, which devolved to him upon the death of his mother, the celebrated Maria Thereſa, in 1780, and from thence to the latter inauſpicious period of his life, that an attempt at any farther elucidation of his character, than what will naturally reſult from the peruſal of theſe progreſſive narratives, may appear ſuperfluous. In that courſe, we have not been ſlack in beſtowing due praiſe on many parts of his early conduct; and we have ſince as freely cenſured thoſe acts which we deemed it our duty to condemn, and in which we have been very generally ſupported by the public opinion.

We ſhall obſerve upon the whole, that few princes have more ſtrongly excited the general expectation of mankind in their favour, or raiſed to a higher pitch the hopes of their own ſubjects, than Joſeph did during the firſt years of his reign as emperor; and that there are few examples of any, who forfeited the public opinion on the one hand, and loſt the affections of thoſe they governed on the other, more completely than he had the fortune to do before his death. An inſatiable ambition, with its natural concomitant, an incurable luſt for money, without regard to the means by which it was procured, were his leading vices; and were rendered ſtill more degrading by duplicity and breach of faith. But nature, as if intending to reſtrain the effects of diſpoſitions ſo pernicious and dangerous to mankind, had thrown into his compoſition ſo ſtrange a mixture of heterogeneous qualities, as ſerved in a great meaſure to counteract and render impotent theſe vices. For he exhibited the ſtrange contraſt in the ſame mind, of the moſt glaring raſhneſs, and of the moſt contemptible indeciſion, of an invincible obſtinacy, and of a temper the moſt uncertain, variable, and inconſtant that exiſted; ſo that through the continual jumble of theſe inconſiſtencies, he ever failed in the accompliſhment of his deſigns, and was always involved in troubles abroad or at home. He was, perhaps, the greateſt projector of any age, at leaſt with reſpect to the multitude, if not to the value or merit, of his projects; and yet, through the ſame cauſes, they almoſt conſtantly failed of effect. No man ever extended his views farther, or laboured more for the aggrandizement of his houſe and family, than he did; and yet, by a purſuit of ill-judged and ill-directed meaſures, he ſhook the ſtability of the Houſe of Auſtria, and left it involved in a ſtate of affairs, which led to its degradation and loſs of ſtrength, in a degree, which ſcarcely ſeemed poſſible, a few years before, to have taken place in ſo ſhort a time. Had he the good fortune to have left the world a few years before his mother, the empreſs queen, he would have left behind ſo high and enviable a character, that he would have been pointed out as a model for the conduct of other princes, and men would have been diſpoſed to conſider his early departure as a public loſs.

As Joſeph the Second, though twice married, died without iſſue, his brother Leopold, grand-duke of Tuſcany, now become king of Hungary and Bohemia, and arch-duke of Auſtria, ſucceeded of courſe to the poſſeſſion of all his hereditary dominions, the Low Countries alone excepted. But though the late emperor's death had been ſo long foreſeen, and that he had diſpatched ſeveral expreſſes to expedite Leopold's departure from Florence, it was near three weeks after that event before he and his eldeſt ſon Francis arrived at Vienna; whither they were ſoon after followed by the new queen, accompanied by a numerous family of princes and princeſſes her children.

March 12th, 1790.

The affairs of Germany were at this time in a very doubtful and critical ſituation. Beſides the differences with the new government of France, which were in no degree accommodated, we have ſeen that a powerful league had ſome time before been formed within the empire, under the auſpices of the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, in their character of electors, to reſtrain the ambitious conduct, and to guard againſt the dangerous deſigns, attributed to the late Joſeph. Tho' the change which had ſince taken place in the direction of his ambition, prevented hitherto the neceſſity of calling that confederacy into action, yet the common danger on which the union was originally founded, ſeemed to be only removed for the preſent to a greater diſtance, but in no degree to be leſſened; indeed, it was on the contrary juſtly ſuppoſed to be much increaſed, by the unaccountable connexion which had taken place between Auſtria and Ruſſia.

We have heretofore ſhewn, upon different occaſions, in the courſe of the Ottoman war, how directly contrary to the political intereſts, and how pregnant with danger to the ſecurity, of moſt of the other nations in Europe, it would have been, if the combined empires of Auſtria and Ruſſia ſhould ſucceed in their deſign, of making a partition, or even any great diſmemberment, of the Turkiſh dominions. We even ſhewed that theſe dominions could not be lodged in any other hands ſo conducive to the peace and ſecurity of Chriſtendom in general, as in thoſe of their preſent poſſeſſors; and, as the German league was confined entirely to that country, we ventured to point out the neceſſity there would be for a Weſtern confederacy, of a much more extenſive nature, to counteract the deſigns of theſe two reſtleſs and ambitious powers, if they ſhould proceed to the lengths at which they were evidently aiming. Among the ſtates, to which their ſucceſs in this deſign would be the moſt immediately alarming and ruinous, were the Germanic body in all its parts, the unfortunate republic of Poland, already deſpoiled, and more than half ruined, with the two Northern kingdoms, one of which ſeemed totally blind to its ſituation and danger.

The king of Pruſſia was among thoſe the moſt deeply and immediately intereſted in ſuch an event; but he held in his hands thoſe effectual means of reſiſtance and prevention which none of the reſt poſſeſſed. His alliance with England and Holland was truly wiſe and political, and realized in no ſmall de-

gree the idea we mentioned, of a Weſtern league to curb Eaſtern ambition. We have likewiſe congratulated him on that apparently grand political game which he ſeemed to be playing in Poland, in which the cards were ſo entirely in his hands, that it might be ſaid he had little more to do than to deal them out. The means by which he has ſince thrown away the advantages thus held out to him, will hereafter be diſcuſſed in its proper place. We may obſerve for the preſent, though it be in the nature of a parentheſis, that by a deviation from the right line of policy, as well as of rectitude, he has loſt an opportunity which probably will never be recovered, of eſtabliſhing a powerful barrier for the ſecurity of his disjointed dominions, on thoſe ſides where they are liable to be ever expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. Policy, not ſeldom, overſhoots its mark; and perhaps it poſſeſſes no vice which ſo frequently defeats its own deſigns, as a ſubſtitution of cunning for wiſdom, and of craft for an honeſt and liberal policy.

But, whatever uncertainty or duplicity the king of Pruſſia ſhewed in his conduct with reſpect to Poland, he was ſteady in his averſion to the combination for the ruin of the Turkiſh empire, though extremely ſlow and cautious in adopting meaſures for its prevention. In the mean time the courts of Vienna and Berlin were upon the very worſt terms; and the jealouſies, animoſities, and continual differences, between the late emperor and the king, had latterly riſen to ſuch a pitch, as to threaten their proceeding to the immediate extremity of war. This opinion or intention was ſo predominant with themſelves, that while one covered Sileſia with armies, magazines, and artillery, the other purſued meaſures exactly ſimilar in Bohemia. Indeed Joſeph ſeemed on the point of renouncing, at leaſt in a great meaſure, his favourite objects on the Danube, by the vaſt bodies of troops which he drew from thence to form a powerful army in Bohemia. Even marſhal Laudohn was withdrawn from the ſcene of his conqueſts, to take the command in that country, and his field equipages were actually ordered thither from Hungary. Thus nothing ſeemed doubtful to the public, but which of the parties ſhould commence operations by giving the firſt blow.

The great object which the king and his allies had in view, was to bring the emperor, by whatever means, to relinquiſh the alliance with Ruſſia, at leaſt ſo far as related to the combination againſt the Turks, and to conclude a ſeparate peace with the Porte, under the mediation of theſe powers, if the court of Peterſburgh refuſed to accede to fair and equitable propoſals. It was eaſily ſeen that this point, ſo much ſought and wiſhed for, could not be obtained at any leſs price than a war. For beſides that neither the ambition nor the obſtinacy of Joſeph were to be eaſily ſubdued, his ally, the empreſs, had obtained a perſonal aſcendancy over him, far more binding than any written compacts or treaties. The weak and wavering mind of Joſeph ſeemed to ſhrink over-awed, under the ſuperior talents and the maſculine deciſion of that extraordinary woman, whoſe ſway over him was ſo unbounded, that ſhe ſeemed ſpontaneouſly to direct his action.

It

It ſeems probable that Leopold was as little diſpoſed to diſſolve, or even to looſen, the connexion with Ruſſia, as his predeceſſor had been; but he was involved in circumſtances and reſtraints from which Joſeph had been free, and which totally changed the nature of their relative ſituation. His acceſſion to the hereditary dominions of Auſtria would have been bald and defective, if he ſhould be defeated in his election for king of the Romans, and conſequently deprived of the powers and dignity annexed to the title and office of emperor, which through ſo many ages had, with little interruption, been held by his family. This was no imaginary danger; for Joſeph had created ſo many enemies, and excited ſuch general apprehenſions of his power and ambitious deſigns in Germany, that the transferring of the empire into another family, whenever his death took place, had been long and often a matter of ſerious contemplation. Nor was the ſuppoſed pacific diſpoſition, nor the real unmilitary character, of Leopold, at all ſufficient to remove the prejudices, or to diſpel the apprehenſions, entertained of a Houſe, which had ever been characterized by its ambition. If, then, this general temper and diſpoſition was to be further operated on, by the direct enmity of the two moſt powerful electorates of the empire, it may be eaſily ſeen, that any well-founded hope of Leopold's ſucceeding in his election, muſt have been ſmall indeed.

Leopold had likewiſe another ſhackle impoſed on his conduct by the ill policy of his predeceſſor. The Netherlands were already loſt, and there could not be a hope, nor ſcarcely a poſſibility of their recovery, but with the approbation of the allied powers, which muſt of courſe fail if a war took place with Pruſſia. Their intrinſic value was ſtill ſo great, though it had been much leſſened with reſpect to the ſecurity of poſſeſſion, by that wretched policy which diſmantled their barrier towns, that their total loſs would have been a moſt grievous ſtroke; a loſs which would have been ill ſupplied by the acquiſition of any of the deſolated provinces on the borders of the Danube. For through the barbarous maxims of the combined powers, and manners of their troops, the extent of their ſucceſſes could generally be well defined by that of the deſtruction they made; exempting, however, entirely from this ſtatement, the conduct of the armies commanded by marſhal Laudohn, who in all caſes made war like a gentleman and a Chriſtian, as well as a great ſoldier.

It will be eaſily ſeen, under all the critical and embarraſſing circumſtances we have mentioned, that Leopold had a moſt nice and difficult game to play, upon his acceſſion to the embroiled dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria. He ſeemed almoſt under an inevitable neceſſity of diſſolving his connexion with Ruſſia, at the ſame time that nothing could be more contrary to his inclination, or in ſome reſpects to his intereſt. For, beſides the danger of loſing the friendſhip of a moſt potent ally, he muſt thereby expect to forego moſt of the advantages to be derived from a war, which, along with being eminently ſucceſsful in its latter part, had from its commencement been attended with ſo prodigious an expence of

men and of treaſure, that the compenſations muſt have been vaſt indeed, which could afford any ſuitable return.

Little verſed as he had ever been in foreign politics, and ſtill leſs in military affairs, he, however, perceived the propriety of bearing a good countenance, and of not appearing to dread a German war, however much he wiſhed to avoid it, and whatever his ultimate determination might be. The preparations for war were accordingly continued with the ſame apparent vigour and deſign with which they had been adopted by his predeceſſor; but nothing more was done. This procraſtinating conduct was exactly ſuited to the temper of his antagoniſt, who was much more diſpoſed to military parade and preparation, than to the raſhneſs of running haſtily into action.

An event which took place a little before the death of Joſeph, ſeemed to increaſe the difficulties of Leopold's ſituation, and to bring the queſtion of war, or of a compliance with the wiſhes of the allies, to a point of deciſion which could not be long evaded. This was a very cloſe alliance, offenſive and defenſive, entered into between the king of Pruſſia and the Ottoman Porte; the treaty of which was executed at Conſtantinople on the 31ſt of January 1790.

By this treaty the king bound himſelf at a given time to declare war againſt Auſtria and Ruſſia, in order to compel them to conſent to a moderate and equitable peace. On the other hand, the Porte engaged to employ all its force to obtain at the peace the reſtitution of Galicia, Lodomeria, and all the territory which the court of Vienna had wreſted from the republic of Poland.—By another article, the contracting parties agree to ratify a treaty of commerce before concluded; and the Porte guarantees the free navigation of the Pruſſian ſhips in the Mediterranean; and farther engages to ſecure that flag from the inſults of Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli.—The Porte declares its reſolution not to make peace without the reſtitution of the fortreſſes, provinces, and above all, of the Crimea, which its enemies had gained: and the king engaged not to diſcontinue war until the Porte had attained theſe objects.—The Porte likewiſe engaged to conclude no peace with the courts of Vienna and Peterſburgh, without the conſent of Pruſſia, Sweden, and Poland.—By the fourth article, Sweden and Poland appear to be equally included with the immediately contracting parties in this alliance offenſive and defenſive; which it is declared is ſtill to ſubſiſt between thoſe four powers, notwithſtanding the termination of the war.—By the concluding articles, the conqueſts which may be made by either of the contracting parties are not to be reſtored, until the courts of Vienna and Peterſburgh agree to ſubmit the differences ſubſiſting between them and Poland to the mediation of the former. The contracting parties likewiſe covenant not to agree to any peace but under the mediation of England and Holland. And, the king binds himſelf, after the concluſion of peace, to guarantee all the poſſeſſions that then remain to the Porte; and likewiſe engages to procure the joint guarantee of England, Sweden, and Poland,

Poland, along with his own, for all the territories of the Ottoman empire.

The overwhelming torrent of ſucceſs which had ſo conſtantly accompanied the arms of the combined empires in the preceding year, and which threatened the ſpeedy ſubverſion of the Ottoman dominion, at leaſt in Europe, was the ſtimulus which operated upon the king of Pruſſia in concluding this treaty. We have given, in our 31ſt volume *, a particular detail of the memorable events of that campaign, ſo fatally ruinous to the Ottomans; and we have there likewiſe ſhewn, that Selim, inſtead of ſinking under ſo heavy a weight of misfortune, not only bore it with great conſtancy and firmneſs, but ſeemed already to have derived ſome portion of counſel and wiſdom from that ſevere but excellent ſchool of inſtruction. For although he had acted in all other things, diametrically oppoſite to the precepts and example of his excellent uncle, he now recurred to that wiſe part of his policy, by which he had ſo much endeavoured to found upon European alliances ſuch a ſyſtem of ſtrength, as might be ſufficient to reſtrain the dangerous power, and to curb the deſtructive ambition of his combined and moſt implacable enemies, whom he conſidered not only as determined on the abſolute ruin of his empire, but on the final extermination and extinction of the Ottoman race and name.

Upon this principle Selim aſſiduouſly and anxiouſly ſought, by all poſſible means, to cultivate friendſhip and alliance with the king of Pruſſia and his allies; but placing his immediate hopes principally on the former, whoſe ſituation and circumſtances enabled him to make a ſpeedy diverſion in his favour. The death of the emperor was perhaps the only thing which could have prevented an immediate war between Auſtria and Pruſſia, upon the new treaty concluded by the laſt with the Porte; but that event, with the acceſſion of Leopold, occaſioned a pauſe, until it could be underſtood what courſe of meaſures and line of conduct the new king of Hungary ſeemed diſpoſed to purſue; and it may be ſaid, until the two rival monarchs came a little to know each other.

We have ſhewn, in the volume which we have already cited, that the ſeverities and incommodities of a Danubian winter, together with the noble defence made by the garriſon of Orſova, were no more than ſufficient to check the rapid progreſs of the conquering armies of the combined powers, and thereby to afford ſome ſhort ſeaſon for reſt, recovery, and recollection, to the aſtoniſhed and confounded Ottomans.

Notwithſtanding the prodigious draughts that were made from the armies on the Danube, to counteract the deſigns of the king of Pruſſia, on the ſide of Bohemia and Moravia, the Auſtrians opened the campaign in the former quarter unuſually early, intending thus to benefit by the ſlowneſs with which the Turks are able to bring their armies into the field. The good effect of this alertneſs and vigour ſoon appeared in the reduction of the ſtrong fortreſs of Orſova; which, after all the long and brave de-

* See Ann. Reg. vol. xxxi. Hiſt. article, pp. 167 to 181.

fences it had hitherto made, ſeems now, from whatever cauſe, to have fallen a very cheap purchaſe into their hands. No detail was publiſhed of the operations; but from correſponding circumſtances, this event muſt have taken place in the latter end of April, or very early in May. We have underſtood, from private information, that the Auſtrians having cloſely blockaded the place during the whole winter, and a ſlight ſhock of an earthquake happening at length to take place, the garriſon were ſtruck with a ſudden panic, under the opinion, that the motion of the earth which they perceived proceeded from the enemies having undermined the fortreſs, and being on the point of blowing it up. This prepoſſeſſion operated ſo powerfully, that they inſtantly abandoned the place; a loſs the more vexatious, as it was furniſhed with a prodigious artillery, and abundantly provided with ſtores and magazines.

The next objects of the campaign on the ſide of the Auſtrians, after the taking of Orſova, were the ſiege of Widdin, the capital of the kingdom of Servia, and that of Giurgewo, a very ſtrong fortreſs on the Bulgarian ſide of the Danube. The views of the Ruſſians were likewiſe directed, in the firſt inſtance, to the reduction of the two very ſtrong fortreſſes of Brahilow in Walachia, and of Iſmailow on the Danube. The farther views on either ſide were not yet avowed or known; but were undoubtedly to be directed by future contingencies.

For the preſent, and through the ſummer, however, an almoſt total inactivity prevailed in the Ruſſian armies; which muſt be attributed to the interference of the allied powers, and the well-founded doubt, whether the very critical ſituation of Leopold's affairs would admit of his perſevering in rejecting the propoſals for a ſeparate peace, which were ſo ſtrongly preſſed upon him, and were ſupported by arguments and motives of ſuch a nature, as ſeemed ſcarcely to allow of an alternative. In the caſe of Leopold's deſertion, Ruſſia ſaw that ſhe would be left alone to contend with the allied powers, with Sweden, Poland, and the Ottomans; a concatenation of hoſtile enmity, which, in ſpite of all her haughtineſs, could not but make her pauſe.

The prince of Cobourg having advanced towards Widdin, and over-run all the country in that courſe, is ſaid to have obtained a conſiderable victory over the Turks in the neighbourhood of that city; though no particulars, even of time or place, have been mentioned. He afterwards made conſiderable preparations for the ſiege of that place, which ſome peculiar circumſtances of diſtance and ſituation ſeem to have rendered tedious and difficult; until the change which had for ſome time been gradually taking place in the political conduct of Leopold, at length occaſioned the deſign to be abandoned.

But if the war languiſhed in other parts, ſuch was not the caſe on the ſide of Giurgewo, where the hoſtilities between the Auſtrians and Ottomans were cloſed by a bloody ſcene. The only account we have ſeen, which carries any appearance of authenticity, gives the following ſtatement of that affair. That Leopold being at length determined to accommodate the diſputes with the king of Pruſſia, and conſequently

ſequently to ſubmit to a peace with the Turks, he humanely wiſhed to prevent the unneceſſary effuſion of human blood, and for that purpoſe agreed to conclude an armiſtice, for a certain ſpecified term, on the borders of the Danube.

It ſeems that Giurgewo had been for ſome time beſieged, and that the prince of Cobourg being covetous to obtain poſſeſſion of that place before the armiſtice could be ratified, diſpatched general Thurn with a reinforcement to preſs on the ſiege with ſuch vigour and expedition, as might compel the garriſon to a ſurrender within the time deſired. But the Ottomans having a good deal ſhaken off their laſt year's panic, began to reſume their uſual courage; and being as deſirous to preſerve their fortreſs, as the prince was to attain it, they immediately diſpatched a body of troops to its relief. The Auſtrians under general Thurn, who covered the ſiege, confident of ſucceſs from their late victories, did not wait for the attack of the enemy, but marched boldly to encounter him. They, however, met with a reception which they little expected. Excited to madneſs by a ſenſe of their loſſes and diſgraces, the Turks fought with undeſcribable fury; and, after a deſperate conflict, breaking the Auſtrian lines, they carried every thing before them, and in defiance of diſcipline, as well as of natural and acquired valour, put them abſolutely to flight.

The fate of the brave general was much regretted. After every exertion which knowledge and courage could dictate or execute to reſiſt the impetuoſity of his fierce and enraged foe, his head was carried off by the blow of a janizary's ſabre, and afterwards exhibited in triumph on a pike through the ranks of the Turkiſh army. The Auſtrians left ſeven hundred men dead upon the field, and about two thouſand were deſperately wounded. The beſieging general abandoned his trenches and works, along with eighteen pieces of artillery, with the utmoſt precipitation.—Such was the iſſue of the laſt action in this war between the Auſtrians and Ottomans.

For Leopold, who juſtly held in very ſmall eſtimation conqueſts made on the deſolated borders of Turkey, when placed in competition with the rich, fertile, and populous provinces of the Netherlands, and farther prompted by the great and immediate objects which were at ſtake in Germany, determined to extricate himſelf at once from all his difficulties, and to remove the obſtacles which ſtood in his way to the attainment of the Imperial dignity with all its advantages, by a ſpeedy accommodation with the king of Pruſſia, and by conſenting to an equitable peace with the Porte.

In conſequence of this determination, a congreſs was held at Reichenbach, in Sileſia, compoſed of the miniſters of the kings of Hungary, Pruſſia, Great Britain, and the States General; the two latter powers acting in the double capacity of mediators and guarantees. The ability of the negociators, along with the diſpoſitions tending to tranquillity, which prevailed with the parties, did not admit of much delay in bringing the buſineſs to a concluſion. A convention, which takes its name from the place where the congreſs were aſſembled, July 27th, 1790.

aſſembled, was accordingly executed, which removed the jealouſies and differences on both ſides, and not only relieved Leopold from a heavy weight of care, anxiety and trouble, but opened and ſmoothed the way to the eaſy attainment of all his favourite objects, both in Germany and the Low Countries. Nor did it leſs favour the views of the allied powers, by its material tendency to prevent the ruin or diſmemberment of the Ottoman empire, which had been the great object of their interference.

The purport of the treaty was, that Auſtria ſhould renounce her alliance with Ruſſia. That ſhe ſhall open a negociation for peace with the Ottoman Porte, under the mediation of the three allied powers, conclude an armiſtice for the interim, and renounce all the conqueſts made during the war. That the king of Hungary ſhall, however, be at liberty to obtain from the Porte, by friendly negociation, any fortreſſes or places, which ſhe may amicably conſent to give up for the adjuſtment or ſecurity of his frontier; but that if any acquiſition of territory is ſo obtained on that ſide, the king of Pruſſia ſhall receive an equivalent for it of equal value on that of Upper Sileſia. That the king of Hungary ſhall retain the two provinces of Galicia and Lodomeria, which he already poſſeſſes in Poland. That, ſhould Ruſſia perſiſt in carrying on the war againſt the Porte and Sweden, and theſe powers demand the aſſiſtance of Pruſſia, according to the treaties ſubſiſting between them, his Pruſſian majeſty ſhall be at free liberty to fulfil theſe engagements, without the court of Vienna taking any part, directly or indirectly, in the conteſt. On the other hand, the king of Pruſſia engages to give Leopold his vote on the approaching election for the imperial throne, but under the expreſs condition, *ſine qua non*, that the emperor of the Romans ſhall never enter into any alliance with Ruſſia, in order that he may be enabled, as chief of the Germanic empire, to reſiſt any attack which Ruſſia might, at a future period, be induced to undertake againſt it. The king of Pruſſia engages to co-operate with the maritime powers in their endeavours to appeaſe the troubles in the Auſtrian Netherlands, but upon the expreſs condition that Leopold ſhall reſtore to them all their ancient privileges; which are to be confirmed and guaranteed by the three allied powers.

A little before this convention was executed, an unfortunate event took place, which, if Leopold had been before otherwiſe diſpoſed, would have been a motive fully ſufficient for inducing him to adopt pacific meaſures: indeed it might be ſaid that he thereby loſt his ſword arm. This was the demiſe of that juſtly celebrated and truly great commander, the venerable field marſhal Laudohn, who, after having encountered as many dangers in the field as perhaps any man ever did, cloſed, in a ſick bed, a long life covered with laurels and glory. He departed this life at his head quarters in Moravia, on the 14th of July 1790, in the 75th year of his age; and was generally and exceedingly lamented, on account of his private virtues, as well as of his military talents, and great public ſervices. He was a native of Livonia, a ſoldier of fortune, who without money or intereſt roſe merely by his perſonal merit, from being a ſubaltern

ſubaltern to the higheſt military honours. After a long apprenticeſhip in the Ruſſian ſervice, under thoſe celebrated maſters of war, count Munich and general Lacy, he came into that of the houſe of Auſtria about the year 1756; where he roſe with a rapidity beyond all example. The great Frederic of Pruſſia ſaid, that he ſometimes admired the poſition of other generals, but that he always dreaded the battles of Laudohn. He was undoubtedly at the time of his death the firſt general in Europe.

Leopold being now ſecured as to his principal objects, of peace, of his election, and of the recovery of the Netherlands, had leiſure to look into and adjuſt his private and family concerns. He had already ſettled his ſecond ſon Ferdinand in poſſeſſion of the grand duchy of Tuſcany; an arrangement which had for ſome time been a matter of public as well as political doubt and ſpeculation. He now determined to cement the union, and to draw the ties of affinity more cloſely between his own family and his relations of the houſe of Naples by intermarriages. His two eldeſt ſons, Francis the hereditary prince of Hungary and Bohemia, and Ferdinand, the new great duke of Tuſcany, were accordingly, ſoon after the concluſion of the treaty of Reichenbach, married to the eldeſt princeſſes, daughters of the king of Naples; and about a month after the third arch-ducheſs, daughter of Leopold, was married to the prince royal of Naples: that princeſs having firſt made a formal renunciation of all right of ſucceſſion to any of the poſſeſſions of the houſe of Auſtria.

Aug. 16th.

As troubles, or at leaſt the ſeeds of trouble, in almoſt all parts of his widely-extended dominions, were appendages which Joſeph had annexed inſeparably from their poſſeſſion to his ſucceſſor; ſo Leopold had ſtill much difficulty to encounter with his new ſubjects of the kingdom of Hungary. For the evidently forced conceſſions which his predeceſſor had been induced to make, under all the paroxyſms and agonies of pain, terror, weakneſs, and approaching death, were in no degree ſufficient to remove the effect of that continued ſyſtem of irritation and deſpotiſm, with which he had ſo long inſulted all the feelings of that brave and generous, but exceedingly high-ſpirited, fierce, and reſentful people. Their hereditary and inveterate animoſity to the Germans, whom they had ever conſidered as lawleſs uſurpers and tyrants, the ſcourge and ruin of their country, with that abhorrence which ſeemed incurable, and reached to every thing German, to laws, manners, and even language, as well as government, had in a very great degree been ſoftened or worn away, during the long and lenient adminiſtration of Maria Thereſa; whoſe marked attention and favour to this people, was probably not more to be attributed to gratitude, than to a juſt and wiſe ſyſtem of policy. Had this ſyſtem been continued with equal wiſdom, all the ancient animoſities and national prejudices would not only have worn away, but in time their very memory would have been obliterated.

But her ſucceſſor, who ſeemed deſtined to take every thing by the wrong handle, or, if he happened to ſeize it by the right, was ſure to puſh it to an extreme which rendered it wrong, not only revived all

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the ancient animoſities, but ſupplied them with a keener edge, than they had before poſſeſſed, ſince the ages immediately ſucceeding the era that gave them birth. It is accordingly reported, and the report is probably well founded, that ſeveral of the great palatines and principal nobility, had it ſeriouſly in contemplation, to emancipate their country from the Auſtrian yoke; that a plan for that purpoſe had been actually framed; and that the means had been pointed out for inſtituting and conſtantly ſupporting a grand army of 150,000 men, for their preſent and future defence and protection. The memorial which, we may remember, the Porte iſſued early in the war, offering its utmoſt aſſiſtance to the Hungarians, in the recovery of their ancient independence, and rank among nations, with the moſt liberal and diſintereſted offers of perpetual alliance and friendſhip after that was accompliſhed, ſerves ſtrongly to countenance theſe reports and opinions; for it cannot be doubted that the court of Conſtantinople was intimately acquainted with the affairs of Hungary with the temper of the people, and with the views and wiſhes of the great men.

Such was the diſordered and critical ſtate in which Leopold, through the ill conduct of his predeceſſor, found the nobleſt portion of his heritage involved at the time of his acceſſion; but the great relief which the treaty of Reichenbach afforded him in ſo many other things, fortunately extended likewiſe to enable him to encounter this difficulty.

While the conferences at Reichenbach were ſtill in agitation, but evidently drawing to a concluſion which would render Leopold eaſy in his affairs, a number of deputies arrived at Vienna, from Hungary, who preſented a long liſt of twenty-four articles to the king, which they ſtrongly urged him to ſign, previous to his coronation for that kingdom. Many of theſe articles went to the redreſs of preſent, and to prevent the repetition of paſt grievances, while others tended to afford ſecurity againſt future oppreſſion. Leopold having maturely conſidered the articles, and holding them to trench too much upon the ſovereignty, as likewiſe, perhaps, conſidering the Hungarians to be too importunate and peremptory in their demands, upon theſe or other accounts he refuſed ſigning them. And ſtill perſevering in this determination, upon the further urgent ſolicitation of the deputies, he is ſaid to have told them, with much apparent indifference, that he was not at all anxious about being crowned in Hungary, and that he had given orders to recal thoſe who had been ſent to prepare for the coronation.

Immediately after the treaty of Reichenbach, the diet of Hungary, then ſitting in full aſſembly, ſent a letter to the ſovereign, in which they ſtated, that having underſtood that negociations for terminating the preſent war were on the point of being opened, they could not but obſerve, that, to the great grief of the ſtates, and contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, this war had been commenced without their knowledge; and that they would be penetrated with ſtill greater grief, if now, that they were aſſembled in diet, and bent upon the re-eſtabliſhment of their rights, the treaty of peace ſhould be concluded without their concurrence.

rence. They ſhewed, that thoſe eſſential laws which they quoted, do not permit a king of Hungary to begin a war in the kingdom, or in the provinces united to it, without the knowledge and conſent of the nation; and that peace with the Turks cannot be concluded, either within or out of the kingdom, but with the advice of an Hungarian council. Preſuming that his majeſty would readily acknowledge the equity of theſe repreſentations, they propoſed deputies, men of approved integrity, knowledge, and ability in public affairs, to attend the conferences of peace, and other negociations for the public good. They conclude, by beſeeching the king to admit them to the negociations, in conformity to the ſpirit of the Hungarian laws and conſtitution, which they will conſider as a particular proof of his majeſty's juſtice, and as a tie which will bind more ſtrongly, that free, faithful, and obedient nation.

Leopold relaxed upon this occaſion, or rather ſeemed to comply, through grace and perſuaſion, with an application, which he not only ſecretly wiſhed to be made, but had himſelf been inſtrumental in procuring. For the malcontents were ſo numerous, and affairs had juſt before run ſo high in the diet, that it had been propoſed, and the propoſal ſtrongly ſupported, to ſend miniſters directly from the nation to Conſtantinople, without taking notice of, or paying any regard to the king, who were to negociate in its name, and entirely on its own account, a treaty of peace with the Ottoman porte. It required, therefore, all the addreſs of the king's miniſters at the diet, and all the weight and influence neceſſarily appendent to the crown, to over-rule this attempt, and to procure the addreſs in queſtion.

Every thing now all at once concurred, in damping the hopes and fruſtrating the deſigns of the malcontents; the new coalition between Auſtria and Pruſſia, in the place of a war, which was conſidered as unavoidable, and the conſequent opening of a peace with the Ottomans, ſeemed a double fatality conveyed by a ſingle blow. They were indeed, at one time, ſo numerous, and appeared ſo formidable, that Leopold had entertained ſerious apprehenſions as to the ſecurity, and perhaps preſervation of the kingdom; and it was intended, when the peace took place, to ſend the Hungarian army to the Low Countries, and to replace them entirely in that kingdom by German regiments. But the internal factions and diſſentions, by which they were themſelves torn to pieces, prevented their being capable of forming any great and general union, and proved to him a bond of ſecurity; enabling him to play off the different parts one againſt the other, and thereby to diſjoint and weaken the whole.

Of the parties which thus divided the kingdom, the proteſtants and Roman catholics were in a ſtate of avowed enmity, the magnats, and the nobleſſe in general, were nearly at daggers drawn; the peaſants abhorred the nobles, and the latter were not behind-hand in their regards to them. With reſpect to the ſovereign, the bulk at leaſt of the clergy, ſtill holding a bitter remembrance of the late Joſeph, and not much better ſatisfied with many parts of Leopold's conduct in Tuſcany, were totally adverſe to his intereſts; the magnats and comitats, excepting

excepting thoſe who held great offices under the crown, were entirely bent upon a revolution; and while the poſſibility remained, were eager to cement the cloſeſt alliance and union that could be formed with the king of Pruſſia and the Porte. The nobleſſe were divided; many of them, from the jealouſy and envy which they bore to the magnats and great palatines, were favourably diſpoſed to the ſovereign; while others were willing to ſacrifice their private animoſities for what they deemed the good of their country. On the other hand, the proteſtants, from the circumſtances of their ſituation, were neceſſarily bound to the crown; and the peaſants, ſenſible of the benefits which they derived through Joſeph, and likewiſe knowing, that nothing but a ſimilar interpoſition could increaſe them, or even preſerve what they had already obtained, were violent in their attachment to Leopold.

While affairs hung thus in a ſort of equilibrium between the parties, but the ſcale ſtill rather preponderating on the ſide of the malcontents, it was ſuddenly weighed down to the ground on the ſide of the crown, by an acceſſion as extraordinary, as it was unexpected, and even unthought of on all ſides. An incredible number of Greeks, Wallachians, Serviotes, and Raſcians, who are repreſented as amounting to four millions, declared themſelves to a man firmly attached to the cauſe of Leopold, and determined to ſupport it at all events, and in all caſes. This changed in an inſtant the whole face of things, and overthrew at once all the hopes and deſigns of the factions. The effect was immediate in the diet; for, the blow being well followed up and ſupported by the miniſters and friends of the crown, above fifty of the moſt violent malcontents were expelled from that body in one day, while thoſe who remained were glad to bow down their heads in ſilence.

There was ſtill, however, a very conſiderable and reſpectable party, which demanded and deſerved attention, and which was, perhaps, more truly patriotic than any we have yet deſcribed. This was compoſed of what may be termed and deemed moderate men. They had never gone the lengths of the violent malcontents; nor did they by any means endeavour to produce, or even wiſh that the event ſhould take place, of an abſolute rupture of the kingdom from the Auſtrian dominion, after ſo long and ſo intimate a connection between them, now endeared by habit, and cemented by numberleſs ties of friendſhip, affinity, and mutual kindneſs or ſervice. But this party anxiouſly and eagerly wiſhed the reſtoration of their ancient conſtitution in all its parts, and in all its original purity; and farther, from a long and bitter experience of the little reliance that was to be placed on the faith of the Auſtrian princes, as well as of the domineering ſpirit which ever marked the conduct of the Germans, whenever they were entruſted with the exerciſe of power, they likewiſe wanted, and propoſed, that their conſtitution, thus renewed, ſhould be ſecured by the guarantee of the three neighbouring powers of Pruſſia, Sweden, and Poland. Under theſe conditions they declared they would ever ſhew themſelves to be the moſt zealous, faithful, and loyal of his ſubjects.

A deputation from the diet waited upon Leopold at Vienna, with an invitation Sept. 5th.

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to requeſt his perſonal preſence at their deliberations, and particularly at the coronation. They likewiſe preſented what was called a new diploma, containing ſupplementary articles to thoſe which it had been cuſtomary hitherto for the monarchs to ſign and ſwear to, and which it was hoped and requeſted he would accept. The king returned an anſwer by count Palfi, the great chancellor of Hungary, that he had intended his coronation in Hungary ſhould have taken place of that at Frankfort; but that the delays in their own proceedings having rendered that now impracticable, he ſhould, however, endeavour to fulfil his purpoſe in that reſpect by the 15th of November at fartheſt; obſerving that the lateneſs of the ſeaſon would neceſſarily preclude his proceeding farther into the country than Preſburg, which muſt of courſe render that city the place of celebrating the coronation. We are to underſtand, that Buda, the ancient capital, was the place which the Hungarians had fixed for that purpoſe, in oppoſition to Preſburg, the new capital, which, on account of its vicinity to Vienna, the Auſtrians had long rendered the actual ſeat of government.

With reſpect to the newly-propoſed diploma, Leopold declared, that he was firmly and invariably reſolved not to approve or confirm by oath any diploma but thoſe which the conſtitutions of Charles the Sixth and Maria Thereſa had already preſcribed to all the kings of Hungary. That he was the more firmly and invariably fixed in this reſolution, as he was determined religiouſly to fulfil the ſtipulations ſo preſcribed, according to the ſpirit and tenor of certain articles, to which he referred. That after the coronation, he will not refuſe to liſten to the grievances, the wiſhes, and the ſupplications of his faithful ſtates, and after mature public deliberation, to adopt reſolutions thereupon, agreeable to the ſpirit of the laws and the true intereſts of the realm. He concludes with an expectation that the ſtates will cooperate with him, with zeal and fidelity, in the accompliſhment of theſe objects; an expectation on which he truſts with the greater confidence, as they may be certain on his part, that whatever is conformable to the laws, whatever does not derogate from the royal rights, in a word, whatever contributes to the general good, he will freely concur in.

Leopold was elected king of the Romans on the 30th of September, and made his public entry into Frankfort on the 4th of October; being the ſame day of the month on which his father, the emperor Francis, had heretofore made a ſimilar proceſſion. The coronation, which took place a few days after, was unuſually ſplendid; and beſides the perſonal attendance of the three eccleſiaſtical electors, with a great number of other German princes, was rendered more brilliant by the preſence of the king and queen of the two Sicilies, with the long train of princes and princeſſes appertaining to the two prolific houſes of Naples and Vienna; including in the number the grand duke of Tuſcany, and all the newly-married pairs. October 9th, 1790.

In the interim, while theſe affairs were in agitation, an armiſtice, under the mediation of count Luſi, the Pruſſian miniſter, was concluded on the 20th of September, between the prince of Saxe Cobourg, on the part of the court of Vienna, and the

the grand vizir, in his camp at Siliſtria, on that of the Ottomans. At the ſame time it was agreed, that a congreſs for the final concluſion of peace ſhould be aſſembled at Bucharest or Siſtovia, as ſhould be found moſt convenient to the plenipotentiaries, to be compoſed of the miniſters of the principal parties, and of thoſe of the three allied mediating powers.

Leopold arrived at Preſburg a few days previous to that appointed for the coronation. Notwithſtanding all the bickerings that had taken place, and the numberleſs jealouſies which ſo long ſubſiſted, he was received with every mark of the utmoſt joy and enthuſiaſm both by the people and the ſtates. The diet ſoon afforded a ſignal inſtance of their loyalty and attachment to their new ſovereign. For Leopold having, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom, preſented the names of four of the firſt nobility of the kingdom to the diet, of whom they were to chooſe one to be palatine of the kingdom, an office of the higheſt truſt and dignity, which rendered the poſſeſſor the ſecond perſon in it, the ſtates unanimouſly requeſted the ſovereign that he would indulge their wiſhes, by granting to the nation as their palatine the arch-duke Leopold, his fourth ſon, who was then preſent. As nothing could be more flattering than this propoſal, we ſcarcely need ſay that it was gladly aſſented to; and the new palatine had the happineſs, three days after, of placing the ancient crown of St. Stephen, ſo long and ſo greatly the object of Hungarian veneration, upon the head of his father.

Nov. 15th, 1790.

Leopold's ſpeech to his ſon upon his inſtalment, in the preſence of the diet, does him ſuch high honour, and contains ſentiments ſo noble, that we ſhould conſider ourſelves guilty of little leſs than a crime, if we omitted its inſertion. —"I hope," ſaid he, preſenting his ſon to the nation, "you will "never forget that you are my ſon, "but ſhould it ever be your lot, in "the execution of your office, to be "obliged to defend the rights of "the nation againſt your father, I "deſire you will then forget that "you are my ſon, and that you will "ſtrictly act in ſupport of the laws." —He then addreſſed the nation in the following words: "This, my "beloved ſon, I preſent to you, as "a pledge of my ſincere regard for "you; that he may act between "you and me as a diſintereſted "mediator and promoter of mutual "affection."

We have ſeen that the Hungarians had ſome time before propoſed ſeveral conditional articles to Leopold, which he peremptorily refuſed to accept. The application was now again renewed before the coronation, it being, probably, ſuppoſed, that in the preſent ſeaſon of good-humour, joy, and feſtivity, nothing could be refuſed. But Leopold, adhering to his former firmneſs, declared, that he would receive the crown on no other conditions than thoſe on which it had been accepted by his mother; and he thought its luſtre, and the honour attached to it, would be tarniſhed, if it was made the ſubject of a bargain. After this diſplay of a firmneſs which ſeemed approaching to an ungracious obſtinacy, the admiration, gratitude, and joy of the Hungarians will be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed, when, on the day ſucceeding the coronation, he

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of his own free motion, when every hope of conceſſion was at an end, granted them every favourable condition, and every future ſecurity, which they could with reaſon and propriety deſire. Thus he gained at once the hearts and hands of that numerous, brave, and powerful nation.

Nothing could exceed the judicious and excellent conduct of Leopold in the whole courſe of his communication with this people. When they were apparently at the point of proceeding to the laſt extremities entirely to throw off the Auſtrian dominion; when he was himſelf unſettled in government, embarraſſed on every hand, involved in difficulties which ſeemed almoſt inextricable, and ſurrounded with enemies and dangers; in that perilous ſituation, he diſplayed a firmneſs with reſpect to the Hungarians which aſtoniſhed every body. Nor did he relax in any degree from that firmneſs until he had broken and ſubdued the factions, and ſaw himſelf in full poſſeſſion of the kingdom; and then, by a well-timed, unexpected, wiſe, and generous exertion of condeſcenſion and favour, he totally annihilated diſaffection and faction, and in an inſtant gratified a whole nation.

We ſhewed in our firſt chapter, the circumſtances which happily led to Leopold's recovery of his loſt dominion in the Netherlands. Upon the whole, it will ſcarcely eſcape any obſerver, that few men have had the fortune, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, not only to extricate their affairs from the moſt embarraſſed, difficult, and dangerous ſituation which could well be imagined, but in the ſame time to have arrived at the completion of their moſt diſtant hopes and wiſhes, and to have attained within a few months all thoſe honours and advantages, which might have been well deemed the fruits of a proſperous life. It may likewiſe be ſaid, that few treaties have afforded greater benefits to any of the parties than Leopold derived from that of Reichenbach, to which, indeed, he entirely owed the happy ſettlement of his affairs.

Leopold ſeemed now in a train and diſpoſition of doing wiſe, juſt, and popular things; for towards the cloſe of the year he took care to remember and fulfil a tranſient promiſe which he either made, or afforded hope of his performing, by reſtoring to the ſtates of the Milaneſe their ancient conſtitution and laws, and reinſtating them in the full poſſeſſion of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, of which they had been deprived by Joſeph: a violence and injury which had ever ſince rankled ſorely in their minds, and excited the ſtrongeſt averſion to his perſon, government, and even name.

He likewiſe, about the ſame time, granted new favours to the Jews, for whom Joſeph had done a great deal, and indeed mended their condition ſo much, that it did not ſeem they had much more to expect or require. Leopold, however, extended their privileges ſtill further, by decreeing, that in all his hereditary dominions, thoſe Jews who had received a proper education, and acquired the neceſſary degree of knowledge, ſhould be allowed to take academical degrees in the lay-faculties, and to act as advocates; and in the latter quality to plead the cauſe either of Jews or Chriſtians indifferently. In conſequence of this permiſſion, Mr. Raphael Joel, a Jew, being

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duly examined, and having given satisfactory proofs of his ability and qualifications, was, in the beginning of the year 1791, admitted, by the univerſity of Prague, to the degree of Doctor in the Civil Law.

The court of Vienna was occupied, during the fore part of the year 1791, in negociating and ſettling the terms of a definitive treaty of peace with the Porte at Siſtovia, under the mediation of the three allied powers, whoſe miniſters attended the whole time, and who, with equal zeal and ability, were indefatigable in their attentions and endeavours to ſalve the ſore remembrances of hoſtility, and to reconcile the oppoſite views of the principal parties. Many difficulties occurred, and unexpected obſtacles were thrown in the way, as well by the emperor himſelf, as through the means of Ruſſia. Theſe were, however, at length happily ſurmounted, by the powerful intervention of the mediating powers, and the unwearied application of their miniſters; although the differences ſeemed at one time ſo irreconcileable, that it was apprehended the congreſs would have broken up without effect.

Every thing being at length ſettled, a moſt fair and equitable treaty of peace, and to the Porte, conſidering her fallen and ruined ſituation, a moſt happy and advantageous one, was finally concluded at Siſtovia; and the ratifications ſpeedily after exchanged. The plenipotentiaries of the allied powers (whoſe names and quality, as mediators, were affixed to the treaty), in order, ſo far as it could be done, to exterminate the ſeeds of all future differences between the two empires, and even to cut off the pretences for quarrel, ſucceeded in procuring on the ſame day the execution of a convention for the preciſe ſpecification and exact adjuſtment of the limits, which were to be the boundaries of their long-extended frontiers. By this accommodation, the haughtineſs, perverſeneſs, and ambition of Ruſſia only remained to be ſubdued, in order to obtain the reſtoration of tranquillity on the borders of Europe and Aſia, and the putting an end to the moſt ſavage, cruel, deſolating, and bloody war which has been known in modern times.—But before we proceed to relate the iſſue of the meaſures ſo long purſued by the allies for that purpoſe, we muſt turn our view back to the laſt campaign, and to a peace which ſo ſuddenly followed with Sweden.

Aug. 4th, 1791.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Preparations made by the king of Sweden for renewing the war againſt Ruſſia with vigour in the campaign of 1790. *Adopts new and extraordinary, but ſucceſsful meaſures, for gaining the affection and ſupport of the commons, and of the people at large, independently of the nobles; and calls in ſome members of the clergy, and ſome of the burghers, to ſit in his council, and to aſſiſt in the principal departments of government. Extreme danger of the conſequences which this raſh innovation was liable to produce. Guſtavus obtains great and unuſual ſupplies from the ſtates for the proſecution of the war. Campaign opened unuſually early in Finland; where the Swedes penetrate the Ruſſian frontier, and poſſeſs themſelves of ſeveral ſtrong and advantageous poſts. Bloody action at Karnankoſki, where a ſmall body of Swedes, being attacked by* 10,000 *Ruſſians under General Ingleſtrom and the prince of Anhalt, the former are repulſed and defeated with great loſs; that prince, with other principal officers, being among the number who fell in the conflict. Succeſs of the king in perſon, in the deſperate attack upon Valkiala; takes Wilmanſtrand and other places; fixes his head quarters at Borgo, to form a junction with his galley fleet. Ruſſian grand fleet being divided, and ſtill in their winter ſtations at Cronſtadt and Revel, the duke of Sudermania becomes maſter of the ſea. Deſperate and unfortunate attempt made by the duke to deſtroy the Ruſſian ſquadron in the port of Revel, in which he loſes two ſhips of the line. Guſtavus, in perſon, at the head of his flotilla, ſuddenly appears before Frederickſham, where he forces all the defences of the harbour, and takes or deſtroys a large diviſion of the Ruſſian galley fleet, which was there ſtationed; burning and deſtroying all the naval arſenals, ſtores, and magazines. Ruſſians having collected their force, the tide of ſucceſs by land and ſea begins to turn againſt the Swedes; who loſe every thing which they had gained in Carelia, and are obliged to repaſs the Kymene with loſs. Sea-fights on the third and fourth of June. Raſh attempt upon Wybourg. Deplorable ſituation of the Swedes; encloſed by all the united fleets of Ruſſia in the bay of Wybourg; and no communication open with the ſea, but by a narrow ſtrait, which is ſtrongly guarded by the enemy: and ſcarcely any means of deliverance left. Deſperate and bloody fights on the third and fourth of July; the Swedes endeavouring to force their way through the narrow inlet, and then to evade the ſuperior force of the enemy in the open ſea. Prodigious loſs of men and ſhips ſuſtained by the Swedes in their eſcape. Duke of Sudermania, with the remainder of his ruined fleet, arrives at Sweabourg. Guſtavus, with his light fleet, involved in ſimilar danger; but though ſuſtaining great loſs, it is not quite in proportion to that of his brother. Sudden and extraordinary reverſe of fortune. The king arriving at Swenk Sound, meets there the Pomeranian diviſion of galleys under colonel Cronſtadt: puts again immediately to ſea, in order to intercept the Ruſſian light fleet under the prince of Naſſau, which are on their way to Frederickſham. Glorious and deciſive victory obtained by Guſtavus over the prince of Naſſau, on the 9th and 10th of July. Sudden and unexpected peace between Ruſſia and Sweden. Some obſervations on the cauſes and conſequences of that event. King loaded with obloquy and reproach by his European allies for*

this defection. Defends himſelf ſucceſsfully againſt their invectives; but finds it much more difficult to vindicate himſelf from the charge of violating all faith and treaty in his conduct with reſpect to the Ottoman Porte. Ruſſian piratical ſquadron in the Archipelago deſtroyed by the Algerines. Scheme for a winter campaign on the Danube formed by the Ruſſian generals, which affords them prodigious advantages over their enemy. Batal Bey routed, and his army totally ruined, on the ſide of Aſia. Ruſſian armies are put in motion in the month of October. Some account of the ſtate, condition, and ſtrength of Iſmailow. Taken by ſtorm by general Suwarow, after a long and moſt noble defence. Dreadful and unequalled maſſacre. Account of the numbers who are ſaid to have periſhed on both ſides. Some ſucceeding actions between the Ruſſians and Turks during the ſummer. Treaty of peace ſuddenly concluded at Galatz. Behaviour of the empreſs to the Britiſh court. Terms of peace. Cloſe of 1791 *an epoch of reflection. New leagues and confederacies in this year. New conſtitutions of Poland and France this year. Short contraſt of the revolutions in thoſe two countries, from their origin in* 1789. *Invaſions of thoſe two countries aſcribed to unjuſt and ambitious combinations of the neighbouring ſovereigns. Treaty for the partition of Poland and France, pretended to have been ſigned at Pavia, a coarſe and clumſy forgery. Congreſs at Pilnitz. Paper purporting to contain the ſecret articles agreed at Pilnitz unauthenticated and diſavowed: utterly inconſiſtent with the pretended treaty of Pavia as to the affairs of Poland, and both inconſiſtent with the fact. Uninterrupted narrative of the Poliſh revolution to the end of* 1792, *will be given in the next volume. Congreſs of Pilnitz did relate to France. General ſtate of the queſtion raiſed upon it by the oppoſite partizans. To judge fairly of it, neceſſary to take a connected view of the preceding and ſubſequent events, from the beginning of* 1791 *to the declaration of war by France againſt Auſtria, in April* 1792. *That ſubject reſerved to the next year. Preparatory obſervations on the ſtate of Europe, when the French revolution broke out in* 1789, *compared with the cloſe of* 1791. *French revolution the hinge of all the politics of Europe from this period —General concluſion.*

WE have ſeen that the campaign of 1789, after being tolerably ſucceſsful in the preceding part, and after the performance of many diſtinguiſhed acts of the moſt ſignal bravery, ended unfavourably to the king of Sweden, through the very great ſuperiority of force which the Ruſſian galley fleet under the prince of Naſſau poſſeſſed, in that laſt moſt obſtinate and bloody naval engagement which took place between the contending nations*. The Ruſſians thereby became maſters of the narrow ſeas in the bottom of the Baltic; but the lateneſs of the ſeaſon prevented their being able to derive any further advantage from that ſucceſs.

The king of Sweden, whoſe ever-active mind ſcarcely ſeemed ever to ſlumber, while any proſpect of enterprize or danger was in view, uſed every poſſible exertion to retrieve the fortune of the war, by the moſt effective preparations

* See Ann. Reg. Vol. xxxi. Hiſt. Art. pp. 198 to 200.

for the enſuing campaign; as it were intending to compel nature to give way to that invincible ardour, with which he hoped to overcome the prodigious ſuperiority of force he was conſtantly deſtined to encounter.

To give effect to his deſigns, he built principally upon the affection of the commons, which he determined to ſecure by all means; and by drawing in the clergy as auxiliaries, (who from the time of the reformation had been ſecluded from all other ſhare in public affairs than that of merely ſitting in the diet) he hoped to eſtabliſh ſuch a body of ſtrength within the kingdom, as ſhould make him perfectly eaſy at home; which could only be accompliſhed by rendering him entirely independent of the factious and turbulent nobility, by whom he well knew he was generally deteſted; and who had indeed, for a long ſeries of years, been in that moſt ſhameful habit of betraying and ſelling the honour and intereſts of their country to whatever foreign bidder they could find, who would afford the moſt gold for the purchaſe.

But this meaſure, however expedient it might appear for the preſent, was a moſt dangerous experiment; and the great number, the vaſt poſſeſſions, and above all the daring unconquerable ſpirit of the nobility, conſidered, could ſcarcely have been expected, upon any rational principles, founded on a juſt eſtimate of mankind, to produce effects much leſs fatal, than thoſe which have ſince been unhappily ſhewn in the event.

It was among the king's peculiar qualities, to be diſpoſed to make light of the greateſt obſtacles. The extraordinary ſucceſs which had generally attended thoſe bold and ſudden meaſures, which, like the fire concealed in a flint, he had ſo often ſtricken out at the inſtant of occaſion, was ſufficient to render him opinionative and obſtinate in adopting and purſuing the immediate impulſes of that genius which had never forſaken him in any emergency.

He opened his new ſcheme upon his return from Finland, by iſſuing a declaration, that all orders of the ſtate had an equal right to ſerve their country in all ſituations, for which they ſhould be found duly qualified by their abilities and talents: and that it was contrary to reaſon and propriety, that any order ſhould monopolize to itſelf the right of filling the high offices of the ſtate. Upon this new principle of equalizing all the orders of the ſtate, he ſummoned to his council an equal number of perſons from each; appointing to one department two nobles, the counts Wachtmeiſter and Bonde; with whom were joined Meſſrs. Rogberg and Ulner, two commoners, or private citizens: this being the firſt known inſtance in the hiſtory of Sweden, in which ſuch an honour was conferred upon any perſon not nobly born. The biſhop of Wolgaſt, with Mr. Alhman, who had been ſecretary to the houſe of peaſants in the laſt diet, and Mr. Hankanſon, burgomaſter of Carleſcroon, were appointed to another department. Similar arrangements were made in others.

This bold innovation attached the people at large to the king, in a degree beyond what can well be imagined, and enabled him to carry on his preparations for war with a facility and effect which he could

not himſelf have expected. But it was an unpardonable blow to the pride, importance, and feelings of the nobility: while the wound thus inflicted, inſtead of cloſing or healing by time, continued to increaſe, feſter, and become every hour more gangrenous and incurable.

The ſtates granted the king every ſupport for the war, which the poverty of the country could poſſibly bear. The aſſeſſments were very general and comprehenſive; they reached to perſons and to things. Every article of conſumption, as well as of luxury, every condition of life, was ſubjected to its appropriate tax. Clergy, nobles, all orders were included. The minute reſources which now conſtituted the *ways and means* would appear curious to the financiers of a rich country. Among the ſmaller articles, a watch in the pocket was liable to a tax; but the wearer of two at one time, paid conſiderably. Horſes, oxen, and all animals capable of affording profit or pleaſure to their owners, were taxed; and what ſeemed not a little peculiar, the nobility, who were obliged to furniſh quotas of horſes for the army, were obliged to pay a heavy tax of 2*l.* 6*s.* for every horſe which they thus devoted to the king's ſervice. The ſupplies were, every thing conſidered, greater than could have been well expected; and conſiderably exceeded the grants of preceding diets. They amounted to no leſs, if the ſtatements are right, than 1,640,000*l.* a year; which was a prodigious ſum for that country to afford. Some ſalvo's were made, that the recent extraordinary grants ſhould not be conſidered as precedents in future.

Some of the greater cities, as proofs of their zeal and attachment built, manned, and equipped gun-boats, which they preſented to the king; and likewiſe raiſed, clothed and armed bodies of volunteers to ſupport him in the war. He applied himſelf to the ſtates of Pomerania for the loan of a million of rix-dollars, to be ſecured on the revenues of that country: but we do not know the ſucceſs of this application.

Through this cordial ſupport at home, with the further aid of the Turkiſh ſubſidy, which contributed much, through the circulation of ſo much foreign ſilver dropped into the country, to diffuſe ſpirit and vigour through all the departments at home and abroad, the king was enabled to open the campaign in Finland unuſually early; and the Swedes actually commenced their operations in the month of April. Diſdaining to wait the motions of the enemy, a body of them penetrated boldly into Ruſſian Savolax, where they ſeemed to carry every thing before them, and ſeized three ſtrong poſts, which were conſidered as being of great importance on both ſides with reſpect to the future operations of the war; beſides taking ſome artillery, and making a conſiderable booty in arms, ammunition, ſtores, and other articles.

This inroad, made ſo near the capital, was peculiarly alarming at Peterſburgh; nor was the danger more regarded, than indignation excited by the audacity of the inſult. One of theſe poſts, named Karnankoſki, lying on the borders of the lake Saima, was conſidered of ſo much conſequence, that a body of ten thouſand of the beſt and oldeſt troops in the vicinity of the metropolis, including a ſtrong detach-

ent of the guards, and ſupported s uſual by a powerful artillery, ere diſpatched, under the conduct f general Ingelſtrom and the prince f Anhalt, not only to diſlodge the wedes from this poſt, but to chaſe hem entirely out of the country, nd give them cauſe to beware of enturing to make ſimilar inroads.

The Swedes amounted only to bout three thouſand men; but they ere well entrenched, and their poſt rong; nor had they yet forgotten he traditional hiſtory of thoſe times, hen they ſeldom took the trouble f enquiring into the number or uality of their enemy. The Ruſ-ians, formed in three cloſe and eavy columns, advanced to the ttack of the entrenchments with ll their native fearleſſneſs, and with all the pride and confidence of ucceſs, which long habits of victory were capable of inſpiring. The hock was dreadful; but to the aſto-niſhment of the aſſailants was re-ceived with a firmneſs and intre-pidity of which they had known no example, and which baffled all the fury and violence of the attack. In-dignation and ſhame at the idea of being repulſed by ſo inferior a force, with national pride, animoſity, and a keen ſenſe of the rivalſhip which ſeemed eternal between both peo-ple, all conſpired in prompting the Ruſſians rather to periſh than to ſubmit to the diſgrace of being de-feated at their own doors, by ſuch a handful of men. The action was accordingly renewed with all the rage and fury that man is capable of on the one ſide, and ſupported on the other with a cool and deter-mined valour which nothing ever ex-ceeded. The engagement, conſider-ing the paucity of the numbers, was, for about two hours that it continued, the moſt deſperate, obſtinate, and bloody which we have known or heard of. The Ruſſians were at length as totally defeated as an ar-my could be, where the victors were not able to profit by a purſuit. They left about two thouſand of their men dead upon the ſpot; and their mis-fortune was greatly aggravated by the loſs of the prince of Anhalt, of major general Belboff, who com-manded the guards, with other officers of diſtinction, who fell in this bloody conflict.

This action ſeems to have taken place on ſome of the days from the laſt of April to the ſecond of May. We are not informed whether the king was preſent; but from cir-cumſtances it may be conjectured that he was in another quarter. It may, however, with juſtice be ſaid, that neither the Swedes nor any other nation could, in the brighteſt periods of their military renown, have atchieved a more glorious ac-tion. It likewiſe fully demonſtrates that the rapid declenſion which had been ſuppoſed to have taken place in the martial genius of that nation, proceeded entirely from thoſe ever-ruinous conjoint cauſes of bad go-vernment and imbecility in com-mand, and not from any failure in the nature, or degeneracy in the character of the people at large.

It was near or about the time that this action was fought that the king in perſon croſſed the Kymene, and en-tered Ruſſian Finland. The Ruſſians were encamped round a ſtrong fort called Valkiala, where they were deeply entrenched, and well covered by every defence which art and na-ture combined were capable of af-fording. The enterprize ſeemed rather deſperate. The king, how-

April 28th 1790.

ever, marched to the attack with his uſual confidence, and was received with no leſs intrepidity. The action was very ſevere, and laſted for ſeveral hours; but the impetuoſity of the Swedes was at length triumphant, and ſurmounting all obſtacles, carried the entrenchments as well as the fort by ſtorm. This could not have been a cheap purchaſe; the accounts, however, ſtate, that the number of Swedes killed was not great; but that no ſmall number, including many officers, were wounded, through the continual ſhowers of grape-ſhot which were thrown from the batteries. This acquiſition was rendered particularly grateful, as beſides the artillery and ſtores a large magazine of proviſions was found in the place.

The Swedes took poſſeſſion of Wilmanſtrand and other places, and the king fixed his head quarters at Borgo, where he was to be joined by his fleet of gallies, and (notwithſtanding a violent contuſion he received in the ſhoulder at Valkiala) to take the command himſelf, and hoiſt the royal flag on board the Amphion. We are here to obſerve that the Ruſſian accounts of theſe tranſactions are ſo directly contrary to thoſe of the Swedes as to be irreconcileable. By the former, the king is repreſented as being ſo repeatedly defeated, that if they were real he muſt not only have been driven out of the Ruſſian territories, but his army entirely ruined; whereas ſucceeding as well as concurring events ſhew the direct reverſe to have been the caſe. We may well ſuppoſe, that, ſplit into ſmall diviſions, as the nature and circumſtances of the country compelled the contending combatants, particularly the invaders, to be, a number of ſmall engagements, from the time of their paſſing the Kymene, were continually taking place; nor can it be doubted, that ſuch an enemy as the Ruſſians were in ſome of theſe victorious. We muſt then preſume that theſe were magnified into ſplendid victories, and that others which had no exiſtence were fabricated, partly to allay the apprehenſions of the inhabitants of the metropolis, and partly to gratify their inveterate animoſity to the Swedes, by captivating accounts of the prodigious carnage and deſtruction which was made of them. Such artifices are common, particularly when the enemy is near at hand, and very dangerous; the Ruſſians, from their great power, and the intrinſic goodneſs of their armies, have leſs occaſion for applying to ſuch ſubterfuges than many others.

The king ſeemed to have gained conſiderable advantages by his early commencement of the campaign; it being evident that the enemy were thereby in no ſmall degree ſurprized, neither their fleets nor armies being in readineſs for ſo untimely and unexpected an encounter; for their grand fleet, compoſed of capital ſhips, being divided into nearly equal parts, they were ſtill in their reſpective winter ſtations in the ports of Cronſtadt and Revel. And the duke of Sudermania having ſailed from Carleſcroon with the Swediſh fleet, about the time that the land forces commenced their operations in Finland and Savolax, he thereby not only became ſole maſter of the ſea for the preſent, but ſeemed to have it much in his power to prevent the junction of the two Ruſſian ſquadrons, without their running the deſperate hazard of one or the other being intercepted and ſeparately

separately attacked in the attempt. Nor were the Ruſſian galley fleets in a better ſituation, with reſpect to the means of junction and mutual aſſiſtance.

The duke's views, however, extended to more deciſive and dangerous ſervice, than that of merely preventing the junction of the enemy's ſquadrons. The plan was probably not his own, for it was of a more deſperate nature than ſeemed to accord with his character. It was no leſs than an attempt to deſtroy the Ruſſian fleet in the fortified harbour of Revel; lined on all ſides, as it was, with batteries, and including a number of great and ſtrong ſhips (beſides frigates) mounted with heavier metal than even their rates beſpoke, and ready equipped for battle. The ſcheme extended, along with the ſhips, to the total deſtruction of that great naval arſenal, with all its docks, ſtores, and naval magazines whatever.

May 13th. Notwithſtanding all the formidable obſtacles, and all the dangers which they had to encounter, the attack of the Swedes was ſo truly tremendous, as to call into action every poſſible exertion, and all the courage of their ſtrongly guarded and protected enemy. We are ill informed as to the particulars; but the aſſailants ſeem to have penetrated into the very heart of the harbour, and to have maintained for ſeveral hours a moſt deſperate conteſt, in the centre of the enemy's fire and ſtrength. It is indeed ſaid, that ſo far as ſeamanſhip and valour could confer national glory, the Swedes were entitled to no ſmall portion of it. In this ſtate of things, to a ſudden change of the wind, and to its riſing to a ſtorm towards the evening, they attribute the failure of the enterprize; which they were then obliged to abandon with the utmoſt precipitation; the difficulty of getting out of the harbour becoming ſo great that it could not be effected without the moſt imminent danger, as well as ſome real conſiderable loſs. The Swedes loſt a 60 gun ſhip, which being diſmaſted was taken by the enemy; another of the ſame force was wrecked, and the men being taken out, was ſet on fire. A third likewiſe ran on ſhore, but being got off, had the fortune to eſcape to ſea with the loſs of part of her artillery. Such was the iſſue of this very raſh enterprize, which, notwithſtanding the greatneſs of its object, could not perhaps be juſtified upon any principle of naval tactics, any more than of ſound judgment. Too much was certainly truſted to fortune, and ſhe had not hitherto in the courſe of the war afforded any great cauſe for relying on her favour.

It would have been little ſuited to the king's character and diſpoſition to ſuppoſe that he was inactive, at a ſeaſon when his brother was engaged in ſuch ſevere and dangerous ſervice. With better fortune, on the ſecond day after the unſucceſsful attack upon Revel, he ſtruck a great and effective blow. A great diviſion of the Ruſſian galley fleet was ſtationed at Fredericſham, where they waited the junction of the other ſtill greater diviſion, from Cronſtadt, to commence active operations, and where the forts and defences of the harbour were deemed fully competent to afford them the moſt perfect ſecurity. The king, in the Amphion, at the head of his fleet of gallies, ſuddenly attacked the place with

irreſiſtible fury, ſtormed and forced the defences, took 38 veſſels, ſunk 10 gun-boats, burnt 40 more, along with 30 tranſports loaded with proviſions; deſtroyed the docks, and burned all the ſtock of timber and ſtores which had been accumulated for the building and equipping fleets of this nature. In a word, if the Swediſh accounts be not exaggerated, the loſs would have been deemed nearly irretrieveable in any other country; but in that empire the reſources are ſo vaſt, and all works of labour are executed with ſuch little expence or trouble to government, that probably little was thought of it. At Stockholm, however, it was conſidered of ſuch importance, as to occaſion the celebration of a ſolemn *Te Deum*; the portable trophies were exhibited with great parade, and a medal was ſtruck to commemorate the event.

The duke of Sudermania was ſaid to have had ſome other engagements with the Ruſſians during the remaining part of the month of May; but the accounts are ſo confuſed and imperfect, that it would be uſeleſs to attempt reciting them. If they really took place, they were only ſlight and diſtant affairs, which produced no effect of any conſequence or value, and might be conſidered only as a prelude to a courſe of the moſt bloody and deſperate actions, of which we have almoſt any knowledge.

For the Ruſſians, having had time to recover from their ſurprize, and to collect their forces, the tide of ſucceſs ſoon turned againſt the Swedes, both by ſea and land; which indeed had uniformly been the caſe in the progreſs of every campaign ſince the war began, whatever advantages the very brave exertions of the latter might have produced in its earlier part: but the diſparity of force was too immenſe to admit that either valour or conduct, however nobly diſplayed, ſhould be capable of ſupplying the deficiency. The ſtrong poſts which the Swedes had gained in Savolax or Carelia were accordingly ſoon recovered by the Ruſſians; and as the former, notwithſtanding their inferiority, made every where a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, their loſſes in a number of ſmall actions, none of which ſingly ſeemed of much importance, became in the aggregate very conſiderable. The reſult was, that the Swedes were obliged to repaſs the Kymene, under circumſtances of great difficulty, diſorder, and danger, with the loſs of moſt, if not all of their artillery.

While this diſmal change took place in the face of affairs at land, the duke of Sudermania fell in with the Cronſtadt fleet, under the command of vice admiral Kvirſe. An engagement took place, and laſted ſome hours, which brought out a confeſſion, not before made, that the Swediſh ſhips had already ſuffered ſo much, both in their hulls and rigging, as to be at this time in very bad condition for action, ſeveral of them being nearly unmanageable. They, however, fought with great courage; and the only diſadvantage which they attribute to the bad ſtate of their ſhips, was its diſabling them from forcing the enemy to a cloſe engagement. The ſucceſs of the action was in no degree decided, when the fleets were obliged to ſeparate by the approach of night; the Swedes retiring to the neighbouring port of Seaſker. This the Ruſſian accounts repreſented as a flight; June 3d.

flight; but the ſucceeding events ſoon ſhewed the contrary. The Ruſſian vice admiral Souchotin had a leg ſhot off in this rencounter; and the Swedes ſay, that two of their ſhips were ſo diſmantled as to be towed out of the line.

The Swedes having refitted their ſhips and mended their rigging during the night, as much as the time could poſſibly admit, renewed the engagement in the morning. So far as we can judge from comparing the diſcordant accounts, they ſeem to have had rather the advantage during ſeveral hours, though nothing deciſive took place. The duke's fleet were ſuperior in number to the Cronſtadt diviſion, but, as we have ſeen before, they were far inferior in point of condition. The Ruſſian commanders, under theſe circumſtances, accordingly acted with great judgment in making uſe of every benefit, which the peculiar nature of that ſea, and of its winds, currents, ſhoals, and iſlands afforded, to avoid being brought to cloſe action; and our own naval hiſtory abundantly teſtifies, that what our ſeamen call *a long-ſhot fire* is the moſt deſtructive of any to the rigging of ſhips.

In this doubtful ſtate of things, and in the very height of the conflict, two Swediſh frigates were perceived crowding every ſail they could carry; and immediately after the Revel ſquadron came in ſight, conſiſting of thirteen ſhips, in full chace of the frigates, but at the ſame time bearing down directly, with the moſt eager expedition upon the rear of the Swediſh fleet, which was thus literally placed between two fires. No ſituation could be more perilous. It was impoſſible to form the weakeſt hope of being able to withſtand ſuch an additional force of freſh ſhips; and the finding any means of eſcaping from the danger, diſperſed as the fleet was, and deeply involved in action, ſeemed to the full as hopeleſs; ſo that the Swediſh fleet was apparently encloſed in toils from which it could not be extricated.

At this critical moment, when the wiſhed-for conſequences ſeemed inevitable, an expreſs was inſtantly diſpatched to convey the welcome news to Peterſburgh, where the inhabitants were greatly alarmed by the fierce and doubtful conflicts which were taking place in its neighbourhood. The account, with all its circumſtances, and the particular ſituation in which their enemy was involved, were immediately publiſhed, and for ſeveral days all true Swedes trembled for the fate of the duke of Sudermania and his fleet; while the public in general, through all the ſurrounding and adjoining countries, conſidered them as certainly loſt.

But fortune, which has ever been ſuppoſed to hold ſupreme ſway in the affairs of war, ſeemed now for once diſpoſed to favour the Swedes. The details of circumſtances are very imperfect; but it appears, upon the whole, that a ſudden ſhift of the wind, ſeconded undoubtedly by judicious manœuvres and bold exertions, enabled the duke of Sudermania to extricate himſelf from the danger in which he was involved, and to gain, on that very evening, a ſecure ſtation in the iſland of Biorko, where he either met with, or was ſpeedily joined by the king, with his flotilla, or fleet of gallies, gun-boats and frigates. At the ſame time that their ſuperior enemy, who ſo lately had deemed them a prey ſecure

cure

cure in their hands, were obliged to forego all their hopes and advantages, and to take a ſtation between that iſland and Peterſburgh, to protect that capital from an aſſault, which, notwithſtanding all the loſſes ſuſtained by the Swedes, was a matter much apprehended.

It ſeemed at this time as if the Swedes had been peculiarly deſtined no ſooner to have eſcaped from one imminent danger than to plunge themſelves into another ſtill greater. This deſtiny was included in the wonderful activity of the king's mind, and a ſpirit of enterprize which no difficulties or dangers could ſubdue. It is poſſible that his ſituation at the iſland of Biorko, which lies facing the narrow channel that paſſes into the gulph or bay of Wibourg, might have had ſome ſhare in directing his views at this time to that city and port. There were, however, motives ſufficiently ſtrong for undertaking an enterprize againſt that place, ſuppoſing the deſign was accompanied with a reaſonable proſpect of ſucceſs. For a large diviſion of the Ruſſian galley-fleet lay in that port; and as Wybourg had been the ancient capital of Carelia before the erection of Peterſburgh, and lay within ſeventy Engliſh miles of that place, the eclat which would have attended its reduction, together with the alarm and terror which it muſt excite in the metropolis, were ſtrong inducements to the attempt, and would have been circumſtances highly flattering in the event.

Under the influence of theſe motives, and of that violent paſſion which ever operated upon the king, not only for emulating but for rivalling the moſt renowned of his predeceſſors in military glory, he determined upon the attack of Wybourg. The project was ſo full of danger, the probabilities againſt its ſucceeding ſo great, and the ruin which muſt attend its failure ſo certain, that nothing leſs than the deſperate ſtate of his affairs could, upon any principle of military ſkill or calculation, in any degree juſtify its adoption. But Guſtavus paid little attention to calculations, where they interfered with his deſigns.

Preparatory to the attack on the port, though the number of land forces which he had on board the galley-fleet was ill calculated to admit of being weakened by a diviſion, he made a deſcent on the neighbouring coaſt of Carelia in perſon, with a part of his troops; his objects being partly to diſtract and increaſe the terror of the enemy; partly to inveſt, ſo far as his numbers would permit, the city on the land ſide; and partly to be in readineſs to join in the aſſault, if the fleet ſhould prove ſucceſsful. He divided his force into two detachments, which purſued ſeparate courſes, and were each ſucceſsful in routing and diſperſing, with their uſual vigour and promptitude, ſuch ſmall bodies of Ruſſians as could in that dreary country on a ſudden be collected to oppoſe their progreſs.

In the mean time the fatal event, which there was ſo much reaſon to expect, and ſo much cauſe to dread, was to take place. The grand Ruſſian fleet under admiral Tſchitſchakoff, and the Cronſtadt diviſion of light gallies under the command of the prince of Naſſau, haſtened to the relief of their fellows, and appeared ſuddenly before that narrow paſſage, which we obſerved led into the bay of Wybourg. The Swediſh

fleet

fleet were in the bay; and as there was no other communication with the ſea but through that inlet, and that being already poſſeſſed by the enemy, it might be literally ſaid that they were caught in a trap. In this moſt calamitous ſituation, no choice remained but to ſurrender to the enemy, to force their way out, or to periſh in the attempt. The ſecond condition was adopted, and the reſt left to be determined by fortune or chance.

The Ruſſians had placed four of their capital ſhips, and mounted with their heavieſt artillery, within the ſtrait, two on each ſide, and in ſituations where the intricacies of the paſſage would lay the Swedes entirely open to their fire. Their grand fleet was drawn up in a line along the coaſt, on the outſide of the inlet, and at as near a diſtance as could with ſafety be taken, while their frigates and light fleet were ranged among the numerous iſlands which lie nearer to the ſhore.

July 3d. The van of the Swediſh fleet, commanded by admiral Modec, had the fortune, aſſiſted by a favourable gale, to paſs the ſtrait without receiving any very eſſential damage, firing their broadſides on each hand with great ſpirit and effect upon the ſtationed ſhips as they paſſed. Had this example been followed by the reſt of the fleet, it would have been fortunate; but the evil deſtiny of the Swedes was now to prevail. The cannonade from the four ſhips had been ſo powerful, and ſo admirably maintained, that it ſtruck thoſe who were next to follow with awe; upon which the duke of Sudermania adopted a deſign, the beſt calculated that could be conceived in ſuch circumſtances, which was to remove the obſtacle entirely by burning the four ſtationed ſhips.

This was accordingly attempted; but whether it proceeded from want of ſkill in thoſe who conducted the fire-ſhips, or from unavoidable accident, it ſo fell out, that inſtead of the enemy they fell aboard a Swediſh line of battle ſhip and a frigate, both of which were blown up. Such a dreadful misfortune, in the midſt of a ſcene already ſo perilous, was ſufficient to ſtrike diſmay into the moſt undaunted hearts. It was impoſſible that among ſuch a number of men, where every individual was an equal partaker in the danger, and equally operated upon by the principle of ſelf-preſervation, but that diſorder and confuſion muſt enſue. Every thing was afterwards done in a hurry, and every thing accordingly ill done. Four ſhips of the line, in their ſubſequent attempts to paſs the ſtrait, ſtruck upon the rocks, and were abandoned to the mercy of the enemy. The engagement laſted, in ſome manner or other, during the whole night, and through part of the ſucceeding day. When the Swedes had paſſed the ſtrait, they were cloſely purſued along the coaſt, and inceſſantly attacked by their exaſperated enemy; and in this courſe loſt two line of battle ſhips more. The duke had the fortune to eſcape to Sweaburg, with the remains of his ruined fleet, on the evening of that day.

The Swedes loſt either ſeven or eight ſhips of the line, (for there is a ſhip difference in the oppoſite account) from 64 to 74 guns, beſides ſeveral ſtout frigates, in this unfortunate affair. Another difference between theſe accounts is, that the Swedes ſay three or four ſhips were burnt, which the Ruſſians aſſert were

were taken. The loſs on their ſide was inconſiderable, excepting in the four ſhips which ſo nobly maintained the paſſage of the ſtrait. Theſe were nearly reduced to the ſtate of abſolute wrecks, and the ſlaughter on board them was proportioned to the havock which had been made on the veſſels. The few Engliſh officers in the Ruſſian ſervice had that regard ſhewn to their national character, as well as to their particular merits, as to have the poſt of honour aſſigned to them on this occaſion. Moſt of them were employed in this dangerous ſervice, and ſome purchaſed the honour at the expence of their lives.

The galley fleet, under the king, was in the moſt imminent danger, and its eſcape in any manner was a matter of aſtoniſhment. It did not, however, eſcape without paying the fine due to raſhneſs. Six of his gallies were taken, in which were eight hundred ſoldiers of his guards; ſixty of the ſmaller veſſels were taken or deſtroyed; four of the oldeſt and beſt regiments in the ſervice ſuffered ſeverely; and ninety officers were killed, wounded or miſſing. It was computed that the Swedes loſt more than ſeven thouſand men in both engagements.

But the ſucceſſion of bloody actions was now ſo quick, and the tranſition of ſcenery ſo unexpected and ſudden, that we ſeem rather to be wandering in the regions of old romance, than reading a ſober narrative of late tranſactions.

It was on the 3d and 4th of July that the calamitous affair at Wybourg took place; which, with the former loſs at Revel, ſeemed irretrievably to ruin, and indeed nearly to annihilate the Swediſh naval power, at leaſt with reſpect to any purpoſes that related to the preſent war. It was probably on the 5th that the king, with the remainder of his galley fleet, arrived at, or in, might more properly be ſaid eſcaped to, Swenk Sound. Here he found the Pomeranian diviſion of his light fleet, under the command of M. de Cronſtadt, being his laſt reſource, and which had the happy fortune of not being involved in the general ruin, by its late arrival during his abſence. Inſtead of being diſmayed by loſs, or his ardour quelled by diſaſter, this magnanimous prince, whoſe unconquerable ſoul ſeemed to riſe ſuperior even to the power of fortune, inſtantly adopted the bold deſign of attempting to retrieve his affairs, by giving ſuch a ſignal blow to the enemy, as would at leaſt efface the memory of the late diſgraces, if it could not entirely remedy their effect.

With this view the king did not loſe an inſtant in ſupplying the remainder of his own ſquadron with proviſions and ammunition, and in putting the veſſels in the beſt condition that could be done on a ſudden. He was no leſs expeditious in putting immediately to ſea; his object being to intercept the prince of Naſſau, who with the Cronſtadt and Wybourg diviſions was on his way to Frederickſham. This was an arduous attempt, for beſides that the Ruſſians (from certain peculiar cauſes, which we have heretofore aſſigned) are better calculated for this ſpecies of warfare than any other people, the prince, from his long experience, and great and conſtant ſucceſs againſt the Ottomans and Swedes, had acquired the reputation of being the firſt commander in Europe in conducting this kind of bloody combat.

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The king had not much time to loſe in waiting for his enemy. On the 8th the hoſtile fleet appeared in ſight, the king being between them and the ſhore. It was not poſſible that they could avoid being ſurpriſed at perceiving him. He went himſelf, with colonel Cronſtadt, to take a view of their poſition and numbers, and found them in every reſpect formidable. At nine o'clock, the next morning the prince advanced upon the king's fleet, which was already drawn up in order of battle, the main body being commanded by colonel Stedinck; the right wing by colonel Torningi; and the left by colonel Hielmſtierna. It is a matter of obſervation that all theſe commanders were land-officers.

July 9th.

The king himſelf, who was always in the heat of every action, was this day on board the Seraphim galley, and gave the ſignal for a general engagement. A furious conflict now commenced. The wings were firſt engaged. The enemy came on with great fierceneſs, and ſupported a moſt tremendous fire, both of cannon and ſmall arms; but they were ſo warmly received, and the reſiſtance continued with ſuch firmneſs, that about noon their left wing began to recoil.—Both ſides about this time received reinforcements, upon which the Ruſſian left wing returned to the charge, and the fight was renewed through the whole extent of the line with the utmoſt fury. About four o'clock ſome of the Ruſſian larger gallies quitted their line, others ſtruck their colours, and others foundered. Several were taken. The beaten enemy, however, continued firing till ten in the evening; when their object ſeems to have been to get under way and diſperſe. In this courſe, ſome run on the ſhoals, and ſtruck their colours. The darkneſs of the night put a ſtop to the firing of the Swedes at eleven o'clock. The night was ſpent in removing the priſoners, and taking poſſeſſion of the veſſels that ſtruck.

At three in the morning the victors renewed the action. A Ruſſian frigate, and a number of ſmall craft, were ſoon taken. The vanquiſhed retreated on all ſides, and ſet fire to their ſtranded ſhips.—They were purſued without intermiſſion till ten at night. The Swedes took forty-five of their veſſels, with conſiderable artillery, and a multitude of trophies. We may judge what extraordinary artillery this ſort of veſſels carried, by knowing that two forty-pound braſs mortars were among the trophies; and that the cannon carried in general from 24 to 30 pounds ball; it is obſervable that howitzers held a more than common proportion in theſe liſts. The priſoners amounted to about 4,500; of whom 210 were officers. The number of veſſels ſunk and burnt could not be exactly aſcertained, but the wrecks and veſtiges of ruin, upon a long line of coaſt, were very numerous. The loſs of the Ruſſians in men muſt have been prodigious: but no calculation can be made of it. The Swedes loſt but a few veſſels; and their loſs in men was more moderate than could well be conceived, conſidering the deſtructive and bloody nature of theſe mixed and peculiar combats.

Thus were the Ruſſians at length defeated, partly, it may be ſaid, on their own element, and entirely in

their own favourite manner of fighting, in which they were deemed irreſiſtible; ſo that as the Swedes formerly taught them to conquer by land, they now in return taught the Swedes to beat themſelves in this new ſevere mode of deciding the fortune of war. The prince of Naſſau likewiſe, who had plumed himſelf highly on being the king of Sweden's direct adverſary, and who ſhewed ſome evident marks of oſtentation on his ſucceſſes againſt him, was now compelled to lower his creſt, and to reſign his laurels to a ſuperior foe. The ſcanty proviſion ſince made for him by the court of Peterſburgh, the uſual magnificence, expence, and liberality of that court being conſidered, ſufficiently ſhews that this misfortune ſerved much to wear away the memory of his former exploits. Indeed few things could have gone nearer to the heart of the empreſs than this defeat.

It was undoubtedly among the moſt extraordinary reverſes of fortune known in modern hiſtory; eſpecially conſidering it to be a naval action, and the general ruin which had ſo recently fallen upon every denomination and part of the Swediſh fleets, excepting merely the Pomeranian light ſquadron.

While we cannot avoid admiring the invincible courage and the unbroken ſpirit of enterprize in the king, which roſe ſuperior to every ſtroke of fortune, too much praiſe cannot be beſtowed on the valour and firmneſs ſo nobly diſplayed by his troops; which, on both elements, in all the unequal trials, and all the dangerous ſervice of the paſt and the preſent campaign, every where contending with a force infinitely ſuperior, never was, and never can be exceeded by thoſe of any nation; and ſufficiently ſhewed, that if it had not been for the diſaffection and treachery of his nobility and officers, in the firſt campaign, Ruſſia would have found a much more formidable enemy in Guſtavus, than that untimely and fatal check afterwards permitted him to prove. In fact, notwithſtanding the vaſt power and the prodigious armies of that empire, it is probable that Ruſſia, for many years back, has not owed much leſs of her ſucceſs to political intrigues, and to her peculiar talent of exciting internal diſſention and outward diſunion among her neighbours, than to the force or terror of her arms.

But, ſplendid and glorious as this victory was, except in extricating him from immediate danger, it was not capable in its effect of much bettering the king's condition. He had not a ſufficient army to profit by it; and his navy, which for its number was a very good one, was totally ruined. Sweden, which had ſtrained every nerve in ſupport of the war, was worn down by its enormous expences; theſe, as uſual, far exceeding, not only all previous calculations, but whatever could have been thought poſſible, even after making a large allowance for contingencies. Her loſs of men had been likewiſe great; a loſs which ſhe could nearly as ill ſpare, as ſhe could that of her treaſure. This victory, and even the preceding unfortunate actions, produced, however, one effect, of much greater importance than might at firſt view be conceived. They ſerved effectually to cure, or to remove, that ſupercilious contempt, and that extreme *hauteur*, with which the empreſs had long been in the habit of treating and of affecting to

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These ſentiments, if real, or their expreſſion, if not, were now totally altered. The empreſs perceived and felt, that ſhe was contending with a moſt formidable adverſary; whoſe courage and abilities would ever render him dangerous. He was the firſt and the only enemy who, from its foundations being laid, had ever excited alarm or ſpread terror in her capital; and this he not only ſucceeded in performing once, but, ſeemingly in deſpite of ill fortune, continued in repeating; and he ſaw, that from his nearneſs and his great qualities, no ſuperiority of power might at all times be ſufficient to guard againſt the ſudden effects of his undaunted ſpirit and bold enterprize. It may likewiſe be well imagined that a woman of her character could not avoid being impreſſed with reſpect by the extraordinary acts, and even feel ſome ſympathy, though an enemy, in the heroiſm of this ſingular prince.

These ſentiments, together with the political motives by which they were accompanied, undoubtedly contributed much to bring about that ſudden and moſt unexpected peace which was now to aſtoniſh all Europe, between theſe contending nations, whoſe long-eſtabliſhed enmity and rivalſhip would ſeem almoſt deſtined to be perpetual, if any thing on this earth could be ſo. But there was another political motive, which perhaps operated more forcibly upon the court of Peterſburgh than thoſe we have already ſtated. All Europe had ſeen, with ſome degree of wonder, but none of approbation, the extreme haughtineſs with which that court had inflexibly perſevered, in diſdainfully rejecting all the propoſals for mediating a peace with the Ottomans, which were made by the allied powers. The terms in which this rejection was generally conveyed, approached much more nearly to inſult, than to the conciliatory or friendly language uſually eſtabliſhed among powers who are in an equality of condition, and who reciprocally cultivate neighbourly good offices.—"The "empreſs makes war, and makes "peace, when ſhe pleaſes, without "conſulting any other power." —"She is not to be dictated to."— "She will not permit any interfe-"rence whatever in the management "or government of her affairs."— Such was the general ſtile of the official language which iſſued from the court of Peterſburgh.

It was at the time ſuppoſed, and probably juſtly, that if the empreſs failed in the proſecution of her grand ſcheme, of driving the Turks entirely out of Europe, and placing her grand-ſon Conſtantine upon the throne of the ancient Greek emperors, her next favourite object, and not much leſs dear to her, was, to erect the noble provinces of Moldavia, Walachia, and Beſſarabia into an independant ſovereignty, for her great favourite, prince Potemkin; whoſe perſonal influence and vaſt power, already nearly ſupreme, had long ſpread jealouſy and alarm, if not through the empire, at leaſt through the court, and among the principal nobility. The great and conſtant oppoſition which ſhe met with from the allies, was undoubtedly the cauſe which induced the empreſs at length to abandon this deſign; and in the place of an independent ſovereignty

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in theſe provinces, to ſooth Potemkin's ambition for the preſent by appointing him Hetman of the Coſſacks, an office of the greateſt truſt and power in the empire, which likewiſe carried in ſome ſort the ſemblance of ſovereignty; and which had never before been filled up ſince the days of the celebrated Mazeppa. But in what regarded Ockzacow, the Crimea, Black Sea, and all other points of her claim, ſhe perſevered in maintaining the ſame inflexible obſtinacy. This was ſo much reſented by the allied powers, and the differences upon the ſubject roſe to ſuch a pitch, that Ruſſia was on the point of being involved in a war with Great Britain and Pruſſia; which was indeed only prevented by the powerful oppoſition and clamour which was raiſed in England againſt the intentions of government.

If that event had taken place at a certain period, Sweden, which was already a ſore thorn in the ſide of Ruſſia, would have become not only an equal but a ſuperior enemy. Placed by his ſituation on the only vulnerable ſide of that country, and ſupported by Engliſh fleets and Pruſſian armies, the heroic king would have been enabled to carry fire and ſword into the very heart of the empire; and poſſibly to produce one of thoſe extraordinary revolutions, for which that government has ever been ſo remarkable: an event for which many thought the people were at that time fully ripe. It is then eaſily ſeen of what vaſt importance it was to the court of Peterſburgh to draw off Sweden from an alliance, which was capable of producing ſuch dangerous conſequences; at the ſame time, (though comparatively a ſmall conſideration, yet a very favourite one) that it would enable the court to perſevere in its native haughtineſs with reſpect to the other allies.

Immediately, or at leaſt very ſpeedily after the late victory, a direct private intercourſe between the empreſs and the king ſeems to have been commenced. It is very probable that the general heads of accommodation were thus ſettled between the principals themſelves; nor is it leſs probable (and it has been aſſerted) that it was in the firſt inſtance laid down as a rule, that the allies on either ſide were not to be conſulted, nor any mediation whatever referred to, but that the peace ſhould be the immediate act, and proceed from the ſpontaneous will of the parties, without foreign advice or conſultation; this equally ſuiting the pride of one, and the peculiar circumſtances of the other, with reſpect to thoſe allies whom he was now unexpectedly deſerting. It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that the empreſs was as little pleaſed or ſatisfied with the conduct of her ally Leopold, as the king was with that of Great Britain or Pruſſia.

General Ingelſtrom, on the part of Ruſſia, and the lieutenant general Baron d'Armfeldt on that of Sweden, were, without loſs of time, appointed to confer and ſettle the terms of peace. They met on the banks of the Kymene, in a large tent erected for the purpoſe between the advanced poſts of the two hoſtile camps, on the plain of Werela. As the commiſſioners had not much buſineſs to ſettle, and their principals were equally eager for a ſpeedy accommodation, the negociations could not be tedious. A ſuſpenſion of arms was immediately agreed on;

on; and shortly after the terms of peace were concluded and signed, the ratifications being to be exchanged in six days. This new treaty placed matters exactly in the same state they had been before the war. All the ancient treaties, or more properly those which had been concluded since the reign of Charles the Twelfth, were renewed and confirmed. If any change at all took place, it was only with respect to the recognition, or perhaps farther specification, of a clause in one of the earliest of those treaties, by which the Swedes were to be allowed to purchase corn free from duties in Livonia, whenever that commodity exceeded a certain price in their own country; a condition which Russia had hitherto made little scruple of violating upon the most trying and distressing occasions. The frontiers were to be placed exactly in the same state they had been before the war.

August 14th.

It will afford no cause of surprize that the peace occasioned much joy at Stockholm, when it is known that the public rejoicings at Petersburgh were carried to an extreme, which seemed little consistent, either with the pride of that court, or with the contempt with which they had so recently affected to regard and treat their late adversary and new friend. Among other instances of this, a grand *Te Deum* was performed in the great church of that city, to assist at the celebration of which the empress came in person from her country palace, as did the grand duke, and all the other members of the imperial family, from their respective residences; the whole court being for that day and night in the utmost splendour of what is called *gala*; while the capital was shining with illuminations, and re-echoing with acclamations of joy. The magnificence likewise with which the empress honoured and rewarded the negociators on both sides who concluded the peace, sufficiently testified how much she found herself interested in that event.

Few incidents could have more affected the general face of affairs in Europe than this unexpected peace; but it particularly deranged, and in a great measure overthrew, the system of politics pursued by the king of Prussia for the last two or three years; and in the pursuit of which he had been guilty of some capital faults, little compatible with the character of a great statesman. That prince was too full of refinements in his policy and conduct, and was so slow in his decisions, that it carried the appearance of irresolution. By the first error he lost that character of sincerity, openness, and fair dealing, so essentially necessary to princes and statesmen, (even independent of all moral motives) for the mere furtherance, and bringing to happy issue, their political pursuits. With respect to the second, the tone of menace which he assumed early in the disputes with Austria and Russia, the perpetual display of his military force and preparations, with the continual movements of his armies, (which must have occasioned an expence in some degree approaching to that of actual war) undoubtedly produced some considerable effect in the beginning. But when it was at length discovered that these terrific appearances were totally harmless, and were followed by no corresponding effect, and that his adversaries, to use a common phrase, came to

know their man, then neither high language, nor the movements of a Pruſſian army, produced any more effect than the common exerciſes of a review. This was particularly the reſult with reſpect to his great antagoniſt of Ruſſia, who ſoon forming a true eſtimate of the real weight or value which ſhould be aſſigned to theſe threats or appearances, ſeemed afterwards to treat them with the moſt ſovereign contempt.

It was by this ſort of conduct, by a ſyſtem of procraſtination and tergiverſation, that the court of Berlin now found her politics at once overthrown, her hopes fruſtrated; and that ſhe ſaw, with diſmay, the moſt effective member of the alliance, with reſpect to the making of any ſucceſsful impreſſion upon Ruſſia, after all the wonderful exertions which he had made in the common cauſe, irrecoverably detached from it through her own fault, who ſuffered this moſt uſeful ally to be reduced nearly to the point of abſolutely periſhing, while ſhe was amuſing herſelf with the holiday ſports of talking big and parading her armies. Nor was the loſs of her ally all ſhe had to apprehend, ſhe was ſorely afraid (and had reaſon to be ſo, as it ſeemed highly probable) that her late friend was bound by the conditions of this peace and treaty to become her actual enemy, and to join Denmark in a triple alliance with Ruſſia.

Nothing could, however, exceed the obloquy which was thrown upon the king of Sweden for this ſhameful deſertion, as it was called, of his allies; a charge to which were added the moſt reproachful epithets. Guſtavus vindicated his conduct upon the grounds which we have lately ſtated; while his victories, his continual bold enterprizes, his defeats, and his prodigious loſſes, were indiſputable records of the energy with which he conducted the war, and of the unequalled hazards and dangers to which he had, for ſo long a time, continually expoſed his perſon, his brave troops, and even his country, in the purſuit. He recriminated with much point and ſeverity, as well as juſtice, upon the conduct of the allies, who had for three years, with the coldeſt indifference, beheld him contending againſt a ſuperiority of force, of which there were few examples, and which nothing leſs than the unparalleled valour of his troops could have ſupported even for a ſhort time; yet through that long period of continual and unequal conflict, attended as it was with various fortune, and frequently oppreſſed and overborne as he was by irreſiſtible force, until he was at length ſhut up in the bay of Wybourg, from whence (though he there loſt a noble part of his fleet) his deliverance in any manner ſeemed ſcarcely ſhort of a miracle, not a ſingle ſhip, not a ſingle man, was ſent by any of the allies to his aſſiſtance or relief.

The king found it much more difficult to vindicate himſelf from the complaints and reproaches of the Ottomans, becauſe they were much better founded, than from thoſe of his Chriſtian allies. Beſides the great ſubſidies which the Porte had paid to Sweden for the ſupport of the war, the parties were firmly bound by treaty, not to conclude a peace, but by mutual participation and conſent; ſo that with reſpect to the Turks, it was an indefenſible and ſhameful violation of

compact and public faith. The
ws of the peace accordingly ap-
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them; while nothing could ex-
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edes as their Chriſtian brothers.
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abhorrence, which this act of
neſs and treachery, as they deem-
ed it to be, produced in the court and government, as well as with the public. The loweſt populace at Conſtantinople became ſo outrageous on this occaſion, that it was dangerous for ſome time for a Swede to appear in the ſtreets.

We have already ſhewn the inactivity of the Ruſſian armies on the borders of the Danube, during the ſummer, and uſual ſeaſon of action, in the year 1790; and likewiſe, that this inaction proceeded from political and not from military cauſes. It, however, ſo proved in the event, that this delay of hoſtility was of the utmoſt advantage to the Ruſſians, and that few circumſtances could have been more fatally ruinous to their enemy. For the former, having directed all their views to the proſecution of a winter campaign, the Aſiatic troops, who formed the bulk of the Ottoman armies, had, according to their eſtabliſhed cuſtom, at the approach of that ſeaſon, all repaſſed the Helleſpont, and returned to their native countries. Thus the European Turks were left ſingly to contend with the whole force of Ruſſia; nor were the former, though brave in the higheſt ſenſe that the term can be underſtood, at all to be compared in point of hardineſs to the Ruſſian ſoldiers. For theſe having been bred in thoſe frozen Hyperborean regions, comparatively to whoſe rigour the ſeverities of a Thracian winter, which were ſo dreadful to the ancients, appeared to be a ſort of ſummer, they even preferred a winter campaign on the Danube to one in any other ſeaſon; at the ſame time that their enemies were torpid with the cold, and from their habits incapable of withſtanding the keenneſs of the outward air.

During this ſtate of inaction on the Danube, a Ruſſian piratical ſquadron in the Archipelago, which had done infinite miſchief in thoſe iſlands, beſides greatly impeding the trade to the Porte, particularly that from Egypt, which was more valuable than any other, was at length totally deſtroyed, through the undaunted courage, or barbarous ferocity, as it was called, of the Algerines; a race of men, who ſetting all laws at defiance, diſdained to be frightened by names or by prophecies. The Ruſſian adventurers, who were joined by others of all the ſurrounding countries, beſides repeatedly re-plundering the ſmaller iſlands in general, had, under the conduct of a major Lambro, ſeized entirely on that of Zia, where they erected fortifications, and hired a body of Albaneſe ſoldiers for their defence, and for ſecuring the future poſſeſſion of the iſland.

May 18th, 1790. Seven Algerine corſairs, boldly, and indeed it might be ſaid generouſly, undertook to reſcue the Archipelago from the enormities committed by their fellow depredators; and being joined by ſome Turkiſh veſſels, which were, however, of little uſe in the action, attacked the Ruſſian ſquadron with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that after making a great ſlaughter of them, and ſinking two of their beſt veſſels, they forced them to run the reſt on ſhore, and ſet fire to them, to prevent their being taken. Major Lambro was himſelf wounded, and eſcaped on ſhore with his officers, and not without danger and difficulty, in a boat. Thus the Algerines effectually performed the ſervice they had undertaken, and freed the iſlands and the Turkiſh trade from all farther depredation.

During the ſtate of inaction which prevailed on the borders of the Danube, the Turks made an unſucceſsful attempt to penetrate into the Ruſſian provinces on the ſide of Aſia, hoping at leaſt to make ſuch a diverſion as might be the means of drawing part of their attention, and perhaps of their forces, from the great ſcene of action. On this deſign, the ſeraſquier Batal Bey, a Baſha of three tails, had advanced with an army of forty thouſand men from Anapa, and entered into the Ruſſian territories or conqueſts. But prince Potemkin, having received early information of this deſign, had already taken meaſures to defeat it by ordering the Ruſſian forces on the borders of the Cuban, and those of Caucaſus, to aſſemble and repel the enemy.

Batal Bey had juſt paſſed the river Cuban, when he was immediately encountered by the Ruſſian army under general Herman. The ſuperiority of the Turks was ſaid to be great, but their uſual fortune ſtill cloſely adhered to them. They were completely and totally routed; their general, and all his principal officers made priſoners; their artillery, amounting to above thirty pieces, with their whole camp, tents, baggage, proviſions, ammunition, every thing belonging to the army, were taken. The Ruſſian account of the action is indiſtinct: we may however gather from it that either ſurprize or an ambuſcade contributed ſomething to this very cheap and deciſive victory. Oct. 10th.

Some naval actions, which took place between the Ruſſians and Turks

Turks in the Black Sea, are ill related, and would be of little account if it were otherwiſe. In one of theſe, it is ſaid, that a Turkiſh ſhip being ſurrounded by ſeveral Ruſſian, and the captain ſeeing it impoſſible to eſcape, he boldly grappled one of the largeſt of the enemy's ſhips, and ſetting fire to the powder-room, blew both up together. In another, where the Ruſſians claimed a complete victory, the captain baſha, who commanded againſt them, had, on his return to Conſtantinople, the title of *Gazi*, or Conqueror, beſtowed on him by the grand ſignior, which was the greateſt honour that could be conferred.

It was not till late in October that the Ruſſian armies under the princes Potemkin, Repnin, and general Suwarow, began to be in motion. Their movements and preparations ſoon ſhewed their determination of making a vigorous winter campaign. Iſmailow, on the Danube, with the ſtrong fortreſs of Braiſlow, which would complete the conqueſt of Wallachia, were their immediate objects; and their more remote were, upon the reduction of theſe two places, to paſs the Danube, as general Romanzow had done in the former war; and carrying fire and ſword into the heart of the Ottoman dominions, to compel the Porte, before it could poſſibly recal its Aſiatic forces, to abandon its european hopes and connections; and to gratify the ſuperb pride of the Empreſs, by accepting ſuch terms of peace as ſhe pleaſed to grant, without the interference or mediation of any other power.

Nothing could be more favourable to the execution of theſe deſigns than the deplorable condition at this time of their enemy, every circumſtance of whoſe ſituation they were perfectly acquainted with. For the uſually great Ottoman army, under the conduct of the grand vizir himſelf, was ſo miſerably reduced, not only by the departure of the Aſiatics, but by the deſertion of their European forces, as to be eſtimated at only about 48,000 men. To comprehend the cauſe of this extreme weakneſs, we are to take notice, that the bulk of the Ottoman armies is compoſed of men who hold their eſtates by military tenures, and who advance to battle at the head of their vaſſals, as our barons did in days of old. Theſe men not being bred ſoldiers, though very ready to fight bravely, yet having been always uſed to live in eaſe and luxury, are ill calculated to endure the conſtant toils and hardſhips of war; but however they may ſubmit to them in ſummer, abhor and dread beyond all things the ſeverities of winter ſervice. The deſertion amongſt them was accordingly great; nor could their commander, notwithſtanding the great powers which he poſſeſſed, reſtrain it either by threats or rewards.

As the taking of Iſmailow was one of the moſt important events, and by far the moſt cruel and lamentable which took place even in the preſent ſavage war, and was likewiſe diſtinguiſhed by a diſplay of the moſt ferocious intrepidity on the one ſide, and of the moſt undaunted and unconquerable valour on the other, that either was or can be exhibited, we ſhall on theſe accounts enter more into the particulars of a tranſaction which muſt ever continue memorable, than we ſhould have done upon any other occaſion. It happens likewiſe that the details

given of this horrid cataſtrophe have been more clear and intelligible, than any other we ever met (at leaſt ſo near the time of action) which related the operations of either a Ruſſian or Turkiſh army. It is true that theſe accounts vary in many reſpects, but this circumſtance by no means impugns the general veracity of the relaters; who could only deſcribe thoſe things which came within the reach of their own reſpective narrow obſervation, in the ſtate of horror, danger, confuſion, and abſolute darkneſs, which overſpread the fatal ſcene through the courſe of a long winter's night; yet by comparing theſe unconnected ſtatements, they afford ſufficient matter from which to draw ſome general, though not entirely preciſe ideas, of the nature and courſe of the operations.

Iſmailow, from the importance of its ſituation, had long ſince been rendered a place of conſiderable ſtrength, according to the Turkiſh ideas and knowledge of fortification, and has been conſtantly regarded as the key of the lower Danube. Of late years, the works were improved, enlarged, and ſtrengthened, in a moſt maſterly manner, under the able direction of a Spaniſh engineer. The baſtions were by him all ſtrongly faced with ſtone; and beſides perfecting and adding ſtrength to the old works, he added new ones, according to the modern improved ſtile of fortification, ſo that every part might reciprocally cover and be covered by another. The town was ſurrounded by three walls, each of theſe covered by its proper ditch, and all the ditches of conſiderable breadth and depth, beſides their undoubtedly poſſeſſing the capability of being filled by the waters of the Danube.

To defend theſe works, with many others which remain unnoticed, beſides a grand artillery, amounting to more than three hundred pieces, a ſelect and numerous garriſon had been early allotted; and on the approaching ſeaſon of menaced danger, the grand vizir in perſon reinforced it with 13,000 choſen troops; ſo that Iſmailow might be truely ſaid to have contained the flower of the Turkiſh army. The artillery was committed entirely to the conduct and manage of European engineers, of whom the chief, ſaid to be an Engliſhman, periſhed with the reſt in the general deſtruction.

General Suwarow, with the army which he particularly commanded, was appointed to the arduous taſk of reducing this very ſtrong and very important fortreſs; an attempt, at that ſevere ſeaſon of the year, which muſt have appeared abſurd and impracticable, if judged of according to the preſent mode of conducting war, and by the rules of thoſe modern tactics, which have been adopted and eſtabliſhed by all the other military nations of Europe.

It would almoſt ſeem as if that general had his mind heated by newly reading the annals of thoſe ancient ravagers and deſtroyers of his country (unleſs indeed he be himſelf deſcended from that people) Gengis Khan and Tamerlane. For theſe conquerors, or rather deſtroyers of mankind, whoſe armies conſiſted of nearly uncountable myriads of men, ſetting no value whatever upon the lives of their troops, and rendering their dead bodies almoſt as uſeful as if they had been living, by applying them to the purpoſes of

of filling up ditches, and forming mounts for the ſcaling of walls, diſdained to loſe time in beſieging any place, however great or ſtrong, but by pouring in innumerable hordes of freſh men in ſucceſſion, as the former were killed, carried it by the continual application of mere brutal force, ſacrificing the miſerable inhabitants, however numerous, to the manes of their own ſlain, of whom, in all other reſpects, they made ſo light.

It is not eaſy to account from what other example general Suwarow could have derived the deſign of taking ſuch a fortreſs as we have deſcribed, and ſo guarded and defended, by main force, and thereby evading the hardſhips and incommodities of a regular ſiege. For this purpoſe he, however, ſurrounded the place, with batteries conſtructed on every ſpot of ground which could anſwer the purpoſe, and theſe loaded with forges for the heating of balls, with the heavieſt battering artillery and mortars, as well as with every other machine yet invented for the pouring of deſtruction into the place. The Ruſſian cavalry of all denominations were compelled to diſmount, and to take an equal ſhare with the infantry in this deſperate aſſault.

The dreadful roar of this tremendous artillery was opened at five o'clock in the morning of Chriſtmas-day, the 25th of December 1790, and poured ſuch ſhowers of red-hot balls, bombs, and carcaſſes into every part of the town and works, as ſoon afforded a terrible ſpecimen of the horrors which were to enſue. At ſeven o'clock the Ruſſian army advanced to the attack with the utmoſt intrepidity, and with all the pride and confidence of aſſured ſucceſs. It was divided into eight columns, the principal being led by general Suwarow in perſon, the others by their reſpective generals, and each column appropriated to its particular point of attack. They were every where encountered with the moſt noble and perſevering valour by the Ottomans. A moſt deſperate conflict enſued, which laſted ſeveral hours, the loweſt eſtimates making its continuance three, and was ſo ſeverely fought, that the Ruſſians deſcribe it as a dreadful battle. The aſſailants were at length totally repulſed with a terrible ſlaughter. The Ruſſians ſeem to have been ſo ſtaggered by this repulſe, and the ſlaughter by which it was accompanied, that general Suwarow was ſaid to have been obliged to exhibit an extraordinary act of the moſt deſperate valour in his own perſon, in order to re-animate them, and to recal their reſolution. He is ſaid to have ſnatched a ſtandard, and running up a Turkiſh battery, to have planted it with his own hands on the top, calling out to the troops, and aſking them, whether they would ſuffer the diſgrace to fall upon their country, of its ſtandard being carried in triumph by the infidels?

The action was accordingly renewed with redoubled fury, each ſide appearing fully determined to conquer or to die. The firſt parapet was at length carried, after another long and dreadful conflict. The action then ſeemed to become more obſtinate and doubtful than it had yet done; the Turks ſtraining every nerve to recover what they had loſt, and all thoughts of perſonal preſervation or life being totally diſmiſſed. The Ruſſians, however, being reinforced by freſh troops, and the Ottomans wearied and worn down by ſuch long and

continual action, the beſieged were at length beaten back to the defence of the ſecond parapet. The ſuperiority of the aſſailants now became apparent; and as it invigorated their exertions and animated their ſpirits, it equally diminiſhed the hope and depreſſed the exertion of the enemy. The ſecond and third parapets, after a long courſe and ſucceſſion of the moſt obſtinate and bloody conflicts which, it is ſaid, were ever fought, or are any where recorded in the annals of hiſtory, were finally carried, and about midnight the conquering Ruſſians entered the body of the place.

No pen could deſcribe, nor, if it were poſſible, could humanity bear the recital, of the horrors which enſued. The ferocious victors, inſtead of being ſtruck with admiration or reſpect by the noble defence of the brave garriſon, were ſo enraged at the great ſlaughter of their fellows which had taken place, that no bounds could be preſcribed to the exceſs of their fury, nor did it ſeem that any amount of deſtruction, or any quantity of human blood, could ſatiate their revenge. The undiſtinguiſhed carnage which then took place was rendered more dreadful, by the continual heavy firing, the darkneſs of the night, the groans of the dying, and the lamentable ſhrieks of the women and children. All order and command ſeem to have been entirely at an end during the horrors of that dreadful night; and it is ſaid that the officers could neither reſtrain the ſlaughter, nor prevent the general plunder, made by the lawleſs and ferocious ſoldiery. It is alſo ſaid that thouſands of the Turks, incapable of enduring the ſight of the horrid ſcenes of deſtruction in which all that was dear to them was involved, ruſhed deſperately upon the bayonets of the enemy, in order to ſhorten their miſery; while thoſe who could reach the Danube threw themſelves headlong into it, for the ſame purpoſe. The ſtreets and paſſages were ſo choked by the heaps of dead and dying bodies which lay in them, as conſiderably to impede the progreſs of the victors in their eager ſearch for plunder.

The riſing ſun exhibited ſuch a ſpectacle in Iſmailow, as it is ſaid had not for ſeveral ages ſhocked the eyes and feelings of the beholders. It was calculated that about 24,000 of the Turkiſh ſoldiery periſhed from firſt to laſt in this bloody conteſt, including thoſe who threw themſelves into the Danube. No quarter was demanded, nor would the demand have been liſtened to if there had. Among thoſe who fell were a number of the braveſt, moſt experienced, and renowned commanders in the Turkiſh armies. Six or ſeven Tartar princes, of the illuſtrious line of Gherai, likewiſe periſhed with the reſt. The Ruſſian generals put a ſtop to the carnage in the morning, by which a few hundreds of priſoners were preſerved, to ſerve as melancholy recorders and witneſſes of the deſtruction which they had beheld, and of the ſuperior proweſs of the victors. The body of the brave governor was found and known, although nearly cut to pieces. In conſequence of an accurate enquiry ſet on foot by an Ottoman commander of rank, it appears, that the whole number of Turks who periſhed in the ſlaughter at Iſmailow, including the inhabitants of all ages, ſexes, and conditions, amounted to 30,816.

It was, however, a dearly bought and bloody purchaſe to the victors. It

It appeared by the returns that 13,000 Ruſſians had fallen in the aſſault. It appears by an extract of a letter, ſaid to be written by our countrymen colonel Cobley, who commanded the diſmounted huſſars of the Bog in this bloody affair, that his regiment at the commencement of the ſtorm conſiſted of 975 effective men, and by the returns next day it appeared to have loſt two majors, 14 captains and ſubalterns, and 600 private men; the colonel himſelf being likewiſe ſeverely wounded. That gentleman had the ſingular fortune and honour, as it may well be conſidered in ſuch a ſcene of horror and confuſion, to preſerve the lives and to protect 300 beautiful Circaſſian ladies, belonging to the governor's haram, who were on the point of precipitating themſelves into the Danube to eſcape the violation of the ſoldiers. As this number was too great for one haram, it is probable that the inhabitants of ſeveral others (perhaps of all thoſe appertaining to the great commanders) had fled thither for refuge, as the terror and confuſion increaſed.

The Ruſſians had a number of armed gallies, and other light veſſels on the Danube, which were filled with Coſſacks. The extreme avidity of that ſavage people for plunder, as well as the deſperate courage with which a near proſpect of it inſpires them, are circumſtances well known. The part of the town which lay next the river was far weaker than any other, and was accordingly attacked by the Coſſacks with great effect, at the ſame time that the army commenced the grand aſſault. This attack on the weak ſide, at the ſame time that the garriſon was ſo fully occupied and deeply involved on the other, could not but greatly facilitate the ſucceſs of the aſſailants, if the effect even reached no farther than merely the diſturbance which it cauſed in the minds of the ſoldiers, and the general conſternation and hopeleſsneſs which it could not but ſpread. The Coſſacks burſt into the town about the ſame time that the grand army did, and no doubt bore a full ſhare in the enſuing enormities.—Such was the lamentable fate of Iſmailow.

The oſtentatious and fantaſtic diſplay of the bloody trophies taken at Iſmailow, which was ſome time after exhibited at Peterſburgh, was unworthy the greatneſs, the magnanimity, and the high character of the empreſs Catherine. The tragedy ſhould have cloſed at the concluſion of the laſt act on the ſpot. It was attributed more to a deſire of gratifying the exceſſive vanity of prince Potemkin, which was not eaſily ſatiated, than to that of the empreſs herſelf.

After the affair at Iſmailow, the Ruſſians, under the princes Repnin, Galitzin, and other generals, frequently croſſed the Danube, and continually routed the Turks whereever they could come up with them. Theſe actions were, however, of no conſequence to any but the parties immediately concerned, and as tending to the attainment of the great object in view, of compelling the Turks to accept of peace upon any terms the empreſs would vouchſafe to grant them, without the interference or mediation of any European power. In the mean time the grand vizir, with his diſpirited and, it may be ſaid, broken-hearted army, was glad to retire for ſhelter into the defiles and faſtneſſes of the antient mount Hemus.

That

That minister and general having again formed a considerable army, and met with some successes, was at length, in the course of the summer, defeated on the Bulgarian side of the Danube by prince Repnin. The action was only partial; for through some circumstances in the nature of the ground, the Turkish cavalry were thrown into disorder by the Russian artillery, and routed, before the infantry could come up to their support. This misfortune occasioned such a panic, as ended in a general flight of the whole army. This early flight, with the extreme roughness of the country, prevented any considerable loss of men.

It was nearly about the time of this defeat in Bulgaria, that a very bloody and hard fought affair took place at the city or town of Anapa, on the borders of Circassia, in Asia. It may be presumed that the place was of no great strength, as the Turks entrenched themselves strongly in a fortified camp for its protection. Their force is rated in the Petersburgh accounts at 10,000 Turks, and 15,000 Circassians and Tartars; all of whom are said to have fought with the greatest obstinacy. Other accounts make their force much less. Whatever their numbers were, the Russian general Godowitch attacked them at eight o'clock in the morning, and after a most desperate and bloody engagement, which lasted for five hours, he succeeded in storming the camp and the town, though every foot of the ground was severely disputed. The slaughter was of course great, nor could it be confined to one side only; but we do not hear that the victory was sullied by any of those cruelties which so deeply stained the Russian arms at Ismailow. A vast number of Turks, including the commanding bashа, and several other general officers, were made prisoners. Seventy-one pieces of artillery were likewise taken.

July 3d, 1791.

These were the last actions of this savage war, which with respect to carnage and cruelty exceeded any other that has been known in modern times. For the distresses of the Porte were now so great, and the dangers with which the empire was environed so imminent, that the grand sultan was obliged to submit to inevitable necessity, and accept of such terms as the empress was pleased to dictate.—Such were the circumstances under which the treaty of peace at Galatz was suddenly concluded, on the 11th of August, 1791.

11th August.

True to the character of haughty independence, which she had maintained through the whole of this war, the empress in the very last scene of it seemed desirous to mortify rather than conciliate the allied powers: such at least was her behaviour to the British court. Mr. Fawkener had been sent as an envoy extraordinary, to assist in the negociation of the peace; and about the same time a gentleman connected both by friendship and blood with the illustrious leader of the opposition party in the house of commons, arrived at the court of St. Petersburg. Whatever was the object of his visit, whether to collect for his friend more accurate information, such as a statesman ought to use all fair means of obtaining on so great a political question relative to the balance of Europe, or any other purpose less laudable, his presence there was by the empress made the occasion of shewing a marked slight to

the miniſter of our government. Whenever ſhe ſpoke to the latter at her public court, ſhe ſo contrived as at the ſame time to place the former on her right hand, in the ſtation of honour; and on the concluſion of the peace, ſhe gave preſents exactly of the ſame kind to both, but of greater value, and with ſome additional articles, to the repreſentative of Mr. Fox. Neither of theſe envoys, however, ſeems to have influenced the terms of the treaty of Galatz one way or the other; ſince the articles were in ſubſtance what had been offered by prince Potemkin at Jaſſy before the opening of the campaign in 1790. Ruſſia retained Oczakow and the country between the Bog and the Dnieper, with the free navigation of the latter river: the reſt of her conqueſts ſhe reſtored.

In all hiſtories there are particular epochs, which ſeem naturally to divide one portion of time from another; where every man of an obſerving and contemplative mind ſtops almoſt involuntarily to reflect on many objects, which he had paſſed unnoticed in his way, and to trace by ſome fixed land-marks the general courſe of his future journey. Such an epoch is the cloſe of the year 1791: it is the narrow iſthmus between two ſeas of blood. We have juſt ſeen the final pacification of the three mighty empires, which had ſo deeply died the ſtreams of the Dnieper, the Nieſter, and the Danube with human ſlaughter; and we have endeavoured to develope the political conſiderations which put an end to the contentions of ambition. The league which had been formed between the empreſs Catherine and the emperor Joſeph had been diſſolved by Leopold: and on the other hand the counter-league, which had been intended as a barrier againſt the views of theſe confederated powers, ſnapped ſhort the firſt moment that a ſerious trial was made of its ſtrength and ſolidity, leaving Ruſſia free to obtain the important acquiſition which ſhe ſo much deſired to add to her vaſt and formidable empire. But other combinations ſoon followed, and were attended by a ſucceſſion of events, ſtill more momentous, that threaten wholly to ſubvert the antient ſyſtem of Europe, both in the North and the South.

The revolutions of Poland and France, one the pretended, and the other the real cauſe of a new war, aſſumed in this year ſomething of a determinate ſhape. Both, though of an oppoſite character, and ariſing out of very different circumſtances, began nearly about the ſame period of the year 1789: both purſued, through the year 1790, the courſe ſuited to the genius of each; the former in tranquillity, and amidſt the moſt ſincere delight of all orders of men, working itſelf purer as it went; the latter with turbulence and violence, amidſt the proſcription, exile, and maſſacre of the higher claſſes of ſociety, contracting a fouler ſtain of pollution, as it proceeded through horrors of the moſt atrocious kind; till in this year both ſettled for a ſhort time into ſyſtems of government which profeſſed equally to look to the Engliſh conſtitution: one, as to a model of excellence only to be attained by patient improvement; the other, as to a bungling attempt to be deſpiſed by the ſuperior ſkill of the preſent age. The next year, however, ſaw both one and the other aſſailed by a foreign force. The conſtitution of Poland, weak as ſhe internally was from the conſequences of her former anarchy,

fell

fell under it. That of France reſiſted the ſhocks of invading armies; but in the ſame moment met the deſtruction which hung over it, during the whole of its feeble exiſtence, from the reſtleſs and criminal intrigues of her own internal factions; ſince which time they have gone on mutually butchering each other, under various changes of republican anarchy, yet all the while adding conqueſt to conqueſt, and extending their dominion by the help of their principles, no leſs than the ſword, far beyond the examples of her moſt powerful and ambitious monarchs.

The origin of both theſe invaſions (of Poland and France) is by the admirers of the new political doctrines attributed ſolely to ſiniſter views of unjuſt aggrandizement in the neighbouring powers, and eſpecially in the emperor Leopold. An inſtrument has even been publiſhed, purporting to be a treaty of partition, ſigned by him at Pavia in the month of July 1791, and regulating the diſmemberment of Poland and France. But it is on the face of it * a coarſe and clumſy forgery. The chief clamour, however, has been directed againſt a congreſs which certainly did take place at Pilnitz, a ſummer reſidence belonging to the elector of Saxony, not far from Dreſden. The emperor, accompanied by his eldeſt ſon Francis, prince of Hungary, there met the king of Pruſſia, and his ſon the prince royal. Some few of their principal miniſters and favourite generals were alſo preſent. The count d'Artois, hearing of the intention, repaired to the place, with a very ſmall and ſelect train of French noblemen. The meeting ſeemed merely to be a party of pleaſure, and the time, for the few days it laſted, to be wholly occupied by balls, plays, and hunting. The league, or whatever buſineſs actually did there paſs, was kept a profound ſecret; yet the treaty of Pilnitz has been as familiar in the mouths of men, as ever was the treaty of Weſtphalia, the Pyrenees, or Utrecht. It has been ſuppoſed, like the pretended treaty of Pavia, to have parcelled out the territories both of Poland and France, as well as to have re-modelled the circles of the Germanic empire.

With reſpect to Poland, every thing is ſurmiſe and ſuſpicion. A paper, it is true, was circulated on the continent, as containing the ſtipulations actually agreed at Pilnitz; and in it there is certainly mention of Poland. But it was in no way authenticated, and has never been ſubſequently owned; on the contrary, it was immediately diſavowed in an official note of the Pruſſian miniſter at Munich. Such, however, as theſe articles are on the ſubject of Poland, they are utterly inconſiſtent with the treaty aſſerted to have been ſigned by the emperor in the preceding month at Pavia. There (we are to believe) it was poſitively arranged that the empreſs of Ruſſia ſhould undertake the invaſion of Poland, and be allowed to retain for herſelf a part of Podolia; that the elector of Saxony

* To the Engliſh reader a mere recital of one paſſage will be ſufficient. By this pretended treaty, Spain was to have Corſica and the French part of St. Domingo; and Great Britain is ſaid to have acceded to this treaty as early as March 1792.—No comment can be neceſſary at this day. See alſo ſome obſervations relative to Poland, which follow a little lower in the text.

ſhould

ſhould be raiſed to the hereditary throne of Poland, which he was to tranſmit through his daughter to the deſcendants of Catherine's youngeſt grand-ſon; and in return that he ſhould cede Luſatia to Frederick William, who was alſo to have Dantzic and Thorn, with the palatinate on the eaſt, to the frontiers of Sileſia. But here, a month after, we find every thing unſettled. All ſtill remained to be done; for we are told that Leopold engaged only to employ his influence for the purpoſe of bringing Catherine into the ſcheme of ſettling the Poliſh crown on the houſe of Saxony, and to uſe his good offices both with her and the republic of Poland to obtain Dantzic and Thorn for the king of Pruſſia. This is more probable, as it is more agreeable to the views and intereſts of the contracting powers; it is leſs liable to be falſified, as it is couched in more general terms; and it is capable of an interpretation free from all injuſtice, as it in no caſe propoſes hoſtile force, and rather points in one material part to the ſupport of the new conſtitution of Poland, which had gratuitouſly named the elector of Saxony for the founder of a new dynaſty. But neither one nor the other accords with the fact; for the empreſs of Ruſſia invaded the country under the pretence of aſſiſting a ſmall faction of the nobility who claimed her guarantee of the old anarchy, and her complaint was expreſsly and particularly levelled againſt the ſubſtitution of an hereditary for an elective monarchy. Amidſt theſe contradictions the only ſafe clue for the guidance of the hiſtorian is never to let out of his hand the line of facts which he does know, and by that help to explore his way with vigilance and caution, as well as he can, through the mazes and intricacies of political intrigue. In this manner, therefore, we ſhall conduct ourſelves; and in our next volume preſent an uninterrupted narrative of the revolution in Poland, from its origin in 1789 to the nominal reeſtabliſhment of the former anarchical conſtitution at the end of 1792, immediately previous to the firſt avowal of a new partition, which the courts of Peterſburg and Berlin grounded on the falſe charge of a connection with the prevailing factions and doctrines of France.

The affairs of France certainly did come under conſideration at Pilnitz. A ſeparate article (if it were not in truth the only obligation there formally contracted) has been publiſhed, and there is reaſon to think it genuine. It relates wholly to that country. What it is, we ſhall in the proper place more minutely enquire; but at preſent it ſeems only neceſſary to ſtate generally the queſtion which has been raiſed upon it. By one party it is inſiſted that no caſe of interference by other powers can grow out of the internal tranſactions of an independent nation; and that the convention of Pilnitz muſt neceſſarily be viewed only as an unprincipled conſpiracy of monarchs againſt liberty. They have given out "the "league of deſpots," as a ſort of watch-word in this country and throughout Europe; nor will they ever conſent to mount higher or to deſcend lower in ſeeking the cauſe of the war and all that has followed, of diſguſting and ſhocking enormities in France, and of miſery to the ſurrounding countries, which have been repeatedly ravaged in the name of fraternity. On the other hand it is contended, that the whole Germanic

manic body, and every member of it, had many juſt external cauſes of war againſt France; and that in the internal tranſactions of that kingdom there exiſted ſuch circumſtances as warranted and demanded a concert of the neighbouring powers for the common ſecurity, agreeably to the received maxims of the law of nations and the practice of all ages; that the concert was but proviſional, and the execution of it declared to be in a ſtate of ſuſpence, at the moment when actual hoſtilities were forced on by the united ſtrength of the republican and anarchical factions of France for the deſtruction of their king: and as the ſtrongeſt proof of the ſpirit on both ſides, it has been obſerved, that when France firſt declared war, eight months after the congreſs at Pilnitz, the Auſtrian forces in the Netherlands did not exceed, and never had exceeded, ten thouſand men; while France had increaſed the troops on her frontier to no leſs than a hundred and thirty thouſand.

To form a fair and impartial judgment on ſuch an expoſition of the motives which actuated the combined powers (and it is a ſhort ſummary of the grounds contained in the public declarations of Auſtria and Pruſſia) it is abſolutely eſſential, that the reader ſhould have before him, in one connected view, the events which preceded and followed the congreſs of Pilnitz, down to the moment of the actual aggreſſion of France: and the period from which that ſurvey ought to commence ſeems to be the opening of the year 1791, when the national aſſembly thought their conſtitution ſo far complete, as to be able to trace out their remaining labours, and fix the time for the abdication of their own authority; when, conſequently, they gave on their parts the notice ſoon after conveyed more officially and directly by M. Montmorin's circular letter in the king's name, that foreign ſtates might begin fairly to eſtimate by its good or bad effects that conſtitution which was to be a pattern of perfection to the world. We ſhall therefore reſerve this ſubject entire for the early chapters of the next volume, where we conceive that a general hiſtorian, writing of a paſt age, would think it moſt expedient to place it.

In the mean time let us pauſe, and ſhortly review the ſtate of Europe, ſuch as it was before the exploſion of the French revolution, and ſuch as it had become at the cloſe of this year —The benevolent ſpirit of improvement, which ſtarted at once into action in every quarter, as ſoon as tranquillity had been reſtored by the peace of 1763, early challenged our attention, and received our praiſe. Several chapters in the beginning of our tenth volume were occupied in tracing its progreſs through every region of Europe, and following it to the very ſeraglio of Conſtantinople; ſince which time we have been agreeably called * on various occaſions to reſume the narrative. But when this ſubject laſt came in review before us, not long prior to the revolution in France, we ſaw, and † could not conceal that we ſaw, ſome approaching danger in the

* See particularly Ann. Reg. Vol. XIX. Hiſt. Art. p. 136. and Chron. p. 191. —Vol. XXIV. Hiſt. Art. pp. 12 and 13. Vol. XXVII. Hiſt. Art. pp. 3 and 4 —and Vol. XXVIII. Hiſt. Art. p. 169.

† Ann. Reg. Vol. XXVIII. Hiſt. Art. pp. 29 and 30.

growing

growing paſſion for innovation, to which all reform is more or leſs related, as the moral virtues are to thoſe vices into which they paſs by excels; and if we ſtill entertained a hope of the final iſſue, it was a hope chaſtized by fear, and expreſſed in a doubtful wiſh. It would be ſuperfluous to recapitulate here all that has been already detailed; we ſhall endeavour only to give the general reſult, at the æra of which we ſpeak, as it then affected the condition of all thoſe claſſes into which the nations of Europe are diſtributed, and contraſt it with the ſcene which has ſince realized our apprehenſions: adding throughout ſome incidental illuſtrations, chiefly from circumſtances not of magnitude enough to have found a place in the order of our hiſtory.

One ſtriking feature of the preſent age is the eſteem into which agriculture has riſen. It has employed the reaſoning of the philoſopher, and been cheriſhed by the bounty of kings; and it was a natural conſequence of this taſte that protection ſhould be extended to the aggrieved and patient race of men, who were engaged in it. This was accordingly done in ſuch mode and degree as circumſtances required or allowed. Where their bonds had formerly been relaxed, they now obtained farther relief; and where they had ſtill continued in vaſſalage, the princes on the throne emulouſly conteſted the honour of giving all encouragement to their emancipation. The empreſs Catherine not only promoted their enfranchiſement by her edicts, her example, and her influence, but directed the adminiſtration of juſtice to the ſame end. She ſpared the life of an oppreſſed vaſſal, who in a moment of intolerable injury had taken that of a cruel maſter; and on a lady of high quality, who by her ſeverities had cauſed the deaths of ſeveral of her own peaſants, ſhe inflicted a puniſhment of diſgrace worſe than death, and which in effect proved fatal. We have lately ſeen how properly tenacious of this point was the Emperor Joſeph on his death-bed, and his brother and ſucceſſor rejected an application made to him for the repeal of that exception; yet neither the refuſal of one or the other occaſioned any laſting diſſatisfaction to the nobility. In Poland, under the patronage of the king, it had become a ſort of faſhion among the better and more enlightened nobles, to give freedom to their peaſants. The great chancellor Zamoiſki tripled the value of his eſtate by it. The ſame ſucceſs attended a ſimilar experiment of Creptowitz, the vice-chancellor of Lithuania, and the abbé Bryzotowſki; and the king's nephew, prince Staniſlaus, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by giving them more than freedom, in undertaking to be himſelf their inſtructor, and communicating to them the knowledge of agriculture which he had acquired in this country. The peaſantry of the North were travelling faſt toward perfect and univerſal liberty; and it was the opinion of * Rouſſeau himſelf, that they ought not to attain it too ſuddenly.

The mercantile intereſt advanced ſtill more rapidly into importance. Commerce was no longer thought to degrade; and the pre-eminence which it had given to this iſland

* In his Letters on Poland.

among

among the powers of Europe, ſtimulated all who had the means and the opportunity, to foſter and encreaſe it by every artificial aid among their own ſubjects. To this end manufactories were eſtabliſhed and ſupported by moſt of the crowned heads on the continent, at an enormous expence; and companies were erected, veſted with ample immunities, and ſometimes aſſiſted with great loans. Kings having thus become partners in trade, manufacturers and merchants were reſpected and honoured; and under conſtitutions, where the nobility formed a large privileged claſs, including the gentry alſo, the more eminent of the citizens and burghers were from time to time ennobled in no inconſiderable numbers. Without particularizing other nations, (and many inſtances might be given) this practice was ſo frequent in France, that when in the year 1789 the electors of the commonalty of Paris firſt met to chuſe their deputies to the ſtates general, alarmed at the danger of throwing ſo much weight and reſpectability into the ſcale of a rival order,* they reſolved, that all citizens newly raiſed to nobility ſhould ſtill be conſidered as commoners: the beſt proof (ſince they were ſo many as to make ſuch a meaſure neceſſary) that the king had not been parſimonious in conferring this reward on meritorious induſtry. The principal miniſter himſelf, Mr. Necker, who then a ſecond time was at the head of the kingdom, was of this deſcription; he was too (as we have formerly obſerved, and the world knows) a foreigner and a proteſtant.

This ſingle example may ſuffice to ſhew, that, in France at leaſt, the hierarchy was not very tyrannical. In Spain, if any where, it may be expected to have maintained its authority: yet there began the deſtruction of the Jeſuits; there the crown was conſtantly getting into its coffers freſh portions of the eccleſiaſtical revenues, with the conſent of the Pope; and there finally the inquiſition was abridged of all its terrible powers, and reduced to a mere tribunal of police, for the puniſhment (but not till after a conviction by an open trial) of ſuch flagrant impiety, as would be cognizable in any well-regulated country. It had been alſo ſimilarly reſtrained in Sardinia, and it had been wholly aboliſhed without a ſtruggle in many Italian ſtates, in Parma and Placentia, in Milan and Modena; while toleration was directly ſecured by law in the greater part of the North. In truth, never was the power of the church exerciſed with ſo much moderation in general throughout Europe; never was it leſs formidable to the throne or to the cottage; never did the great body of the clergy ſhew leſs diſpoſition to over-ſtrain the rights of their order in favour of their own perſonal intereſts of ambition or avarice. Some of them might have the frailties of men, but very few indeed had the vices which the ſceptics and infidels of all ages have attributed to prieſts. They were too much rather than too little ſecularized.

The ſupercilious pride, with which the military nobility of feudal times looked down on all other ranks, and even on many of their own rank who derived their nobility from other liberal ſources

* See the *proces-verbal* of the Hotel de Ville, p. 7.

was hardly to be traced, except in the remote regions of the North, where it was daily wearing away. Every where elſe, (though a long line of anceſtors had not yet been converted into a crime, but was ſtill regarded with reverence) the new nobility more than balanced the old, partly through the policy of kings, and partly from the natural operation of circumſtances. The men of the ſword had always found ſucceſsful rivals for the efficient offices of the ſtate (eſpecially the department of finance, now become the moſt efficient) formerly in the churchmen, and lately in the profeſſors of the law; they had been rendered of little importance in war by the introduction of ſtanding armies, paid by the ſovereign power, and the whole ſyſtem of modern tactics; and their wealth, as the great land-holders of Europe, was daily more and more eclipſed by the opulence of the monied claſs, and from time to time was ſuffering poſitive diminution, from the preſſure of the public burthens, which had been every where increaſing with the perpetual accumulation of debt ſince the invention of funding, and all which ultimately reſt with the moſt oppreſſive weight, if not excluſively, as ſome think, on the landed property of every nation. The day that the ſtates-general met in France, three out of eight miniſters, who then compoſed the cabinet of Verſailles, were not of noble birth. Their late prime miniſter, M. de Vergennes, was born of obſcure parents in Burgundy, and created a count by Louis XV.; and their late naval miniſter, M. de Sartine, raiſed himſelf ſolely by his own merit. We have ſeen a Struenſee govern Denmark; and in Spain it was a ſtate maxim of the reigning family not to employ the ancient nobility. Indeed it would be eaſy to multiply illuſtrations; the difficulty would be rather to ſhew in any country perſons of the firſt rank poſſeſſed of all the firſt offices.

Artificial diſtinctions, and titles of honour, it is true, ſtill had a ceremonious precedence allowed to them in private life; but the accompliſhments, the demeanour, and the oſtenſible expenditure of a gentleman, were in moſt countries a ſufficient paſs-port to general ſociety, though in ſome parts of the continent the place which each perſon held in the polite world was aſſigned in nice gradations of language. Still where admittance was once obtained, perſonal merit, talents, and agreeable qualities, would infallibly gain an aſcendency, and by them alone every competitor for admiration would ſoon come to be eſtimated. The men of wit and letters, in particular, were courted and careſſed. They were heard with attention; their judgment was anxiouſly ſought in all matters of taſte and ſentiment, of art and ſcience; and that which of all things moſt conſiſts in practical prudence under the direction of a ſtrong moral ſenſe, the art of government, was meaſured, like any art the moſt mechanical, by the ſquare and level of their theories. Whatever they ſaid on any of theſe ſubjects paſſed from mouth to mouth through all the circles of faſhion, and was retailed in journals, annals, and all other forms of periodical publication, by the ſubordinate labourers in the fields of literature: it was tranſlated from one language to another; and penetrated on every ſide, through every channel of communication.

Thus they guided and modelled as they pleaſed what was called public opinion; they filled the office of cenſors in the great commonwealth of Europe, and imperceptibly ſubjected courts and cabinets to their controul.

But this was yet only a controul of influence; it yet worked only by the force of truth, as far as their deciſions approved themſelves to the conſciences and the wiſdom of perſons truſted with the actual exerciſe of power. And under theſe circumſtances, it cannot be denied (and on former occaſions we have mentioned it to their credit) that their authority produced good and humane conſequences. To that may be attributed many of the beneficent and ſalutary meaſures to which alluſion has been already made. To that alſo we may perhaps aſcribe the general lenity which now prevailed in all governments. Be the cauſe however what it may, the fact itſelf, in many inſtances, is ſtriking. The uſe of torture in the adminiſtration of juſtice had begun to be generally aboliſhed, it having been formally abrogated in Poland, in the Auſtrian dominions, in France and in Sweden, and in ſome other countries diſuſed: where the criminal codes were ſtained with cruelty, new puniſhments of a mitigated kind had been in many countries ſubſtituted, or were declared to be under conſideration; the liberty of the preſs had been eſtabliſhed, under fair and equitable reſtrictions, in ſeveral kingdoms, and in others was tacitly allowed, to an extent ſufficient perhaps for all ſober purpoſes of uſeful truth; public enquiry was even courted by monarchs; and the ſtate priſons of all the great potentates of Europe were as uninhabited, as the Baſtille was found to be at the time of its demolition.

It may be doubted, whether it was a cauſe or an effect, but certainly it was not the leaſt advantage, of this general good diſpoſition and good underſtanding, that there no longer exiſted in every nation two political parties founded on a difference of religious tenets, and having in conſequence a cloſer connection with foreign governments of the ſame ſect, than with their own natural government. This was the great evil, while catholics and proteſtants, or catholics and diſſidents of the Greek communion, were ſtriving for the maſtery in their reſpective ſtates. The weakeſt faction always turned their eyes to ſome neighbouring ſovereign of the ſame religious intereſt with themſelves, to whoſe ambition they were ever ready inſtruments; and the ſtronger ſought to make themſelves more ſure by leagues and alliances, all of which were then influenced by ſimilar conſiderations. But now every community was united within itſelf, and free to contract whatever relations it pleaſed with others, attending only to the dictates of ſound policy.

This was the happy ſtate of Europe in the beginning of the year 1789. All the remaining veſtiges of that fierce ſpirit which ſullied with barbariſm the loſty and romantic courteſy of ancient manners had been gradually ſoftening away, and the flames of that religious zeal which for two centuries had ſo often kindled the torch of civil diſcord, was ſunk into the aſhes. Every ſucceeding generation was of a character milder and gentler than the laſt. There was a diffuſion of libe-

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rality that pervaded the whole mass of mankind. All the diversified classes of society began every where to harmonize with each other in a way hitherto unknown; and whatever might be the peculiarities of different constitutions, a sweeter blood seemed in all to circulate through every member of the political body. The lowest of the people, under governments the most despotic, no longer held their countenances prone to the earth, but were taught to erect them with a becoming sense of their own nature; and the brow of authority, instead of an austere frown, wore an inviting air of complacency and amenity.

We must now look at the reverse of the medal.—The French revolution arrived. The principal causes, which prepared the way for this event, we have explained in the proper place, though probably many more concurred than we there noticed; but our present business is with its character and genius, by which it was distinguished from all other revolutions recorded in history, and which all should endeavour clearly to understand, who wish to know any thing of the real state of Europe from that period. It was made, and was the first ever professed to be made, upon a high metaphysical principle. It set out by declaring not the rights of the commons of France—not the rights of citizens, of men in a state of political society, under whatever form of government—but, still more abstractedly, the rights of man; and the whole scheme of the revolution, as it unfolded itself, appeared, and was avowed by the leaders, to be a new experiment of attempting to bring into practice the speculations of Rousseau. His treatise on the Social Contract was their holy writ, though it is justice to his memory to say, that he certainly intended it for no such purpose; for he describes it himself as an imperfect fragment of a larger work, undertaken without consulting his own abilities, in consequence long abandoned, and for the most part destroyed: it was originally written too, with a declared reference to his own situation, as an actual member of the sovereignty in the little republic of Geneva. He wrote very differently, when he gave his advice for the practical government of Poland.

The grand maxim, on which all depends, is to this effect;—that the sovereignty of every state solely resides in the actual majority by tale of the individuals who compose the nation; and can only be lawfully exercised by them. In the style of their school, it is imprescriptible, inalienable, indefeasible, and indivisible: it cannot be relinquished by any tacit consent implied in long acquiescence; it cannot be transferred by any positive agreement; it cannot be forfeited by any crime, or lost by any just conquest of another power; and it cannot be partially delegated, so as to vest a right to any portion of it any where, but in the majority. All forms of government are but provisional, till it shall please the sovereign to change them, which he may do without any motive of moral or political necessity, without any consideration of expediency: for a people to be free, it is enough that they will it. It follows of course, that to claim as of right, under any constitution whatever, the exercise of the whole or any part of the sovereignty, is usurpation and tyranny; to dispute the right of the majority to change

the form of government at their mere pleaſure and caprice, is treaſon and rebellion; and inſurrection is, as M. de la Fayette, on thoſe principles juſtly, called it, the moſt ſacred of the rights of man.

There is, however, one little part of Rouſſeau's theory which they did not attempt to introduce in their ſyſtem. To all the acts of his ſovereign, he holds it indiſpenſably eſſential that the vote of every citizen ſhould be taken, and that they ſhould be free from all improper influence, ſuch as force or fear, paſſion or party. Indeed, if that be ſo eſſential, it makes the theory (without enquiring into the truth or falſehood of it) a mere barren ſubtlety. But his diſciples ſubſtituted a more practical majority, the multitude of Paris, worked up by every art into what they call a revolutionary power; and when we conſider their principle, we muſt take it combined with their practice, as they explain each other, and as they were taken together by the admirers of their revolution, which was an act, and not a metaphyſical diſquiſition.

The tendency of ſuch a creed is obvious. At a touch it crumbles the bond of every political ſociety now in exiſtence, to a rope of ſand. It is a ſentence of depoſition to all the kings of Europe, who claim to be ſovereigns by the reſpective conſtitutions of their countries, and in whoſe names laws are enacted, which is the moſt immediate exerciſe of ſovereignty; it is an edict of proſcription to all ariſtocratical bodies, which muſt be always dangerous to the neceſſary equality of this new ſyſtem, and in mixed governments have a ſhare in legiſlation, directly incompatible with the right of a majority told by the head; and it is an abſolute grant of every kingdom to the inferior orders; for they are, and ever will be, the many. The authors of the revolution meant that it ſhould be ſo. There is now in this country a letter, written as early as January 1790, by a celebrated champion of their cauſe, in which he ſays, in his own quaint manner, that their ſyſtem is "a new mode of form-"ing alliances, negatively with "courts and affirmatively with the "people."

No ſooner did theſe doctrines appear triumphant in France, than they were eagerly received, and buſily propagated, in every part of Europe. Whatever bad humours were afloat, all ran into that channel. A new engine of irreſiſtible force was preſented to the hands of ambitious men; and ambition was the firſt time awakened in the boſoms of thoſe, who from their ſituation in life had been far enough removed from her ordinary temptations. There was no man of a condition ſo low, but had the proſpect of power opened to him, when he was told that he was a member of the ſovereign; and that he, with others of his claſs, whom all know to form the arithmetical majority, ſhould exerciſe the actual ſovereignty. Nor did the deſire of power come alone; the deſire of riches accompanied it. For, men who have long been labouring in penury ſee in power only the means of ſatisfying thoſe wants which have made them wretched. The French ſyſtem, too, was encouraged, or not diſcouraged, by many of a higher deſcription, who did not coolly and ſeriouſly mean to go all the lengths of the practice. Some thought it a great

great experiment, of which a competent trial ſhould be allowed. Others conſidered it as a leaven, which, when the immediate fermentation had quietly evaporated, would leave the maſs lighter and more wholeſome. There were, beſides, in all countries many ardent ſpirits, who were ready to catch up, with little or no examination, whatever came recommended to them by the ſpecious name of liberty; and on this ſide of the queſtion were too many of that literary intereſt, which we have already remarked as having got to themſelves the formation and direction of public opinion.

Here ended at once that cordiality between all orders of ſociety in Europe, which made private life ſo pleaſing, and promiſed public happineſs by degrees to all, who had not yet the ſecurity of a free conſtitution. Mutual jealouſies and alienation ſucceeded: diſcontent and audacity on one ſide, diſguſt and alarm on the other. Clubs and ſocieties were inſtituted, and writings were circulated. Of thoſe in our own country we * have given ſome account already; but the correſpondence was not ſo confined. Letters were read in the Jacobin club at Paris from every capital of Europe; not excepting Conſtantinople. All adhered to the principles of the French revolution, but ſpoke more or leſs freely, according to the greater or leſs degree of vigilance and rigour in their reſpective governments. The clergy were by all treated with irreverence and contumely; for it was no ſecret, that the moſt active and zealous diſſeminators of French principles were in all countries the bittereſt enemies to the church. The diſtinctions of nobility were the theme of much coarſe ridicule, and they were told to vail to the nobles of nature; indeed the imputation of ariſtocracy ſignified every political reproach to all under the condition of kings, who were by a general name called nothing but deſpots and tyrants.

The people ſoon ſhewed ſigns of internal commotion, and moſt where they had leaſt reaſon to complain. The inhabitants of Avignon had a mild and paternal ſovereign in the Pope, but by the arts of the democratiſts they were plunged into a civil war of the moſt horrid kind, which we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to relate. A revolution on this new model was attempted in the republic of Geneva, though it failed for this year, but was effected the next, and attended with all the atrocities congenial to its great archetype. What was called the patriotic party in Holland, again raiſed its head. In Poland, the cities ſent a general deputation to Warſaw, without any legal authority to convoke them, and made demands, which it was not thought right to admit in their full extent, though by the excellent management of the king, that country, where impatience and violence might moſt have been expected and pardoned, diſplayed a moderation and a ſobriety worthy of better times, and a more happy fate. The elector of Saxony, who by careful œconomy, and wiſe regulation, had reſtored the finances beyond all hope, without adding to the burthens of his ſubjects, was, however, aſſailed

* See Ann. Reg. Vol. XXXII. Hiſt. Art. pp. 64 and 65; and the fifth and ſixth chapters of this Volume.

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by their clamours in his palace. Many proofs too of the ſame ſpirit were given in the eccleſiaſtical electorates of Germany, though they were among the principalities which were governed with moſt lenity in the empire.

On the other ſide, it cannot be a matter of ſurprize if the two higher orders, and monarchs at their head, were not conciliated by ſuch language and conduct. They began to doubt the policy of their own liberality, and withdrew the hands which had been ſtretched out for ſo many years to raiſe the lower ranks to a more reſpectable ſtation. Any meaſure of conceſſion was now rare, unleſs to carry ſome immediate object of ſuperior importance, or to compromiſe ſome inſtant fear of a greater evil. The conduct of the preſs began to be narrowly obſerved, and the laws which ſtill remained as checks againſt the abuſe of it, to be more rigorouſly put in execution; proclamations and edicts were iſſued; and where, by the exiſting law, it could be done, the importation and the reading of French books prohibited. The ſtate-priſons were again filled with perſons accuſed of plots and conſpiracies of various kinds; and inſtead of that growing confidence which the moſt deſpotic princes had lately repoſed in the affections of their ſubjects, they were every where paying court to their armies, as thinking them to be their only ſecurity, yet dubious too of their fidelity.

To the eye of the moraliſt the moſt afflicting ſight is the counter-revolution in ſentiments and feelings which now took place. Men were ſo familiarized to narratives of the moſt brutal outrage to women, and cruelty to age, the moſt abominable profanations of the houſe of God, the moſt unrelenting refinements on barbarity in maſſacre, and cannibaliſm itſelf, that ſcenes, the leaſt of which would formerly have made the heart recoil, and the blood run cold with horror, came to be read with little or no comparative emotion. Indeed ſo depraved was the moral taſte become in too many, that there was nothing which was not palliated, excuſed, and almoſt juſtified, on principles fruitful of ten thouſand future crimes. It has been ſaid to be mercy to prevent by examples of terror the miſeries of a civil war. The violation of the ſecurity due to every man from the ſociety to which he belongs, has been confounded with the ſtate of open hoſtility between people and people, under the acknowledged law of nature and nations; and the drops of blood ſpilled in the aſſaſſinations of Paris have been eſtimated and balanced againſt the deſtruction of battles and even whole wars; while the tenet, which was aſcribed as the greateſt reproach to the Jeſuits, has been generally applied, that the end ſanctified the means; that the ſum of good to be obtained will on the whole exceed the ſum of evil to be ſuffered. Theſe modes of argument, which teach men to conſider metaphyſically the preſent pain of their fellow-creatures, and to reaſon themſelves out of thoſe ſympathies which nature gave us to be the main link of ſociety, lead to practices the moſt ſavage, and to a barbariſm of manners much worſe than any which exiſted in the darkeſt ages.

Nor has the politician leſs to lament or to apprehend. It is not only that the reforms, ſo gratifying to every good mind, which had been

proceeding

proceeding ſo ſteadily for the laſt five-and-twenty years, are at a ſtand; it is not only that the ſilent revolution, which had brought to a great part of Europe ſo much of the ſubſtance, and would in time have brought alſo the form of liberty, is driven back; but whatever liberty of a moderated, ordered, and balanced deſcription, ſeemed to be moſt firmly eſtabliſhed, is tottering on its baſe. The principle of the French revolution admits of no compromiſe, no temperament, no qualification. Like all metaphyſical poſitions, if true at all, it muſt be true in all times, at all places, and under all circumſtances; and it is a principle pointing neceſſarily to practice, inaſmuch as it requires the perpetual exerciſe of the ſovereignty by the exiſting majority, who cannot bind their good faith by any compact, however ſolemn, for a year, a month, a week, or a ſingle day. It ſwallows up at once all that patriotiſm in mixed conſtitutions, which is the moſt uncommon, the moſt liable to miſconſtruction, and the moſt unrewarded, the ſober and enlightened patriotiſm, which aiming to keep every part in its proper poſition and action, muſt occaſionally reſiſt alike the will of the old and the new ſovereign, the prince and the people, and which conſequently cannot expect any large or laſting ſhare in the favour of either. If this principle ſtands its ground for any length of time, every thing will be neceſſarily puſhed to extremes.

They who have not hitherto found ſufficient repulſion in it, to make them fly from it, will approach nearer and nearer, till they come directly within the ſphere of its attraction; while they who fear it, will think nothing elſe formidable: practical abuſes of power will be diſregarded on both ſides, as unworthy of conſideration, in compariſon with the more important objects put in iſſue by the conflict of this new principle with the exiſting conſtitution of every country; and on one ſide, inſtead of being honeſtly and calmly oppoſed, they will be ſeen with a ſullen ſatisfaction, as adding to the number of the diſcontented, and haſtening ruin.—We have ſeen ſome of theſe effects in our own country.

Wherever this principle prevails more or leſs, there is and muſt be a French faction, proportionably ſtrong; and it will be much more cloſely united in politics to the great head at Paris than ever were the religious factions, which ſo long diſtracted Europe, and have been ſo recently laid at reſt. For, the latter became political, not primarily and neceſſarily, but ſecondarily and incidentally. Here the very ground of diſtinction is the firſt and moſt important queſtion of politics. That ſpirit of ambition which was formerly dreaded in the French monarchy has actuated the French republic from its birth, and with ſuch a powerful lever, planted under the foundations of every government in Europe, ſhe threatens ſooner or later to ſhake them all to pieces.

But ſuppoſe her, by abandoning that principle of inſtability and eternal revolution, to ſettle at length into ſomething like the legitimate form of a democratical commonwealth. They who, for the ſake of that principle, have made light of all the attendant enormities, will attribute all good to that, and will ſtill direct their views to France as the

the natural protectreſs of every people that are or wiſh to be republicans by the ſame means; and there is no natural head of any oppoſite principle to make a ſteady counteraction, as the internal factions and external combinations of proteſtants and catholics ſufficiently antagonized each other to prevent any univerſal predominancy of either. On the contrary, if the throne of France ſhould be again reſtored to its place, by whatever event, and this moſt tremendous ſhock, which royalty in all countries ever experienced, ſhould ultimately paſs by without overturning it, though the public danger to Europe will not be the ſame, yet every aſſiduity and every exertion will be then neceſſary to bring men back to the quiet purſuit or defence of rational freedom, and to raiſe or maintain barriers capable of limiting power, more than ever confident of its own ſtrength.

Such was the melancholy change, which in little more than two years had been wrought in the ſtate of Europe; and ſuch the eventual diſaſters to which a way had been opened before the cloſe of the year 1791 by the French revolution. The progreſs of gradual improvement ſtopped; manners, morals, religion on a precipice; the internal ſyſtem of every country diſquieted; and new factions created in all, which threaten long to agitate and convulſe this quarter of the globe, to extinguiſh, in one extreme or the other, all love of well-regulated liberty, and to overthrow the general balance of power, ſo neceſſary to the public ſecurity. The intricacies of the plot require more than human interpoſition to produce a fortunate developement; and the difficulties, at the moment of concluding theſe reflections, ſeem to be ſtill thickening. Yet during a period of more than thirty years, ſince this Work commenced, having witneſſed ſo many viciſſitudes in human affairs; having ſeen one empire acquired by Great Britain in the Eaſt, and another loſt by her in the Weſt, while no man even now can accurately ſay, in what degree her general proſperity has been affected by either event; having ſometimes known much good to ariſe out of apparent evil; and being in this very inſtance compelled to acknowledge much ultimate evil in that ſpirit of popular reform which we in its origin believed, and in moderation ſtill believe, to be ſo good, we ſhall not yet abandon all hope in the diſpenſations of Providence. In the mean time we ſhall purſue the more immediate taſk of the hiſtorian, in a faithful narrative of facts, as they aroſe, and a candid explanation of their cauſes, as far as our means of information will enable us to unravel them.

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1st. THE univerſity of Dublin, in full convocation, have unanimouſly conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, as the powerful advocate of the conſtitution, the friend of public order, virtue, and the happineſs of mankind; and in teſtimony of the high reſpect entertained by the univerſity (which had the honour of his education) for the various endowments of his capacious mind, and for his ſuperior talents and abilities.

4th. The commiſſioners of ſtamp duties met at their office in Somerſet Place, to let to farm "the duties payable on horſes let to hire for travelling poſt and by time, now out of leaſe." They were let at an advance of 10,619l. over the ſum they produced laſt year.

This included thirty-three counties, beſides North Britain and Wales.

14th. On the laſt day of the late year there was ſo thick a fog at Amſterdam, that the people could not ſee their way along the ſtreets, and ran againſt each other, even though they had lights in their hands. The accidents it has occaſioned are very numerous: but the moſt lamentable circumſtance is, the number of people who have periſhed from falling in the canals, where they were drowned before aſſiſtance could be given them, though their cries were diſtinctly heard. The number of perſons who have periſhed in this way is already known to amount to 230.

15th. A dreadful accident lately happened at High Green, near Sheffield. A bear kept by one Cooper, for the amuſement of the country people at their wakes, got looſe, and entered the dwelling of a perſon named Rogers.—The unfortunate wife of the man was ſitting with one child on her lap, and another beſide her, when the creature ſeized her with all the ſavage ferocity incident to his nature, and tore her in a manner too ſhocking to relate. The cries of the poor unfortunate woman and of the children reached Rogers and the bear-keeper, who almoſt at the ſame moment entered the houſe, and beheld a ſight ſufficient to appal the moſt callous mind—what then muſt be the feelings of a huſband? He flew to the animal, but was unable to wrench its jaws from the object of its fury. Cooper then ſtruck it on the head with a hammer, but the haft flying off, the blow was powerleſs; it however turned the bent of its

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its rage on him, and purſued him till he was nearly exhauſted with fatigue; and he muſt have fallen a victim, had not the neighbours, alarmed at the out-cries, come up with him, and, at a ſecond ſhot, laid it dead. The woman expired in dreadful agony on Monday.

17th. A bill of indictment was found on Friday by the grand jury of Middleſex, againſt lord viſcount Dungarvan, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Corke. His lordſhip, being rather heated with wine, met a woman of *eaſy virtue*, who calls herſelf *Welden*, at one of the theatres on the preceding night. On the play being over, ſhe prevailed on him to take her in a coach to her lodgings, which drove to No. 45, Rathbone-place. His lordſhip gave her a guinea, but refuſed to enter the houſe. On this, Mrs. Welden became riotous, and called the watch; ſaying, if he did not give her another guinea, ſhe would charge him with robbing her of three guineas and an half. On his refuſal, the watchman ſeized his lordſhip, and detained him four hours. His lordſhip's trial came on this morning at the Old Bailey, and laſted ſix hours.—The wretched proſecutrix having ſworn, on the trial, that his lordſhip had robbed her in the coach; though ſhe had ſworn, when before the juſtice, that ſhe perceived *ſhe had loſt her money when ſhe offered to give the link-boy ſome gratuity for his trouble in calling the coach*. The jury ſaid, it was unneceſſary to proceed further, and begged that the defendant might be *honourably acquitted*.

The learned judge ſaid, he was perfectly ſatisfied; and although they had no ſuch record as that of an *honourable* acquittal, yet it would be remembered.

The jury gave in their verdict—*Not Guilty*.

Lord Dungarvan read the following defence:

" My lord, and gentlemen of the jury,

" Whatever ſhame I ought to take, and do take to myſelf for the indiſcretion which led me into the company of the perſon who has made, and endeavoured to ſupport by perjury, an attack upon my life and honour, I cannot ſuffer myſelf for a moment to ſuppoſe that any credit can be given to ſo ſtrange and improbable an accuſation. I am charged by the unconfirmed oath of a common proſtitute with an offence, which nothing but the loweſt and worſt habits of life and connections—the moſt abject baſeneſs of mind and contempt of character, urged by the moſt extreme neceſſity, could poſſibly prompt any man to commit.—My ſituation, happily, is the reverſe of this—I am not, nor have been in any diſtreſs of circumſtances or want of credit. The very reverſe is my caſe. I am conſcious that my conduct in life has ever been juſt and honourable; and that no action of mine has diſgraced my own ſtation, or reflected any diſcredit upon thoſe to whom I have the honour of being allied. It will, however, better become me to refer you, gentlemen of the jury, to the teſtimony of the witneſſes who will be called to ſpeak of my conduct and character, than to deſire you to receive your information from my own report. Deeply as my mind feels and reſents the unmerited diſgrace of the imputation attempted to be thrown upon me, I ſubmit chearfully to a trial by the laws of my country—I know that thoſe laws will not ſuf-

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fer criminals of any rank to elude their juſtice: but I alſo know, and it is now my conſolation and ſecurity to know, that the puniſhments they inflict, can only fall upon the guilty head; and that innocence is ſafe, protected by the wiſdom and integrity of an Engliſh judge and jury.—I have only to add my moſt ſolemn denial of the charge—to requeſt your attention to ſuch evidence as the learned gentlemen with whoſe counſel I am aſſiſted ſhall think proper to lay before you; and to declare my entire confidence in the verdict of a jury of my country, for the vindication of my honour, and the protection of my life, againſt an attack commenced with a view to extort money from me, and continued by malice and wickedneſs."

The learned judge then ſaid,

"My lord Dungarvan, it is but juſtice to you to ſay, that it is impoſſible you can go from this bar with the leaſt imputation on your character; and as to your imprudence in this affair, you ſeem to be already perfectly ſenſible."

The proſecutrix and her witneſſes retired from the court, amidſt the hiſſes and execrations of the audience.

19th. The ſeſſions at the Old Bailey ended, when judgment of death was paſſed by Mr. Common Serjeant on the following capital convicts, viz. Ann Rhodes, Ann King, Thomas Pointer, Thomas Herbert, John Randall, Neal M'Mullen, William Smith, Seze de Souza, John Wallis, Charles Alden, Daniel Buckeridge, and George Cook, a boy about 13 years of age; 17 were ſentenced to be tranſported beyond the ſeas for ſeven years; two to be impriſoned in Newgate for one year, and one for three months; ſix in Clerkenwell Bridewell; nine to be publicly and five privately whipped; one was permitted to enter as an Eaſt India ſoldier, and 14 were delivered by proclamation.

Dublin. This day our parliament met, according to adjournment. 20th. In the Houſe of Lords, the Right Hon. John Bourke, Earl of Mayo, having produced the royal patent creating his father earl of Mayo, was introduced, and took the oaths; as was alſo the Right Hon. Arthur Acheſon, Viſcount Gosford. The Right Hon. Robert Clements, Baron Leitrim, took the oaths and his ſeat.

Dundalk. A moſt ſhocking tranſaction took place on Friday night laſt at Forkhill, within two miles of this town: at the dead hour of the night, the houſe of the pariſh ſchoolmaſter was ſurrounded by a banditti, who, having broke in, took the man, his wife, and their ſon, a boy fourteen years old, and cut their tongues out of their heads; after which they took the father and mother and chopt off their fingers. So black and attrocious an act ſtands unparalleled in the annals of this country.

Whitehall. It appears by the advices from India brought 22d. by the Houghton, one of the company's ſhips, that major general Medows had taken the command of the army, which had been collected in the Carnatic, and had marched into the dominions of Tippoo Sultan; and that Caroor, Duraporam, and Coimbetour, had been taken by him without any reſiſtance. Major Maitland, who is

arrived in the Houghton, alſo brings an account of the ſurrender of Dindigul.

The letters from the government of Bengal contain the information, that treaties of alliance had been finally concluded by that government with the Mahrattas, and the Nizam; and that lord Cornwallis had received from the compte de Conway, governor-general of the French poſſeſſions to the eaſtward of the Cape of Good Hope, the moſt unequivocal aſſurances of perfect neutrality.

23d. This morning, between three and four o'clock, an alarming fire broke out in the counting-houſe and ware-room of Meſſ. Biggars and Co. manufacturers at Sciennes, on the ſouth ſide of Edinburgh. It had got to a conſiderable height before it was diſcovered, and from the great quantity of lint, yarn, linen, &c. in the premiſſes, there was reaſon to expect the moſt ſerious conſequences. Several of the magiſtrates attended; and by the exertions of the company's ſervants, aſſiſted by the town-guard, a detachment of the 42d regiment, engines, &c. the fire was got under, and a very conſiderable property, in linen, yarn, &c. preſerved; but ſtill the loſs incurred is to a great amount. The fire was occaſioned by ſome hot aſhes that were put into a wooden bucket, and left on the floor of the ware-room, after the chimneys were ſwept.

24th. *Liverpool.* The conſternation at Aſhton-under-Line, between five and ſix o'clock on Monday evening, was great. Every perſon in the ſtreets was ſo terrified as to ſhriek and run into ſhops and houſes for ſhelter. The thunder burſt from a cloud which ſeemed to hang over the town, and the lightning was perceived almoſt in the ſame inſtant, the thunder making only one tremendous craſh. It was probably well for the town, that the electric fire was attracted by the iron work which ornaments the church-ſteeple. It ſtruck the weather-cock, melted ſome part of it, and threw many ſtones from the ſteeple; it then entered the belfry, and melted the wires, &c. and alſo thoſe of the clock; from thence it followed the iron-rod that guides the hand of the clock, to a dial within the church, placed on the top of the organ, and in its way wreſted a piece of knotty oak of four inches ſquare from one of the beams that ſupport the roof of the church, beſides taking with it a conſiderable part of the cornice of the dial; from the dial it proceeded down the organ to the curtain-rod in the front of it, and running from the ſouth to the north end of the rod, it took down an upright iron from the ceiling, and rent it with ſuch violence, that ſplinters were found ſticking in the oppoſite ceiling, as if diſcharged from a gun. It then penetrated through the floor of the gallery, and followed an iron pillar at the foot, and from thence it is ſuppoſed to have gone different ways, after ſplitting many of the pews, as there are marks where it paſſed, both in the windows at the weſt, as well as that at the end of the earl of Stamford's chapel in the eaſt.

25th. A child of eighteen months old was found dead near Plymouth; and it appeared on the coroner's inqueſt, that the child died in conſequence of a cat ſucking its breath, thereby occaſioning a ſtrangulation.

26th.

Scotland. A letter from
26th. Pattenweam brings an account of a moſt melancholy cataſtrophe which happened there on Wedneſday, the 26th of January, where the keeper of the light-houſe on the iſland of Mayo, with his family, were almoſt all found ſuffocated. No light having appeared on the iſland for ſome days, the anxiety of the people in the neighbourhood was much raiſed, but no boat dared approach the iſland by reaſon of the violent ſtorms: theſe being ſomewhat abated, one of the beſt boats belonging to the town reached the iſland in ſafety, but found the door of the light-houſe bolted. This they broke open, and were at laſt, after ſome delay, met on the ſtairs by a man in ſuch a ſtate as to be unable to give them an account of what had happened. They therefore went to the light-keeper's apartments, where they found the man and his wife dead, with an infant alive, ſucking its dead mother's breaſt. In another bed three children dead, and two but juſt living; they were expoſed to the air, and ſeemed to revive, and with the two men, aſſiſtants to the keeper, were carried to Crail, where the eldeſt of the children died the next day. This ſad ſcene was produced by the careleſſneſs of the aſſiſtants, who had neglected to brim the aſhes in the lower apartments, which the high winds had blown up, and the ſmoke having no vent occaſioned ſuffocation.

27th. This morning early a pretty thick ſhower of rain fell in and round the metropolis, which was attended with ſome flaſhes of lightning, but no thunder or wind. The light was not vivid, but reſembled rather the Aurora Borealis, when ſtrong.

This day the caſe of the city of London againſt the corporation of King's Lynn came on to be argued in the court of King's Bench. It was a writ of error from the court of Common Pleas, where a trial at bar was had on a writ *de eſſendo quietum de theolonio* (of being quit of toll) brought by the city of London, to aſſert the right of their citizens being exempted from a toll on corn, demanded by the corporation of Lynn—A verdict had been given for the city of London, and the errors were aſſigned on the informality of the declaration. After much abſtruſe argument by Mr. Serjeant le Blanc, for King's Lynn, and Mr. Serjeant Adair, for London, the court of King's Bench reverſed the judgment, on the ground that the declaration did not ſtate that the city of London had received ſuch an injury on which an action could be maintained, the corporation of Lynn having demanded, but not having received or diſtrained for, the toll in queſtion. It is ſuppoſed this cauſe will be carried to the houſe of lords. 28th.

On Monday came on before
the Court of Juſticiary at 31ſt.
Edinburgh, the trial of eight perſons, charged with having ſeized by force, carried off, and captivating William Wells, of Lochmabane, counſellor of that borough, on the 8th of July, 1790, with a view to defeat the freedom of election of delegates for the ſaid borough. Four of the parties did not appear; and Mr. Maconochie, one of the counſel for the pannel, ſtated, that they had found bail for ſix months, to anſwer all allegations againſt them; and that time being now elapſed, and they out of

the kingdom, the ſummons was not properly ſerved; he therefore prayed that the court would find the bail not forfeited, which their lordſhips found accordingly.

The four others appeared, and pleaded not guilty. Mr. Hamilton, junior counſel, ſtated in their defence, that Wells had promiſed his vote to both parties, and had fallen upon the expedient of having himſelf carried off to ſave his honour. This plea, however, was over-ruled, and the trial proceeded to conviction. They have ſince received ſentence as follows: John Lindſay to be impriſoned in the Canongate gaol for three months, to pay a fine of 50l. ſterling, and to be afterwards baniſhed Scotland for ſeven years: John Lockerby, Peter Foreſt, and James Thornburn, to be confined in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, till Wedneſday the 23d inſtant; on that day to be publicly whipped through the ſtreets of that city, by the hands of the common executioner, and then baniſhed Scotland for ſeven years: all under the uſual certifications, in caſe of any of them being found in this country during the above period. Mr. Lindſay is to be allowed three months to put his affairs in order, previous to going into baniſhment; and the other three from the 23d inſtant to the 1ſt of April.

DIED, lately, at Paris, literally of want, Mr. Oſtervald, a well-known banker. This man, originally of Neufchatel, felt the violence of the diſeaſe of avarice ſo ſtrongly, that within a few days of his death, no importunities could induce him to buy a few pounds of meat for the purpoſe of making a little ſoup for him. "'Tis true," ſaid he, "I ſhould not diſlike the ſoup, but I have no appetite for the meat; what then is to become of that?" At the time that he refuſed this nouriſhment, for fear of being obliged to give away two or three pounds of meat, there was tied round his neck a ſilken bag, which contained 800 aſſignats of 1,000 livres each. At his outſet in life he drank a pint of beer (which ſerved him for ſupper) every night at a houſe much frequented, from which he carried home all the bottle-corks he could come at. Of theſe, in the courſe of eight years, he had collected as many as ſold for twelve louis-d'or, a ſum that laid the foundation of his future fortune, the ſuperſtructure of which was rapidly raiſed by his uncommon ſucceſs in ſtock-jobbing. He died poſſeſſed of three millions of livres (125,000l. ſterling).

21ſt, at his houſe near Croft-ſquare, Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, aged 69, Mr. Thomas Kent. He was many years remarkable for his ſordid manner of living, though poſſeſſed of an opulent fortune, as, from the loweſt ſtate of indigence, he gradually came into poſſeſſion of the whole court in which he lived, as well as ſeveral other tenements in different parts of the town. Mr. Kent and his wife were well known for ſeveral years by riding in the characters of king and queen to Horn-fair, as well as by accumulating a ſufficiency for purchaſing the firſt houſe they lived in by boiling bones which they picked up in the ſtreets. During the life of his ſpouſe, they always kept their birth-days by diſtributing beef and beer among their tenants; but ſince her death, though his property has been increaſing, his diſpoſition became ſo penurious, that from his appearance among ſtrangers, he was frequently miſtaken

miſtaken for a beggar. A perſon of ſome landed property, generally known by the name of old Dick, and of the ſame turn of mind, has lived with him for ſeveral years paſt, to whom, and an infant niece, all his property is willed.

25th, in Cleveland-row, Saint James's-place, in his ſeventy-ſecond year, of a violent urinary complaint, George Auguſtus Selwyn, eſquire, member of parliament for the borough of Ludgerſhall, in the county of Wilts, and formerly repreſentative for the city of Glouceſter. He was ſurveyor-general of the crown-lands, ſurveyor of the meltings, and clerk of the irons in the Mint, and regiſter in the court of Chancery in the iſland of Barbadoes. He was educated at Oxford, to which place he returned, after making the tour of Europe. He had not been at Oxford long, when, on account of ſome ſuppoſed religious irregularities, he had a hint to leave the college, which he took, and, being poſſeſſed of a good fortune, he threw himſelf into the faſhionable circles of the town. He was highly qualified for this ſphere, being poſſeſſed of much claſſical knowledge, a brilliant wit, good humour, and a conſiderable ſhare of obſervation. He therefore was ſoon noticed as a wit and *bon vivant*, and divided with the late lord Cheſterfield moſt of the good things of their times. Mr. Selwyn took care not to be ruined by his wit (as has been the caſe with many others); he had "pudding as well as praiſe," being in poſſeſſion of ſeveral advantageous places, which he enjoyed under ſeveral adminiſtrations. He was at one time of his life much in the habit of gaming; but he ſoon gave it up (except for trifling ſums), being, as he ſaid, "one of the greateſt conſumers of time, fortune, conſtitution, and thinking." His places being moſtly ſinecures enabled him to enjoy the *otium cum dignitate*, which he did with ſingular advantage to himſelf and his friends. Amongſt the latter he will be long lamented as the centre of good-humour, wit, and conviviality. He died very much in the boſom of the church, having the Bible read to him conſtantly during the whole of his illneſs.

FEBRUARY.

2d. On this day there was the higheſt flood-tide on the river Thames that has ever been remembered.

Above Weſtminſter Bridge it overflowed the banks of the river on both ſides, particularly at Milbank, where it came into the Horſe-ferry road, and carried away ſeveral logs of timber, &c. In Palace-yard it was near two feet deep. It alſo ran into Weſtminſter-hall, ſo as to prevent people paſſing for two hours. Boats came through the paſſage of Old Palace-yard from the Thames, and rowed up to Weſtminſter-hall gate. The inhabitants in Milbank-ſtreet were obliged to paſs to and from their houſes in boats. The two Scotland-yards, and Privy-gardens, Whitehall, were entirely under water, and many parts rendered impaſſable for two hours. People were obliged in thoſe places to be taken from their houſes on men's backs; and ſeveral poor people, who keep ſmall ſhops near the barracks in Scotland-yard, had four feet water in their ſhops, and their beds floating in their rooms.

Weſtminſter-hall has ſuffered much. The water ran in at the great

door for more than an hour, and undid all that had been doing for many weeks to render the court dry, warm, and comfortable, by braziers, ſtoves, and other artificial means. Above bridge the tide roſe three feet higher than uſual.

The ground floor of lord Belgrave's houſe and the garden, were flooded two feet deep; as were almoſt all the gardens and nurſery-grounds round Chelſea and Lambeth.

Below bridge the low meadows and marſhes were almoſt one continued ſhoal of water for ſome hours.

In the evening of Tueſday, the firſt of February, it began to blow from N.N.W. on the coaſt of Kent, which in the night increaſed to a hurricane, with ſtrong flaſhes of lightening. In the morning of Wedneſday it was full tide at leaſt two hours before the uſual time, and tumbled in with a tremendous ſurf, threatening deſtruction to every thing that oppoſed its fury.

The ſea-walls and banks at Seaſalter were in ſeveral places broken down and waſhed away, and the marſh-lands flooded to a great depth; ſo that the ſheep and other cattle were with the greateſt difficulty driven off.

At Whitſtable ſome of the ſtore-houſes on the beach were whirled down, and the waves rolled in ſo furiouſly, that the inhabitants were under the moſt dreadful apprehenſions.

At Deal the ſtorm was ſtill more threatening. The waves there broke over the ſea-bank into Beach-ſtreet, many parts of which were quite under water. Fortunately the ſtorm happened in the day-time, or much damage would in general have been ſuſtained.

Upon the north and weſt coaſts of Eſſex, the inhabitants have been greater ſufferers than thoſe of the oppoſite county. Not an iſland but has ſeverely ſuffered. Thoſe of Potten, Wallace, and New England were totally overflowed; in the latter, 400 ſheep were ſwept off by the violence of the ſea. Foulneſs and Canvey Iſles have likewiſe received material injury; and there are three immenſe breaches in the north-weſt walls of Canvey iſland, through which the tide flows and ebbs with vaſt impetuoſity.

At Ipſwich, about 11 o'clock in the morning, the ſea ruſhed from its bed, and overflowed all the gardens, malt-houſes, and houſes, ſituated near the ſalt-water rivers. A boat was rowed upon the bowling-green. The common quay was quite overflowed, and immenſe damage done to the goods in the warehouſes, lodged there for the trading boys.

This inundation has been general upon the Suffolk coaſt. At Woodbridge, Aldborough, Orford, and other places, much damage has been done.

At Powderham caſtle, as 4th.
the hon. Miſs Courtenay was ſtanding near the drawing-room fire, in earneſt converſation with another lady, her cloaths unfortunately took fire, and ſhe was almoſt inſtantly enveloped in flames. Lord Courtenay, who ſtood near, had the preſence of mind to throw her down, and to roll the carpet round her, by which her life was ſaved, but not without being terribly ſcorched. His lordſhip's hands and face were likewiſe much burnt.

Court of King's-bench. Bar- 5th.
tholomew Quailn, labourer, in the Iſle of Ely, had been indicted for the wilful murder of Ann his wife,

wife, when the jury found a ſpecial verdict, which was ſent to the court of King's-bench for their conſideration. The facts ſtated in this verdict were theſe: Bartholomew Quailn, and Ann his wife, came peaceably out of a public-houſe, where they had been drinking together, he in liquor, ſhe not; that when they got into the high way they appeared to be quarrelling about a bag which ſhe wanted him to give to her; that during the time they were ſo quarrelling, the ſaid Ann was ſitting in the ſtreet; and the jury found that the ſaid Ann roſe from the ground and walked along the ſaid ſtreet, and her huſband followed her, and gave her two or three kicks; that afterwards ſeveral ſhrieks and cries were heard, and the ſaid Ann was ſeen to run away from him, ſo crying and ſhrieking: and when ſhe ran away he overtook her and kicked her down, and afterward, when he had kicked her down, and retired a few paces from her, he returned to her again, and while ſhe was on the ground he gave her ſeveral kicks on the thighs, and on the right and left ſide of her body; that when he had ſo kicked her ſhe roſe once more from the ground; that Bartholomew when ſhe roſe kicked her down again; and after the ſaid Ann had been ſo kicked down, ſhe roſe, and ſaid to the priſoner, "*You have killed me*;"—and when a woman, who was near, aſked the priſoner why he beat his wife? and ſaid if ſhe had ſtrength enough ſhe would prevent him from exerciſing any more barbarity upon her, he ſaid he would ſerve her in the ſame manner.

The ſpecial verdict farther ſtated, that the unfortunate deceaſed got up, and with great difficulty walked about thirty yards, held her hand to her left ſide, became pale, and fell down. The jury found that the kicks ſo given were given with great violence, and by the kicks the ſpleen was burſt, of which ſaid burſting of the ſpleen ſhe afterwards died. Then the verdict found, that from the firſt kick till the time ſhe received the laſt kick was half an hour, and that from the time of receiving the laſt kick till ſhe died was twenty minutes. The ſpecial verdict likewiſe found, that the priſoner on hearing of his wife's death expreſſed great ſorrow.

The queſtion for the deciſion of the court was, "Whether theſe facts, ſo found by the jury, amounted to the crime of murder, or only to the offence of manſlaughter?"

The court delivered their opinions *ſeriatim*, and were unanimous in thinking that the priſoner was clearly guilty of the crime of murder.

On the following Monday Quailn was executed purſuant to his ſentence.

This day the ground on the N. E. ſide of Whitehaven fell-in in three places, to the great terror of the inhabitants; but the accident was ſoon diſcovered to have been occaſioned by the earth giving way over an old coal-work which had been worked about fifty years ago, and left unfilled up. About the time the above accident happened, the water broke in upon the preſent coal-work, by which two men, one woman, and five horſes were drowned. 7th.

The caſe of Leftly and Mills was determined by the court of King's-bench; the queſtion was, "Whether a bill of exchange is liable to a proteſt if not paid within banking-hours?" The court determined, 10th.

determined, that it cannot be proteſted till the day after the day on which it is due. They alſo ſaid, that bills payable at ſo many days after ſight are not ſubject to a proteſt at all, under the act of K. Will. III. and that in no caſe ought more than 6d. to be paid for proteſting, purſuant to that act.

16th. This afternoon, about four o'clock, Mr. Arnold was robbed by a ſingle highwayman, whoſe name was Carter, at no great diſtance from his own houſe, near Sevenoaks, Kent. Immediately after the robbery had been committed, Mr. Arnold gave a general alarm, and immediate purſuit was made by Mr. Pitman, maſter of the Harrow public-houſe on Madamſcot-hill, and Mr. Hall, maſter of the White Hart at Riverhead, and ſeveral others. The highwayman was firſt overtaken by Mr. Pitman near Seal, and a piſtol heard to fire; and on Mr. Hall's coming up he found the robber on the ground, and Mr. Pitman lying near him quite dead, having diſlocated his neck by the fall. The highwayman, who had received a ſhot in the head, was carried to Riverhead, where the ball was extracted, ſince which he has been committed to Maidſtone gaol, but ſtill lies dangerouſly ill. After the robbery he was ſo incautious as to ſtop and drink at one or two places, and to requeſt that the parties would ſay, in caſe any inquiry was made after a perſon paſſing that way, that he had gone a contrary one. It ſince appears that after Mr. Pitman had fired, he attempted to ſeize the highwayman, but in the ſtruggle was thrown from his horſe, and inſtantly killed, as above related. On ſearching Carter's pockets were found ſeveral papers, which led to a diſcovery that his lodgings were near the Pantheon, Oxford-ſtreet; where they diſcovered a ſick man in bed, who turns out to be one Parſons, another highwayman, ſuppoſed to have been wounded by Lord Falkland's ſervant on Hounſlow-heath about three weeks ago.

17th. The celebrated collection of muſical inſtruments, together with the muſical library, of the late Duke of Cumberland, were this day knocked down at Chriſtie's. It conſiſted of an immenſe collection of almoſt all the compoſers in Europe, for near 200 years paſt. Handel's works, Haydn's, Baumgarten's, and a few others, ſold very high. A beautiful ton'd organ, by Green, with a piano forte ſtop, went for 76l. 13s. His Royal Highneſs was in poſſeſſion of a violin by Stainer, which has long been the admiration and envy of the amateurs. It is now in the hundred and twenty-firſt year of its age; the purchaſer is Mr. Bradyll, at the price of 130 guineas! Another violin, with a tenor and violoncello, by the ſame maker, were ſold for 138 guineas. Mr. Condell bought the favourite tenor for 50 guineas; and ſeveral other inſtruments ſold at high prices. All the great performers in town were preſent.

At the ſale of the Duke of Cumberland's books, Cateſby's Natural Hiſtory of North Carolina, finely coloured, went at £. 15. 15s. Magna Britannia et Hibernia, at £. 52. 10s. The Antiquities of Ancient Rome, including the Vatican, by Piranelli, Roſs, Aquila, &c. at £. 524. 10s. This ſuperb work was preſented to the Duke by Pope Ganganelli.

20th. This day was executed at Edinburgh, William Gadeſby,

desby, one of the most notorious villains that has figured in the line of roguery in this country for many years. He appeared upon the platform about a quarter of an hour after two o'clock, dressed in white, trimmed with black. The awful solemnity, the dreadful apparatus of death, and the near approach of eternity, all combined, seemed neither to shake his frame, nor agitate his mind! Had he died in a better cause, he could not have evinced greater fortitude, nor been more collected. He was attended by the Rev. Mr. Finlayson. Having spent some time in prayer, he ascended the drop with a firm step, and stood with great composure till the apparatus was properly adjusted; he then addressed himself in an audible voice to the multitude, and gave a history of his life, which seems to have been one continued scene of depredation and plunder; and though only 28 years of age, his criminal exploits appear, both in variety and number, to equal, if not exceed, the atchievements of the most dexterous grey-haired offender.

He particularly mentioned, that the officer on guard in the castle ought to examine all hackney-chairs which go out in the night-time; for he often got out that way, and committed depredations about Edinburgh.

With his last breath, he declared Falconer, Bruce, and Dick, who were executed here two years ago for robbing the Dundee Bank, innocent of that crime, and acknowledged his own guilt!

At fourteen years of age he committed his first crime, by stealing a pocket-book from a stationer's shop; and from that time never missed a fair opportunity of possessing himself of money or goods, by fraud or force, till the day he was confined in gaol. The sums he stole or acquired by thievery and cheating, according to his own account, did not amount to less than 2000l besides what he made by the ruin of unfortunate women whom he seduced. He seemed so abandoned as to glory in his crimes.

22d. The Sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when judgment of death was passed upon James Johnson, who was convicted of a burglary on Wednesday last; one was sentenced to be transported for fourteen years; twenty-eight for seven years; five to be imprisoned in Newgate; nine in Clerkenwell bridewell; six to be publicly and two privately whipped; and seventeen discharged.

Amongst the prisoners convicted of felonies was John Belville, for stealing at Buckingham-house a pair of silver snuffers and stand, and two candlestick nozzles, the property of his Majesty.

Miss Eliza Goter, a young lady of great beauty, and female companion to Miss Burney, who had apartments in Buckingham-house, and attends upon the person of the queen, was the first witness called; and she proved, that on the evening of the 24th of January she left this property in the anti-chamber, near to the queen's dressing-room, when she retired to rest in Miss Burney's bed-chamber, where she slept. She also proved, that the prisoner at the bar, who was a German, had about four years ago lived as footman to Miss Burney.

William Moss, the present footman, proved, that at half past seven o'clock

o'clock the next morning, when he went into the anti-chamber, the property was gone.

John Beak Heather, the pawnbroker, to whom the public are ſo frequently indebted for the apprehenſion of thieves, proved that the priſoner, on the 4th of February, offered ſome bits of ſilver to pawn; but that, ſuſpecting he had not come honeſtly by them, he immediately ſeized him, and delivered him into the cuſtody of Macmanus, belonging to the office in Bow-ſtreet, where information had already been lodged of this robbery having been committed, and a very accurate deſcription given of the things ſtolen; and by the confeſſion of the priſoner, the remaining part of the property was found in his lodgings.

Mr. Williams, the gentleman of her majeſty's ſilver ſcullery, was called to indentify the property; and it was alſo proved, that Buckingham-Palace was the dwelling-houſe of the King.

The priſoner in his defence candidly confeſſed the fact; and ſtated, that he had been brought from Germany by a nobleman, and recommended by him to the ſervice of Miſs Burney; but that he ſoon found himſelf the object of a ſecret and unmerited enmity to the other ſervants in the Royal Palace; and, in conſequence of their ſilent ſlander, was ſoon afterwards diſmiſſed; that he was reduced to extreme miſery and diſtreſs, a foreigner in a foreign land, without friends, money or credit; that this ſituation had afflicted him with occaſional diſtraction of mind; that urged by neceſſity, and in a moment when he was loſt to all recollection, he committed the fact. He had only to truſt to the mercy of the Jury, and to the favourable recommendation of Miſs Burney, to whom, he ſaid, he had written ſeveral letters on this ſubject; promiſing, that in caſe they would excuſe him this time, he would endeavour to raiſe a little money among his own countrymen, and turn his back on England for the remainder of his days.

The Recorder ſummed up the evidence to the Jury with great preciſion, and pointed out thoſe parts of it which tended to prove the whole charge a capital offence, and thoſe which applied to the ſingle felony only.

The Jury found him guilty of ſtealing to the value of thirty-nine ſhillings.

On the 28th a woman at Abbot's Bromley, of the name of Stretton, deliberately poiſoned herſelf. Being dreſſed in her beſt cloaths, ſhe went to an apothecary's, complained of being infeſted with rats, and purchaſed a quantity of arſenic to deſtroy them. On her return home, ſhe gave orders for clean ſheets to be put on her bed, went out to viſit a neighbour, and told her ſhe ſhould die that night. About ſeven in the evening ſhe was taken exceedingly ill, but refuſed the aſſiſtance of either prieſt or phyſician; and about ten at night expired, in the moſt dreadful agonies, declaring what ſhe had done, when too late to relieve her. —The Coroner's inqueſt ſat on her body, and brought in their verdict—Lunacy.

At Margate, in Kent, ſome labourers, employed to dig the foundations for ſome houſes intended to be built, about two feet below the ſurface found the remains of ſeveral bodies, which were interred in graves hewn out of the ſolid chalk. From a medal found in one of the graves,

graves, it is ſuppoſed they have lain there upwards of 1500 years. It has on it an Emperor's head, crowned with a radial crown; and from the legend, though every letter is not diſtinguiſhable, there remains no doubt of its being one of Papienus's, who reigned in the year 237. On the reverſe is the whole length figure of a man, bearing a lance in his right hand, in a running attitude; a very bold relievo. The inſcription is not legible. At the ſame time were found the remains of a ſword and ſcabbard much decayed. The bones, when found, were very entire; but, on being expoſed to the air, ſoon crumbled into duſt.

A few days ſince, as Mr. Kemp was breaking up an old ſhip (formerly a Spaniard, which, when ſhe was taken, had the greateſt part of her crew killed) he diſcovered three ingots of gold of conſiderable weight, which he immediately ſent up to the bullion office under a ſtrong guard of ſhip-breakers, It is ſuppoſed that this fortunate diſcovery will increaſe Mr. Kemp's wealth 25 or £. 30,000, ſeveral ſmaller ingots having been found ſince. She is conſtantly watched, and not a plank ſuffered to be moved in Mr. Kemp's abſence.

The improvements now carrying on at Bath, in order to render the communication with the lower town more commodious, have been the means of diſcovering the remains of a temple, probably the moſt magnificent building which Bath, the *Aquæ Solis* of the Romans, had then to boaſt of.

On the ſouth ſide of Stall-ſtreet, about 12 feet under the ſurface, was found a coloſſal head encircled in a civic wreath, and another exterior ornament forming a medallion, ſupported by a figure of Victory on one ſide, and on the other manifeſtly the decoration of a pediment. Part of the ſhaft of a fluted column, a pilaſter, and a capital, frieze and cornice of the Corinthian order, finely executed, were likewiſe found in the ſame place, and were undoubtedly part of the ſame building.

An altar, with the following inſcription, was found at the ſame time and place:

DEAE SVE
PRO SALVTE ET
INCOLVMITAT
MAR AVFID
MAXIMI LEG
VI VIC
AVFIDIVS EV
TVC. HES. LEB.
V. S. L. M.

DIED at Bath, Mr. Charles Wray, book-keeper at Hoare's, in Fleet-ſtreet, 54 years. He has left 500l. to the Magdalen charity, of which he had been a governor and promoter from its inſtitution; and 500l. to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, towards paying off the national debt, as an example to other liberal-hearted and rich old men. This is not the firſt bequeſt made for that purpoſe. A Col. Norton, of Southwick, Hants, in 1733, left £. 30,000 for the ſame end; but the Court of King's Bench, conſidering it only as a drop of water poured into the ſea, decreed that the Colonel was inſane, and the money was divided among the heirs at law.

In his 75th year, at Hampton, where he has reſided ſince his retirement from the ſtage, John Beard, eſq. formerly one of the proprietors and acting-manager of Covent-garden theatre, and long a very eminent and popular ſinger, till the loſs of his hearing diſqualified him from performing.

performing. His firſt marriage is thus recorded on a handſome pyramidal monument in Pancras church-yard:

" Sacred to the remains
of Lady Henrietta Beard,
only daughter of James Earl of Waldegrave.
In the year 1734
ſhe was married to Lord Edward Herbert,
ſecond ſon to the Marquis of Powis;
by whom ſhe had iſſue one daughter,
Barbara, now Counteſs of Powis.
On the 8th of January, 1738-9,
ſhe became the wife of Mr. John Beard;
who, during an happy union of 14 years,
tenderly loved her perſon, and admired her virtues;
who ſincerely feels his loſs;
and muſt for ever revere
her memory,
to which he conſecrates this monument.
Ob. xxxi Maii, MDCCLIII, æt. xxxvi.
Requieſcat in pace."

By this lady's death, a jointure of £. 600 a year devolved to Earl Powis. He married, ſecondly, a daughter of Mr. Rich, patentee of Covent-garden theatre, whoſe ſiſter married, 1. Mr. Morris, 2. Mr. Horſley, brother to the Biſhop of St. David's. By the death of his father-in-law, Mr. Rich, Mr. B. found himſelf in affluent circumſtances, and his agreeable talents ſecured to him a circle of friends in his retirement.

MARCH.

1ſt. *Dublin.* In conſequence of the annual maſquerade at the new rooms in Rutland-ſquare, the police attended, armed as uſual with fire-locks and fixed bayonets. About ten at night an alarming multitude aſſembled to gratify their curioſity; but more to ſhew their contempt to the police, who began to exert their authority; when a riot began, and a ſort of battle was fought, in which the police were defeated, ſeveral killed, and the greateſt part who eſcaped with life wounded.

3d. This morning, ſoon after ſix o'clock, a moſt dreadful fire broke out in the Albion Mills on the Surry ſide of Blackfriars Bridge, which raged with ſuch unabating fury, that in about half an hour the whole of that extenſive edifice, together with an immenſe quantity of flour and grain, was reduced to aſhes; the corner wing, occupied as the houſe and offices of the ſuperintendant, only eſcaping the ſad calamity from the thickneſs of the party-wall. It was low water at the time the fire was firſt diſcovered, and before the engines were collected their aſſiſtance was ineffectual; for the flames burſt out in ſo many different directions, and with ſuch incredible fury and intolerable heat, that it was impoſſible to approach on any ſide, till the roof and interior part of the building tumbling in completed the general conflagration in a column of fire, ſo awfully grand as to illuminate for a while the whole horizon. The wind being eaſterly, the flames were blown acroſs Albion-place, the houſes on the weſt-ſide of which were conſiderably ſcorched, and the inhabitants greatly alarmed. In the lane adjoining the mills one houſe was burnt to the ground, and others conſiderably damaged.

Fortunately no lives have been loſt but the property conſumed is very

very great; four thouſand ſacks of corn were on the premiſes, of which only thirty are not deſtroyed.
The property inſured is as follows:

	£.
At the Hand-in-Hand	6,000
Sun —	5,000
Phœnix —	5,000
Union —	5,000
Royal Exchange	5,000
	26,000
Ditto on ſtock	15,000
	£. 41,000

But the largeſt inſurance was at Lloyd's, to the amount of 20,000l.

6th. A cauſe was tried this week in the court of King's Bench, in which Mr. Atwood, a taylor, was plaintiff, and a young gentleman defendant. It appeared that the plaintiff had furniſhed the defendant with clothes, and that his bill amounted to the ſum of £. 114 for clothes in the courſe of *ſeven* months! That the defendant at this time was under age, and clerk to an attorney! The defendant paid into court £. 50, and for the remainder took iſſue on the unreaſonableneſs of the bill. The jury were of opinion that the £. 50 paid into court on the part of the defendant was quite enough for all the clothes that could be *neceſſary*, in the courſe of ſeven months, for an attorney's clerk, under age; and therefore immediately gave a verdict for the defendant.

The moſt daring robbery that has been attempted for ſeveral years, was lately committed at Blackneſs, near Holwood, in Kent. On the afternoon of that day, two men, who had the appearance of country labourers, went to the ſtables of Mr. Whiffin, and aſked the young man who was feeding the horſe if he could recommend them to any work, or if his maſter would hire them. The young man told them that his maſter was not at home; on which they ſeized him, and with cords which they brought with them, bound him to a poſt in the ſtable. Being then joined by five other men, they proceeded to Mr. Whiffin's houſe, which was at a ſmall diſtance from the ſtable; and meeting with Mrs. Whiffin, they gave her ſeveral violent blows with their bludgeons, wounded her very ſeverely, ſeized two maid-ſervants, who were the only perſons at that time in the houſe with Mrs. Whiffin, and tied cloths over their faces. —Two men remained with them, armed with piſtols, with which they threatened to ſhoot them, if they cried out, or attempted to ſtir. Two others alſo, armed, kept watch at the door. The other three rifled the houſe, and, after remaining in it upwards of an hour, went away, carrying with them a great quantity of plate, and other articles of value to a conſiderable amount.

7th. This evening, a few minutes before ſeven o'clock, a fire broke out at Mr. Turner's, grocer, in Newgate-ſtreet, at the back of Newgate-market, which burnt with great fury for near two hours: but the engines being extremely well ſupplied with water, and the firemen very ready in giving their aſſiſtance, the fire was extinguiſhed without doing any further damage than conſuming the grocer's houſe, and a butcher's ſhop at the back of it.

A melancholy accident lately happened in the neighbourhood of Plymouth:

mouth: Mr. W. Good and his daughter, croſſing a ford in the pariſh of Buckland, on one horſe, the water being deep, the horſe loſt his legs, by which means the young woman fell off the horſe, and the father, endeavouring to ſave his daughter, fell into the ford, and both were unfortunately drowned.

8th. *Florence.* Yeſterday a proclamation was iſſued, notifying the Emperor's entire ceſſion of Tuſcany to his Royal Highneſs the Arch-Duke Ferdinand; and, at the ſame time, the firſt order of his royal highneſs, as great Duke of Tuſcany, confirming all the laws and regulations now exiſting; and continuing the regency, and all perſons, civil and military, in their employments. Upon this occaſion there was a diſcharge of all the guns of the citadel.

9th. This morning Mr. Walter was liberated from his confinement in Newgate, in conſequence of receiving his majeſty's moſt gracious pardon, at the inſtance of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, after an impriſonment of near ſixteen months; of which period one year was the ſentence of the court on the proſecution of the duke of York.

The full term of his ſentence was two years, with fines and ſecurities.

14th. Lately at Glaſgow, while a merchant in King-ſtreet was counting ſome money and bank-notes on the counter, a ſtaff or ſmall rod, over-laid with bird-lime, was ſuddenly thruſt in at the door, which having touched the notes, two of them were thereby carried off, and before the merchant could get out of the ſhop, the ingenious actor had made his eſcape.

22d. A genteel man went into the ſhop of Meſſrs. Willerton and Green, the corner of Conduit-ſtreet, New Bond-ſtreet, he looked at ſeveral articles of jewellery, and ſaying that he was recommended by his friend the Marquis of Saliſbury, who actually deals at that ſhop, he ordered a pair of diamond ear-rings, a diamond necklace, and a gold watch ſet round with brilliants, to be ſent to Lord Maſſey, at half paſt four, in St. James's Place.

Mr. Green carried the articles, which in value amounted to upwards of ſeven hundred pounds. The pretended Lord Maſſey agreed to take them, and preſented for payment a draught for £. 1400, purporting to be drawn by Lord Tankerville on Meſſrs. Coutts and Co. bankers. The balance, Mr. Green ſaid, he had not about him; and Lord Maſſey obſerved, that it was of no conſequence, as he muſt have proper caſes for the jewels before he could preſent them to the lady; he therefore begged Mr. Green to bring ſuch caſes, and the difference or the bill, as ſoon as convenient, ſaying he might leave the jewels.

When Mr. Green went from St. James's Place, it was too late to go to Coutts's; but as he had no doubts of the bill, he went home and prepared the caſes immediately.

On Wedneſday morning he called again, but no Lord Maſſey was to be found. Mr. Green then began to entertain ſome fears, and went to the houſe of Meſſrs. Coutts, where he was informed that Lord Tankerville kept no money, and that the bill might be preſumed to be a forgery. He then went to Lord Tankerville, who aſſured him that it was a forgery.

25th.

25th. A proclamation was iſſued for encouraging ſeamen and landmen to enter themſelves on board his Majeſty's ſhips of war, viz. three pounds for every able ſeaman, forty ſhillings for every ordinary ſeaman, and twenty ſhillings for every able landman.

30th. By an account of the expences already incurred on the ſettlement of New South Wales, it appears that the grand total, to Feb. 1791, amounted to the ſum of £. 256,676, including the out-fit of his Majeſty's ſhips.

The Chevalier de Bienenberg, of Prague, has lately diſcovered a method of effectually preſerving trees in bloſſom from the fatal effects of thoſe froſts, which ſometimes in the ſpring deſtroy the moſt promiſing hopes of a plentiful crop of fruit. His method is extremely ſimple. He ſurrounds the trunk of the tree in bloſſom with a wiſp of ſtraw, or hemp. The end of this he ſinks, by means of a ſtone tied to it, in a veſſel of ſpring water, at a little diſtance from the tree. One veſſel will conveniently ſerve two trees; or the cord may be lengthened ſo as to ſurround ſeveral before its end is plunged into the water. It is neceſſary that the veſſel be placed in an open ſituation, and by no means ſhaded by the branches of the neighbouring tree, that the froſt may produce all its effect on the water, by means of the cord communicating with it.—This precaution is particularly neceſſary for thoſe trees the flowers of which appear nearly at the ſame time as the leaves; which trees are peculiarly expoſed to the ravages of the froſt.

This method is unqueſtionably ſingular, and may exerciſe the ſagacity of thoſe philoſophers who ſeek to explain every thing. But the plain man, who demands facts in preference, will be ſatisfied with knowing, that the Chevalier de Bienenberg has not publiſhed it, till he found it confirmed by repeated experience. The proofs of its efficacy, which he had an opportunity of obſerving in the ſpring of 1787, were remarkably ſtriking. Seven apricot eſpaliers in his garden began to bloſſom in the month of March. Fearing that they would ſuffer from the late froſts, he ſurrounded them with cords as above directed. In effect, pretty ſharp froſts took place ſix or eight nights: the apricot-trees in the neighbouring gardens were all frozen, and none of them produced any fruit, whilſt each of the Chevalier's produced fruit in abundance, which came to the greateſt perfection.

To ſatisfy himſelf of the effects of his preſervative, the Chevalier de Bienenberg placed veſſels of water here and there, in the neighbourhood of thoſe which communicated with the cords ſurrounding the trees: the ice in the former was not thicker than a ſtraw, whilſt in the latter it was the thickneſs of a finger. Hence he infers, that the cords conveyed the cold from the trees to the water. Though this explanation may not be ſatisfactory to the philoſopher, the fact is nevertheleſs inconteſtible.

Mr. Jeze, Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Mathematics in the Academy of Liegnitz, has a high opinion of the method of the Chevalier de Bienenberg; which, however, he does not conſider as abſolutely new; ſomething of the ſame kind, but in a more clumſy manner, and mingled with a ſpice of ſuperſtition, being practiſed in Lower Saxony. On

Eaſter-eve the peaſants make a particular kind of cakes, which they ſet to cool on ſtraw. When the cakes are cold, they make cords of the ſtraw, which they bind round the trunks of their fruit-trees, taking care to let one end hang down to the ground. This end they cover with the firſt ſnow that falls; and are firmly perſuaded, that the virtue which the ſtraw has received from their Eaſter-eve cakes will prove an effectual charm againſt the power of froſt.

DIED.—2d, of a gradual decay, in his 88th year, the Rev. John Weſley, M. A. This extraordinary man was born in June 1703, at Epworth, a village in Lincolnſhire, of which place his father, Samuel Weſley, was rector; a man much reſpected for piety and learning; as were his other ſons, the Rev. Samuel and Charles Weſley, now deceaſed. He was entered a ſcholar of the Charter-houſe about 1713, where he continued for ſeven years under the inſtruction of the celebrated Dr. Walker, and Mr. Andrew Tooke, author of "The Pantheon," and contemporary with Dr. Kenrick Preſcot, late maſter of Catherine Hall, Cambridge. Being elected to Lincoln College, Oxford, he became there a fellow about 1725; took the degree of M. A. in 1726; and was joint tutor with the late rector, Dr. Hutchins. During his reſidence there, he was equally diſtinguiſhed by application and abilities; but what chiefly characteriſed him, even at the early age of 26, was piety. By reading the works of the famous William Law, he, his brother Charles, and a few young friends, entered into that ſtrict courſe of life which marks their SECT at the preſent day. They received the ſacrament every week; obſerved all the faſts of the church; viſited priſons; roſe at four o'clock, and partook of no amuſements. From the exact method in which they diſpoſed of each hour, they acquired the nick-name of METHODISTS. In 1735 they embarked for Georgia, in order to convert the Indians, and returned to England in 1737. In 1738 he viſited, at Hernhuth in Germany, Count Zinzendorff, the chief of the Moravians. In the following year we find him again in England, and, with his brother Charles, at the head of the Methodiſts. He preached his firſt *field ſermon* at Briſtol, on the 2d of April, 1738. In 1741 a ſerious altercation took place between him and Mr. Whitfield. In 1744, attempting to preach at a public inn at Taunton, he was regularly ſilenced by the magiſtrates. Though he remained the reſt of his days nearer home, he traveſſed through every part of England, Scotland, and Ireland, eſtabliſhing congregations in each kingdom. In 1750 he married a lady, from whom he afterwards parted, and ſhe died in 1781; by her he had no children. He had been gradually declining for about three years paſt; yet he ſtill roſe at four o'olock, and preached, travelled, and wrote, as uſual. He preached at Leatherhead on the Wedneſday (Feb. 23) before his death. On the Friday following, the firſt ſymptoms of his approaching diſſolution appeared. The four ſucceeding days he ſpent in praiſing God, and departed on the Wedneſday morning. His remains, after lying in his tabernacle in a kind of ſtate, dreſſed in the gown and caſſock, band, &c. which he uſually wore, and on his head the old clerical

cal cap, a Bible in one hand, and a white handkerchief in the other, were, agreeably to his own directions, and after the manner of the interment of the late Mr. Whitfield, depoſited in a piece of ground near his chapel at the Foundry, Moorfields, on the morning of the 9th inſtant, in the plaineſt manner conſiſtent with decency. A ſermon, previouſly to the funeral, was preached by Thomas Whitehead, M. D. (one of the phyſicians to the London Hoſpital), accompanied with ſuitable hymns, &c. And on the 13th, the different chapels in his connexion in London were hung with black.—His perſonal influence was greater than, perhaps, that of any other private gentleman in any country. It is computed that in the three kingdoms there are 80,000 members of this ſociety. He viſited them alternately; travelled 8000 miles every year; preached three or four times conſtantly in one day; roſe at four, and employed all his time in reading, writing, attending the ſick, and arranging the various parts of this numerous body of people.

4th, aged 113, Anna Green, a pauper, of the town of Sprotborough.

Lately at Kenſington, in his 98th year, John Henry Lydius, Baron de Quade, of Dutch extraction, but born at Albany in North America, in the year 1694, where his family were poſſeſſed of conſiderable landed property under the original grant from James the firſt, among others, to his anceſtors, who went there in the capacity of a miſſionary to convert the Indians to the chriſtian religion. He could ſpeak all the different languages (or rather provincial dialects) of all the Indian tribes, the Cherokees, the Chactaws, the Catabaws, &c.

At Little Onn, in Staffordſhire, aged 104, Catherine Harvey. She has left a ſiſter in the ſame pariſh, now in good health, aged 102.

At Inch Keith, a ſmall iſland on the north weſt coaſt of the highlands of Scotland, Archibald Cameron, aged 122. He had ſerved ſeven Lords of the Iſle in the employment of domeſtic piper, during the courſe of 94 years; but his fingers at laſt failing, he lived on a penſion allowed him by the family.

At Wood Ditton, near Newmarket, aged 100, Mary Smith, widow. She had celebrated her centenary a few days before.

APRIL.

5th. The diſpatches from the Cape of Good Hope for government, which had been forwarded with the utmoſt expedition, and which were under the care of Mr. Rattray, were unfortunately loſt, and never heard of ſince.

The men who were ſaved remained on a large rock, with the ſea every moment waſhing over them, from twelve o'clock at night till eight in the morning.

Mr. Rattray had the diſpatches with him on the rock, but was obliged to let the papers go, to preſerve his life.

6th. At the quarter-ſeſſions for Weſtminſter, a chimney-ſweeper, named Gay, was tried, on the proſecution of the pariſh of Covent-Garden, for cruelty to his apprentice. It appeared, that the boy was bound apprentice to the defendant by the pariſh of St. Mar-

tin, in January 1790. Before he had ſerved two months, the defendant tied his hands and legs with a cord, and fixed him to a ſtaple; after which he ſtript him almoſt naked, and beat him violently with rods and a thong whip. This treatment was ſeveral times repeated; and in conſequence of it the boy loſt the uſe of his right arm. At one time, he beat him with a ſtick, and tore his ears in a cruel manner. The only reaſon uſually alledged by the defendant for his ſeverity was, that the boy did not do work enough in the mornings. The defendant called ſeveral witneſſes, who gave him a good character, and ſaid the boy was obſtinate and incorrigible. The jury found him guilty, and the court ſentenced him to ſix months impriſonment, and directed the apprentice to be diſcharged.

A cauſe was brought forward at Lancaſter aſſizes, againſt a clergyman for ſeducing the daughter of a reſpectable farmer on pretence of marriage. Several circumſtances were proved in evidence that conſiderably aggravated the offence. The jury therefore gave a verdict with 500l. damages.

10th. During divine ſervice, a fire broke out at Burbage, Wilts, which conſumed a farm-houſe, with the appurtenances, and nine tenements inhabited by poor perſons, who loſt their all, had no home to go to, and were reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. It was occaſioned by the careleſſneſs of a woman in throwing hot aſhes upon ſome looſe ſtraw.

16th. *Florence.* On Saturday evening laſt their Royal Highneſſes the great duke and dutcheſs made their public entry into this capital, in a ſtate coach, drawn by ſix horſes, paſſing under a triumphal arch, beautifully illuminated, and ſituated cloſe to the gate of the city; followed by his imperial majeſty and the king and queen of Naples, in a ſecond coach, and attended by the nobility and people of the firſt diſtinction of the court. In their way to the palace they were accompanied by an immenſe concourſe of people, and the houſes in the ſtreet through which they paſſed were illuminated. The king of Naples ſet out for Leghorn on the 14th inſt.

Yeſterday two men were convicted at the Old Bailey, viz. Edward Pritchard, for the murder of Martha his wife, by beating her on the head, and divers parts of her body, with a ſtick; and Charles Taylor, for the murder of Winifred his wife, by cutting her in the belly, arms, thighs, and other parts of her body, with a razor. Both of them received judgment to be hanged on Monday, and afterwards to be anatomiſed.

17th. William Henry Clark, alias Lowins, for robbing the mail, was found guilty at Cheſter aſſizes, and on Thurſday he was executed. It was reported that he was poſſeſſed of property to the amount of £. 2000 and upwards. This daring fellow has ſince been gibbeted on the lofty hill of Helſby, about 7 miles from Cheſter. The expence of proſecuting and bringing him to conviction is ſaid to coſt government more than £. 1500.

18th. Was launched, at Blackwall, the Diligence, a new ſhip intended for diſcoveries, under the command of Capt. Bligh, late of the Bounty. She is to be accompanied by a brig; and, after landing at Botany Bay, they are to proceed

to Otaheite, in purſuit of the mutineers, and to endeavour to bring the bread-fruit to be cultivated in the Weſt Indies.

19th. The Seſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when judgment of death was paſſed upon the following capital convicts, viz. James Kelſey, George Allett, Jane Sharp, John Smith, Thomas Chaſeland, Joſeph Druce, Thomas Cawſey, alias Cauſor, John Ryan, alias George King, William Jones, and Robert Jones.

One was ſentenced to be tranſported for the term of 14 years, and 41 for ſeven years.

The plague juſt ſubſided at Conſtantinople, has been ſucceeded by a dreadful fire that has conſumed immenſe private property.

25th. M. de Flurieu, the Miniſter of the Marine Department, informed the National Aſſembly of France, that the lateſt accounts from St. Domingo were moſt alarming; that the troops ſent from France to quell the rebellion had become parties in it; and that M. de Mauduit, who had received the thanks of the Aſſembly for his conduct, had been beheaded by the grenadiers of his regiment.

This day, at a full meeting of the principal inhabitants of Ipſwich, an order was made that no relief ſhould be granted to any pauper who keeps a dog.

30th. About two o'clock, a moſt dreadful fire broke out in a houſe in Blakeley-ſtreet, Manchester, which in a ſhort time reduced the ſame to a ſhell, and did conſiderable damage to ſeveral houſes adjoining. This unfortunate accident is ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned by ſome cloaths being left to dry before the fire, as the family had been ironing the evening preceding. The fire had got to ſuch a head, that the outſide window-ſhutters were burning when it was firſt diſcovered; and, being in the dead of night, it was ſome time before the family were appriſed of their danger. Of nine perſons who inhabited the houſe, only four were ſaved, viz. John Stockton, the occupier, who eſcaped out of the window, with two of his children; and his wife's ſiſter, who broke her leg in making her eſcape in the ſame manner. It was ſome time before the bodies of the ſufferers were found; and, when diſcovered, the youngeſt child was at the breaſt of the mother, and two others clinging round her neck; but the fire had burnt them ſo dreadfully, that it was ſcarcely poſſible to diſcover whether they were human, the heads and legs having been burnt off. Not a ſingle article of property was ſaved.

The monument erected at Hanover to the memory of Leibnitz is completed, and coſt upwards of 5105 dollars. As the ſubſcription amounted but to 4799 dollars, the king of England contributed the difference.

Banghurſt, Hampſhire. A girl of 13 years of age and her miſtreſs have been committed to the county gaol on the confeſſion of the former, for the murder of the ſon-in-law of the latter, a ſprightly child of four years of age. The ſtep-mother obſerving a particular attention paid to the child, perſuaded the girl when ſhe put him to bed to place him between the feather-bed and mattraſs, and when he cried out, to ſtop his mouth, which ſhe did, and left him. The girl, ſome little time after this horrid act, was ſo

troubled in mind, that ſhe revealed the whole tranſaction.

By the publication of a late deciſion of the court of king's bench, other litigious ſuits of the ſame kind may be prevented. A juſtice of peace had made an order for the payment of a weekly ſum to a woman for her child. The church-wardens and overſeers of Shelfe, in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, diſobeyed this order, becauſe the woman refuſed to go into the workhouſe. For this they were indicted: and at the trial before Mr. Juſtice Buller, at the laſt York aſſizes, a verdict was taken for the proſecutor, ſubject to the opinion of the court of king's bench. Lord Kenyon and the court have ſince eſtabliſhed this verdict: and that the perſon for whom the relief is aſked is the only individual liable to be ſent to the workhouſe; for that it would be contrary to every principle of humanity, if, becauſe one child ſhould want relief, a whole family, perhaps of five or more, ſhould be liable to be ſent to the workhouſe.

Among numerous other eccentricities in the will of the Rev. Mr. Wood, late of Ruſpur, in Suſſex, are the following:—On the day of his funeral he requeſted that the pariſh ringers might begin ringing a peal early in the morning, and continue ſo to do till his corpſe was removed into the ſtreet, when they ſhould chime to the church-door, and then toll till the attendant clergyman thought proper to read the burial ſervice; and that the ſingers ſhould chaunt before the corpſe, from his houſe to the church-yard. He bequeathed 3000l. to be diſtributed to 30 poor men, at the diſcretion of his executors. To perſons who had borrowed money of him to the amount of 100l. or upwards, he gave a ſtock hundred in the three per cents.; to perſons having borrowed leſs than 100l. ſix months intereſt; and to his houſekeeper, for the ſupport of a favourite dog, 3l. per ann. during the dog's life.

Died.—At Paris, April 2d. the celebrated count de Mirabeau; on account of whoſe death M. Bailly, the mayor of Paris, ordered the play-houſes, and all the places of amuſement, to be ſhut up for three days.

19th, in St. Thomas's Square, Hackney, in his 68th year, Dr. Richard Price, paſtor of a diſſenting congregation at Hackney. "If (exclaims the author of a high eulogy on his piety and abilities, in a periodical publication) we ſhould ſay, that the Doctor deeply felt the ſarcaſtic ſeverity, with which Mr. Burke treated him in a late celebrated work, we ſhould not perhaps be very wide of the truth; but the *apparent* cauſe of his diſſolution, on opening his body, ſeemed to be a ſuppreſſion of urine."

Lately at Ripon, aged 100, Bartholomew Rymer, game keeper to Sir Bellingham Graham, Bart. of Norton Conyers. He ſhot game flying in his 99th year.

MAY.

Warſaw, The new conſtitution has juſt paſſed in the Diet, 3d. by which the Elector of Saxony is declared immediate ſucceſſor to the throne of Poland; after whoſe demiſe his daughter is to inherit; and the choice of her huſband, if ſhe marries, is to be decided by the ſtates. After this conſtitution had paſſed, the king, attended by the marſhals of the Diet, and a great number

number of the members, went to the cathedral, and took an oath to maintain it.

4th. Many of the troops ſent out for the purpoſe of quelling the diſturbances in the French colonies have joined the diſaffected party, and committed great exceſſes. One of the regiments, commanded by colonel Mauduit, had no ſooner landed than they deſerted their colours, and joined the reſt. In this ſituation they thought proper to call to mind a diſturbance that had formerly happened among the people, which the colonel had employed them to quell: and formed a determination to compel him to diſavow his fealty to the national aſſembly, or deprive him of life. In this frame of mind the officer was led to the ſcene of the former action, and there preſſed to a compliance with their demands, which he peremptorily refuſed. They urged, and threatened in vain. Firm in his opinion, the colonel, firſt taking the croſs of St. Louis from his boſom and giving it to a ſoldier, and then breaking his ſword in two, told the men that his honour was in his own keeping, his life was in their hands; and baring his breaſt, he added, that his determination was fixed, and they might uſe their pleaſure. At this moment a multitude exclaimed, *Coupe!* and in an inſtant a ſoldier ſevered his head with a ſabre, while another pierced his body through with a bayonet. Thus fell an officer of tried bravery and good conduct, and who, but a few ſhort weeks before, had been crowned with laurel, as the true friend and defender of the colony.

6th. Yeſterday, John Seaton, eſq. treaſurer of the Weſt Riding of the county of York, gave in the following ſtatement of the woollen manufactory for that diſtrict, from the 25th of March 1790 to the 25th of March 1791, viz. —Narrow cloth, 154,373 pieces, 4,797,594 yards; increaſed 13,966 pieces, 215,472 yards. Broad cloth, 187,569 pieces, 5,815,079 yards; increaſed 14,981 pieces, 663,402 yards.

14th. Advices received from the Eaſt Indies, by the Princeſs Royal Indiaman, dated January 9, 1791, ſay, that on the 17th of December, general Abercromby had forced a detachment of Tippoo Sultan, amounting to 5000 men, to ſurrender; that he had taken the fortreſſes of Cannanore, Biliapatam, and Nurrcarow; that by theſe ſucceſſes he had taken 34 ſtand of colours, 68 pieces of cannon, and near 5000 ſtand of arms, beſides ammunition, military ſtores, and grain; and that lieutenant-colonel Hartley had taken poſſeſſion of Firickabad, after having diſperſed the corps oppoſed to him at Firerugarry.

19th. The adjourned ſeſſions were held at the ſeſſions-houſe in the Old Bailey, before the Recorder, Sheriffs, Sir William Plomer, and Brook Watſon, Eſq; when the priſoners, who were capitally convicted, and received ſentence of death, but have been reſpited during the royal pleaſure, were put to the bar. His Majeſty's letter was read to them, ſetting forth, that his Majeſty had extended to them his moſt gracious pardon, on condition of their being tranſported to New South Wales during their natural lives, which they all thankfully accepted, and received that ſentence accordingly.

Elizabeth Cummings, convicted in July ſeſſions 1789, was next put to

the bar, and the royal clemency offered her, on the above conditions; which ſhe rejected, declaring *ſhe would rather die, than accept of mercy on thoſe terms!* The Recorder then, in a moſt pathetic ſpeech, addreſſed her, which had no effect, till ſhe was put in a dark cell by herſelf; when ſhe ſoon relented, and prayed for mercy.

27th. The following caſe was argued and determined in the court of King's Bench:

The plaintiff, an officer on half-pay, in want of money, applied to a money-lender, who, on the uſual aſſignment of his half-pay, regiſtered at the pay-office of the army, advanced the money required. When two half-years became due, the plaintiff, notwithſtanding the aſſignment, as above, made a demand of his half-pay from the paymaſters general, who refuſed to pay it; and upon this refuſal he brought his action upon the caſe to recover it. The action was tried at the ſittings after Hilary Term, before Lord Kenyon, and a verdict found for the plaintiff, with liberty for the defendant's counſel to move for a new trial. After many learned arguments, and caſes cited as precedents, the court were clearly of opinion, That an officer's half-pay, being allowed by the public for the purpoſe of maintaining gentlemen in the navy and army until the neceſſities of the ſtate required their ſervices, neither equity, good conſcience, policy, nor law, would permit them to ſell or aſſign their daily bread.

28th. At midnight, a dreadful fire broke out at Mrs. Sutton's, the Chequer public-houſe in Marſh-ſtreet, Walthamſtow, occaſioned by the maid going into a cloſet of linen with a lighted candle, which in a ſhort time entirely deſtroyed that houſe and two others adjoining, occupied by a baker, and a ſchool. Happily no lives were loſt.

30th. A deſperate attempt was laſt night made by the priſoners in the King's Bench priſon to eſcape. Much damage was done to the inſide part of the priſon; and the outer gate would ſoon have been forced but for the ſpeedy arrival of two troops of horſe, followed by a party of foot-guards, who went within the walls, and drew up before the priſon, where every remonſtrance and perſuaſion being uſed to pacify the rioters, the majority of the priſoners at length retired to their rooms, and the riot was fortunately quelled before eleven o'clock without bloodſhed.

DIED.—At Dublin, May 12th, in his 52d year, in an apoplectic fit, Francis Groſe, Eſq; F. S. A. of London and Perth, and captain in the Surrey militia. He was the author of "The Antiquities of England, Wales, and Scotland," and ſeveral other celebrated publications.

Lately, at Malpas, near Newport, Rebecca Joſeph, in the 101ſt year of her age. She retained all her faculties to the laſt, and till within about three years of her deceaſe could walk from 10 to 15 miles a day without the help of a ſtick.

JUNE.

1ſt. The attorney general moved, *ex officio*, the court of King's Bench for an order that Richard Pinckarton and ſeventeen others ſhould be removed out of the King's Bench priſon to other places of

of confinement. Many of them, he ſaid, had been ſo active in the inſurrection, that, when the court ſhould have heard the facts, they would, he believed, ſend them to Newgate. He then related in brief the circumſtances, that on Monday night the 29th of May, ſeveral of the priſoners aſſembled, and one of them, of the name of Nugent, ſtuck up a paper, intimating that the committee of the Houſe of Commons could not be able to afford them any relief this ſeſſion. On which a tumult aroſe, that endangered the ſafety of the priſon. In this ſituation John Carey, who appeared to be a leader, addreſſed the priſoners, ſaying, "Now is the time! if you do not exert yourſelves, you are loſt for ever!"—This being often repeated, the tumult increaſed, and it became neceſſary to apply for a military force. The attorney general made no doubt but the court would make an order for the immediate removal of the principal offenders, as deſired. The affidavits of the marſhal and his deputy were then read; by which it appeared, that after taking one of them into cuſtody, the following bill was ſtuck up in the priſon:

"Should there be any tumult in this place, occaſioned by the extreme provocation of the lobby people, and the indignation naturally excited by the detention of Mr. Pinckarton, it is hoped there will be no priſoner on the parade who will not ſtand his ground.—There are many who will."

Lord Kenyon agreed with the opinion of the attorney general, that the caſe was urgent; and that the different perſons mentioned in the affidavits of the marſhal and his aſſiſtants ſhould be diſpoſed of as mentioned by the attorney general, as ſoon as poſſible. If afterwards any of them appear to be aggrieved by this order, they may, by application to the court, be diſcharged.

At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, a dreadful fire broke out at Mr. Sanders's patent axletree manufactory in Chambers-ſtreet, near Roſemary-lane, Goodman's-fields, which entirely deſtroyed that, the timber-yard of Mr. Maxtoke, who was out of town, and thirteen houſes, and was with difficulty reſtrained from breaking out afreſh a day or two after. The damage was eſtimated at thirty thouſand pounds. The want of water at firſt was ſupplied by beer from a large adjoining ſtorehouſe. 4th.

Humphrey Bellamy, Eſq. of Ewell, Surrey, and a lady, going to that place in a poſt-chaiſe, were ſtopped, near the twelve mile ſtone on the Epſom road, at ten at night, by three foot-pads, who robbed them of two gold watches and other valuable effects, and a conſiderable ſum of money; and, dragging them both out, cut and wounded Mr. B. in a moſt cruel, wanton, and dangerous manner, beſides firing a piſtol, which burſt in pieces. 6th.

The ſame evening, on the ſame ſpot, theſe villains robbed Mr. Hutchinſon, clerk of Brewers-hall, and Mr. Ellis, of Whetſtone, ſurveyor, and beat and bruiſed the latter with the butt-end of their piſtols as he ſat in the chaiſe, beſides cutting at him with a hanger.

Turin. A diſpute has lately taken place in this capital, between the ſtudents of the univerſity and the police, which, from the prudent conduct of the government, has fortunately ſubſided with- 11th.

out

out any bad conſequence. It was occaſioned by the arreſt of one of the ſtudents on a miſtaken charge; in conſequence of which the other members of the univerſity inſiſted on the officer aſking pardon publicly. This not being complied with, the ſtudents aſſembled in conſiderable numbers, and proceeded to ſome acts of violence. The troops having been drawn out, and the officer who had executed the arreſt having aſked pardon, the tumult ſubſided without any further conſequences.

15th. The ſummit of the hills in Kent and Suſſex, on Sunday morning laſt, were covered with hoar froſt and whitened with ſnow. Ice of the thickneſs of a ſhilling was ſeen in many places.

17th. The ſociety for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, have given a reward of twenty guineas to Mr. Lockett, of Donnington, near Newbury, for making twenty-five yards of cloth from hop-ſtalks.

DIED.—17th, at her houſe in the Spa-fields, near London, in her 84th year, the Right Hon. Selina Counteſs-dowager of Huntingdon. She was born Aug. 13, 1707, and was the ſecond daughter, and one of the three coheireſſes, of Waſhington ſecond Earl Ferrers; was married June 3, 1728, to Theophilus Earl of Huntingdon, by whom ſhe had iſſue four ſons and three daughters, of whom the Counteſs of Moira is the only ſurvivor. Her ladyſhip had been a widow 45 years; and ſo long has a fine buſt of her, by Kent, been placed on the tomb of her deceaſed lord, at Aſhby-de-la-Zouch, in the county of Leiceſter, where, by her will, ſhe has directed her own remains (dreſſed in the ſuit of white ſilk which ſhe wore at the opening of a chapel in Goodman's-fields) to be depoſited, in as plain a manner as poſſible; the coffin to be covered with black, and the officiating clergyman (Mr. Jones, of the Spa-fields chapel) to receive 10l. for his trouble. Her very great religious concerns, as head of a very numerous ſect in Great Britain and Ireland, are left by will in the hands of committees for managing them in both kingdoms.

23d, at Binfield, Berks, after a long and painful illneſs, Mrs. Catharine Macaulay Graham, the hiſtorian. This lady had the misfortune not only in a great degree to outlive the reſpect of the public, but to witneſs the mortifying removal of that celebrated monument, which was erected in the church of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, by her once doating admirer, the late Dr. Wilſon, to perpetuate her literary reputation.

Lately, Mrs. Buchan, the leader of a few deluded people, who for a time reſided in the neighbourhood of Thorntonhill, near Dumfries. Her followers were greatly reduced in number; but Mr. White, once a relief-miniſter, continued till her laſt. Finding ſhe was going the way of all the earth, ſhe called her diſciples together, and exhorted them to continue ſtedfaſt and unanimous in their adherence to the doctrine which they had received from her. She then told them, ſhe had ſtill one ſecret to communicate; which was, that ſhe was the Virgin Mary, the real mother of our Lord; that ſhe was the ſame woman mentioned in the Revelations as being cloathed with the ſun, &c. who was driven into the wilderneſs: that ſhe had been

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wandering in the world ever ſince our Saviour's days, and for ſome time paſt ſhe had ſojourned in Scotland: that though here ſhe appeared to die, they needed not to be diſcouraged, for ſhe would only ſleep a little, and in a ſhort time would again viſit them, and conduct them to the New Jeruſalem. After ſhe died, it was a long time before her enthuſiaſtic votaries would ſtraighten or dreſs the corpſe; nor did they coffin her until they were obliged thereto by the ſmell; and after that, they would not bury her, but built up the coffin in a corner of the barn, always expecting that ſhe would riſe again from the dead, according to her promiſe, and conduct them to Jeruſalem. At laſt, the people in the country around, ſhocked with theſe proceedings, interfered, went to a juſtice of the peace, and got an order that ſhe ſhould be buried.

At Kirkby-Lonſdale, within the ſpace of one week, the three following perſons, whoſe ages together amount to 290 years; viz. Elizabeth Bell, widow, aged 97; John Preſton (the oldeſt freeman of the borough of Lancaſter, on record, at the time of his death) in his 97th year; and Elizabeth Taylor, widow, aged 97. There is a ſtriking ſingularity in the circumſtance of three people, reſiding in the ſame town, departing at the ſame period, and after attaining to nearly the ſame great age.

At Saliſbury, aged 101, the widow Poor.

JULY.

1ſt. *Edinburgh.* At the Court of Seſſion, Lord Eſkgrove, as ordinary in the outer-houſe, this day decided a cauſe of a curious nature. A young lady had betrothed herſelf to a merchant in Aberdeen; the marriage-day was ſet, a houſe taken and furniſhed, ſervants hired, and the lady furniſhed with her marriage-ring. In the courſe of a long epiſtolary correſpondence, ſhe manifeſted the ſtrongeſt attachment and moſt inviolable fidelity to him; but of a ſudden changed her mind, and married another. Feeling the diſappointment, her former lover brought an action of damages againſt her and her huſband. Before it came into court, the lady died. The action was, however, inſiſted on againſt the ſurviving huſband; but the Lord Ordinary, after a full hearing, in the courſe of which there was much humour and ability diſplayed, *diſmiſſed* the action. His Lordſhip was clearly of opinion, that, till the moment of the marriage ceremony, it was in the power of the lady to recede. Though her letters contained the ſtrongeſt effuſions of love towards the purſuer, and even a direct promiſe of marriage, yet they at the ſame time ſhewed that her friends were againſt the connection, and that all their intimacy had been carried on in the moſt ſecret manner. His Lordſhip therefore conſidered, that any man who endeavours to inveigle a young woman into a clandeſtine marriage, and a marriage againſt the conſent of her friends, was guilty of an immoral act; conſequently, not entitled to maintain an action of damage, when his intentions were fruſtrated by a returning ſenſe of duty upon the part of the lady.

Ewell. A powder-mill belonging to Mr. Bridges, near 5th. this

this place, blew up; by which accident four men loſt their lives. The bodies were ſo mutilated by the exploſion, that they could not be diſtinguiſhed from each other. The head of one of them was thrown to a very conſiderable diſtance.

6th. Mary Doran was brought up to receive the judgment of the court for ſetting her houſe on fire. She was ſentenced to be impriſoned two years in Newgate, and afterwards to find ſecurity for her good behaviour for five years; herſelf in 100l. and two ſureties in 50l. each.

Same day the following malefactors were brought out of Newgate, and executed according to their ſentences, viz. William Brown and John Dawſon, for robbing Mr. Maddocks, at the bottom of Highgate-hill, of ſeventeen guineas and a half, &c.—William Bates, Edward Gilletkey, and Stephen Mackaway, for aſſaulting Robert Adair, Eſq; Amelia Briſtow, and Elizabeth Dundas, on the highway, at Edmonton, and robbing them of a gold watch, a ten pound bank-note, and twenty guineas.—Joſeph Wood, aged fourteen, and Thomas Underwood, aged fifteen, for aſſaulting William Beedle, a lad twelve years of age, and robbing him of a bag, containing a jacket, a ſhirt, and waiſtcoat, and five-pence in halfpence, near Salt Petre Bank;—and Iſabella Stewart, for ſtealing, in the dwelling-houſe of Mr. Goodman, in the Strand, a fifty pound bank-note, and twenty-one guineas, the property of Elizabeth Morgan.

12th. An unfortunate *rencontre* took place this morning upon Blackheath, between Mr. Graham, an eminent ſpecial pleader, of the Temple, and Mr. Julius, a pupil in the office of Meſſ. Grahams, attornies, of Lincoln's-Inn, who are brothers of the former.

The parties had dined together, at the houſe of Mr. Black, the ſurveyor, upon Epping Foreſt, on Sunday; and, after dinner, having drunk freely, the latter expreſſing ſome free opinions concerning religion, much abrupt language paſſed between them. They were reconciled, however, on that day, and returned to town in the ſame carriage.

On Monday they met again, after dinner, at the chambers of Mr. Graham, Lincoln's-Inn, the brother of the deceaſed, where the diſpute was unfortunately renewed, though apparently without malignity. No challenge was given that night; but in the enſuing morning the deceaſed called upon Mr. Julius for an apology for ſome expreſſions; which being refuſed, they went out together, Mr. Graham attended by Mr. Ellis, and Mr. Julius by Mr. Maxwell.

A pupil of an eminent ſurgeon accompanied them to Blackheath, where Mr. Graham fell by a ſhot which paſſed almoſt through the lower part of the belly. He was brought to town in a poſt-chaiſe, and the exertions of the moſt eminent of the faculty were in vain uſed for his relief. The ball having laid open the femoral artery, and it being impoſſible to ſtop the diſcharge of blood, he expired in the afternoon of the next day.

13th. A melancholy accident happened at Walcot, near Biſhop's Caſtle, Shropſhire. A number of workmen being employed to take down a brick wall, they undermined it, in order that it might fall; and

and ſitting down on a bench near the ſame, in order to view it, the foundation ſuddenly gave way, and the wall fell upon one Samuel Cooke, a bricklayer, and cruſhed him in ſo terrible a manner, that he expired in a ſhort time after. His father and ſeveral others narrowly eſcaped being hurt, having quitted the bench but a few ſeconds before the unfortunate young man was killed.

14th. In the court of King's Bench, an action was tried, Hopkins *verſus* Sawyer, which took up a conſiderable part of the time and attention of the court. The plaintiff, laſt ſpring, purchaſed a horſe, for thirty guineas, from the defendant, which was warranted to be ſound; but the horſe dying ſome time after the purchaſe, in conſequence of unſoundneſs, the preſent action was brought to recover his value from the defendant. The circumſtance that created peculiar difficulty in ſearching the true merits of the caſe, was the death of the farrier who had the care of the horſe after his coming into the plaintiff's poſſeſſion. It appeared, however, that the horſe was ill at the time of his delivery, and, growing worſe, ſhortly died. Two ſervants belonging to the defendant gave a teſtimony directly contrary to that of the witneſſes on behalf of the plaintiff; but Lord Kenyon partly reconciled the inconſiſtencies in favour of the plaintiff.

The Jury brought in their verdict for the plaintiff, 31l. 10s.

15th. The coroner's inqueſt ſat on the body of Mr. Graham, killed in a duel on the 13th. The jury brought in a verdict of manſlaughter againſt Mr. Julius, the principal, and acquitted the ſeconds.

21ſt. *Birmingham.* In conſequence of an advertiſement, on Thurſday the 14th inſt. upwards of 90 gentlemen met at the hotel, to commemorate the French Revolution. It is previouſly to be obſerved, that ſix copies of a ſeditious hand-bill * had been left early in the week by

* Of which the following is a copy:

"My Countrymen,

"The ſecond year of Gallic Liberty is nearly expired. At the commencement of the third, on the 14th of this month, it is devoutly to be wiſhed that every enemy to civil and religious deſpotiſm would give their ſanction to the majeſtic common cauſe, by a public celebration of the Anniverſary.

"Remember—that on the 14th of July the Baſtille, that high altar and caſtle of deſpotiſm, fell!—Remember the enthuſiaſm, peculiar to the cauſe of Liberty, with which it was attacked!—Remember that generous humanity that taught the oppreſſed, groaning under the weight of inſulted rights, to ſpare the lives of oppreſſors!—Extinguiſh the mean prejudices of nations, and let your numbers be collected, and ſent as a free-will offering to the National Aſſembly!—But is it poſſible to forget your own Parliament is venal; your Miniſter hypocritical; your Clergy legal Oppreſſors; the reigning Family extravagant; the Crown of a certain Great Perſonage becoming every day too weighty for the head that wears it—too weighty for the people that gave it; your Taxes partial and oppreſſive; your Repreſentation a cruel inſult upon the ſacred rights of Property, Religion, and Freedom?—But on the 14th of this month prove to the ſycophants of the day, that you reverence the Olive Branch; that you will ſacrifice to public tranquillity till the majority ſhall exclaim, "*The* PEACE *of Slavery is worſe than the* WAR *of Freedom!*"—Of that day let tyrants beware!"

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ſome perſon unknown in a public-houſe; for diſcovering the author, printer, or publiſher of which a reward of one hundred guineas was offered by the magiſtrates; and which having been very generally copied, cauſed no ſmall fermentation in the minds of the people. In conſequence, on Thurſday afternoon a conſiderable number of perſons gathered round the hotel, hiſſing at the gentlemen as they aſſembled; and ſubſequent to their departure (which happened two hours after) every window in the front was completely demoliſhed, notwithſtanding the perſonal appearance and interference of the magiſtrates.

The mob next attacked the New Meeting-houſe (Dr. Prieſtley's), and after trying in vain to tear up the ſeats, &c. they ſet it on fire, and nothing remains that could be conſumed.

The Old Meeting-houſe was completely emptied of pulpit, pews, &c. which were burnt in the adjoining burying-ground, and afterwards the building was levelled nearly with the ground; it being conſidered dangerous from its ſituation to ſet it on fire.

Dr. Prieſtley's houſe at Fair-hill next met a ſimilar fate, with the whole of his library, and collection of apparatus for philoſophical experiments. Here one of the rioters was killed by the falling of a cornice-ſtone.

On Friday morning the infatuated mob continued their depredations, for there was no armed force in the town, and the civil power was not ſufficient to repreſs them.

About noon they attacked and demoliſhed the elegant manſion of Mr. John Ryland (late Mr. Baſkerville's), at Eaſy-hill, where many of the rioters, who were drunk, periſhed in the cellars, either by the flames, or ſuffocation by the falling in of the roof. Six poor wretches terribly bruiſed, were got out alive, and are now in our hoſpital, and ten dead bodies have ſince been dug out of the ruins; but a man, who had remained immured in one of the vaults from the preceding Friday, worked his way out on Monday, with little injury.

This afternoon the magiſtrates, anxious to preſerve the town from further outrage until military aid could be procured, attended and ſwore in ſome hundreds as additional conſtables, who, with mop-ſtaves in their hands, marched up to Mr. Ryland's to diſperſe the mob, who at firſt gave way; but rallying, after a ſtout conflict, in which many were ſeverely wounded, the *Poſſe Comitatus* was obliged to retire, without effecting any uſeful purpoſe.

The country reſidence of John Taylor, Eſq. Bordeſley-hall, after the greateſt part of its ſplendid furniture had been demoliſhed or carried away, was ſet on fire, together with the out-offices, ſtables, ricks of hay, &c. and altogether exhibited a moſt tremendous ſcene of devaſtation.

In the night of Friday, the houſe of Mr. Hutton, in High-ſtreet, was completely ſtripped; his large ſtock of paper, his library of books, and all his furniture, deſtroyed or carried away. Fire was ſeveral times brought by a woman (women and boys were particularly active in all the depredations), but the majority of the populace, in tenderneſs to the town, would not ſuffer it to be applied.

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From Mr. Hutton's they proceeded to his country-house at Washwood-heath, about three miles from town, which, with its offices, they reduced to ashes.

Saturday morning the rioters made an attack on Mr. G. Humphreys's house at Spark-brook, but were repulsed, and one man killed; the mob, however, on a second attack carried their point, and went off after ransacking the house of all its valuable furniture, but did not burn it.

Mr. William Russell's house at Showell-Green experienced all the violence of fire and devastation.

The house of Mr. T. Hawkes, Moseley-Walk-Green, was stripped of its furniture, which was either broken to pieces or carried away.

Moseley-hall, the residence of the dowager countess of Carhampton, but the property of John Taylor, esquire; Mr. Harwood's, and Mr. Hobson's, a dissenting minister, were all on fire at once.

Lady Carhampton, who is mother to the dutchess of Cumberland, and blind, had notice on the preceding day to remove her effects, as their vengeance was not directed against her: the good old lady gave directions accordingly, and sir Robert and captain Lawley immediately attended on their noble relation, whom they accompanied in safety to Canwell, sir Robert's seat.

The whole of Saturday business was at a stand, and the shops mostly close shut up, notwithstanding the appearance of the magistrates, and several popular noblemen and gentlemen, who dispersed hand-bills, signed by themselves, exhorting them to retire peaceably, and warning them of the consequences to the county, who must reimburse the sufferers; for the reports were so vague and various of the number and the strength of the insurgents, and having no military, save a few undisciplined recruits, no force could be sent out against them. In the afternoon and evening small parties of three or five levied contributions of meat, liquor, and money, with the same indifference that they would levy parish taxes; but the night passed without interruption in the town.

On Sunday the rioters bent their course towards Kingswood, seven miles off, extorting money and liquors by the way.—There the dissenting meeting-house, and the dwelling-house of their minister, were reduced to ashes, as were the premises of Mr. Cox, farmer, at Worstock, the same day.

The reports of every hour of this day appeared calculated to excite alarm in the town, whilst depredation and extortion were committing in the surrounding villages and country seats.

Sunday night, soon after ten, three troops of the 15th regiment of light dragoons arrived, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, whose hopes and fears had been visibly depicted through the day in every countenance, as reports of the near approach of the soldiery were spread or contradicted. The town was immediately illuminated, and before morning every thing was tolerably quiet, but the rioters were still continuing their depredations in the country.

Their visits to Mr. Hunt's at Lady-wood, Mr. Coates's at the Five-ways, and Dr. Withering's Edgbaston-hall, were attended with great alarm, but not the injury reported.

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They exhauſted the cellars at each place, and received various ſums of money to prevent their proceeding to further violence, but were at the laſt-mentioned place in great force at the time the troops arrived; which they no ſooner had intimation of than they began to ſlink off in ſmall parties; and the peaſantry taking courage put the reſt to flight in various directions.

So rapid were the light-horſe in their route for the relief of this place, that they came here in one day from Nottingham, a diſtance of 59 miles, but to the great injury of their horſes, one of which, a famous old horſe, that had been in the regiment 18 years, died the following day.

On Monday three troops of the 11th regiment of dragoons came in, and Col. de Lancy to take the command.

On Tueſday there were flying rumours of depredations near Hagley, Haleſowen, &c. and in the evening certain information was received, that a party of rioters were then attacking Mr. Male's, of Belle-vue; a few of the light dragoons immediately went to his aſſiſtance; but they had been previouſly overpowered by a body of people in that neighbourhood, and ten of them are now confined at Haleſowen.

On Wedneſday the country for ten miles round was ſcoured by the light-horſe, but not one rioter to be met with, and all the manufactories are at work as if no interruption had taken place.

17th. *Paris.* On Sunday morning, in conſequence of the invitation of the clubs, a great concourſe of people aſſembled on and about the altar of liberty. Two men, one a ſoldier with a wooden leg, the other a hair-dreſſer, concealed themſelves under the altar. They had taken a couple of bottles of wine with them, and ſomething to eat. After having breakfaſted they cut a few ſmall holes through the boards, the better to ſee what was going forward at the Champ de Mars. They were perceived, and dragged by the mob to the committee of the ſection. The ſitting officers, convinced that they had no bad deſign, ordered them to the invalids; but on a ſudden it was reported *that they had matches in their pockets to ſet fire to ſome powder, and thus blow up the altar of liberty!* The two unfortunate men were immediately torn from the protection of the national guard. The firſt intention of the rabble was to hang them up on the lamp-iron; but the cord breaking, the philoſophical butchers *went to work with knives, and after having cut off their heads, ſtuck them on pikes, and carried them about the ſtreets!*

29th. This day two proclamations were iſſued from the ſecretary of ſtate's office, the one offering a reward of one hundred pounds for diſcovering and apprehending every perſon concerned in the late riots at Birmingham; and the other offering the ſame reward for diſcovering the author, printer, or publiſher of the celebrated hand-bill.

30th. A few days ſince, as a poor woman was gathering chick-weed in a field adjoining the long lane, known by the name of Cut-throat-lane, which leads from Kennington Common to Camberwell, ſhe ſuddenly perceived the body of a man upon the ground near the ditch, with his throat cut, and the blood ſtreaming near him. On his right hand lay the razor with which he

he had deſtroyed himſelf, and alſo his cravat, ſo deliberately had he done it. The poor woman's ſhrieks, at the ſight of a ſpectacle ſo horrid, ſoon brought all the labourers in the neighbouring brick-fields, and the paſſengers within hearing. On examination he appeared to be about thirty years old, well-dreſſed, in a genteel drab-coloured coat, toilenette waiſtcoat, fuſtian breeches, the late new-faſhioned blue thread ſtockings with white clocks, ſilver ſhoe and knee buckles, and in his pocket two half-guineas, four ſhillings and ſix pence in ſilver, and ſome half-pence. Having no papers about him which could lead to a diſcovery of who he was, he was taken to Lambeth bone-houſe to be owned.

On the 26th, about two o'clock in the morning, a fire broke out in the admiralty of Amſterdam; and, though every endeavour was uſed to extinguiſh it, conſumed in a few hours the whole of that fine building, and a large magazine of ſails, arms, and other ſtores, ſufficient, it is ſaid, for the equipment of thirteen ſhips of war. The cauſe of this misfortune is not yet aſcertained.

DIED—at York, in his 92d year, John Kenion, eſquire. After bequeathing ſome legacies to particular friends, he has left his fortune to charitable purpoſes; viz. 200l. to the county-hoſpital; 200l. to the blue-coat boys and grey-coat girls ſchool; and 200l. to the lunatic aſylum in that city: 200l. to the hoſpitals in Mancheſter; and the reſidue is to be applied in apprenticing poor children belonging to the town of Rochdale in Lancaſhire, his native place.

At Valencia, aged 111 years, Paſchal Seria.

At Stratford under the Caſtle, near Saliſbury, the widow Blake, aged 100.

AUGUST.

The following experiments were lately made on board a ſhip in Portſmouth harbour, by Mr. Hill, carpenter of the Active, and inventor of a machine for drawing bolts out of ſhips ſides, &c. 1ſt. he ſtopped a ſhot-hole on the outſide of the ſhip, four feet under water, in the ſpace of one minute, without aſſiſtance from any perſon out of the veſſel. 2d. He ſtopped, in the ſame manner, a ſpace in the ſhip's ſide four feet under water, of four feet by four inches, in two minutes and a half. During the time of effectually curing both leaks the ſhip made only ten inches water in the well. 3d. An experiment on the chain-pump, with a new conſtructed wheel of Mr. Hill's invention, which acts upon infinitely better principles than that at preſent in uſe, is much ſafer, leſs liable to be out of order, and will be a material ſaving to government in chains and ſaucers. 5th.

Mr. Jefferſon, the late American miniſter at the court of France, has communicated to an eminent houſe in the city a diſcovery, which, if ſanctioned by experience, will be of the utmoſt importance. A perſon near Boſton, who was a ſhip-builder, has ſolicited a patent from the United States for a mode of preſerving ſhip-timber from being worm-eaten. During the thirty years he has been a bridge-builder, he has always ſoaked ſuch timbers as were to be under water in oil, and has found this method to preſerve them ever ſince he was in that employment.

12th. The inhabitants of Birmingham, at a public meeting, voted an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for his paternal care manifeſted for their ſecurity during the late riots. They alſo voted thanks, and pieces of plate of 100 guineas value, to their juſtices; alſo thanks to the earls of Aylesford and Plymouth, Sir Robert Lawley, the honourable captain Finch, and the ſeveral other gentlemen who exerted themſelves to ſuppreſs the riots; thanks and elegant dreſs-ſwords to captain Polhill, cornets Hilton and Seymour; with 100l. to the non-commiſſioned officers and privates of the 15th regiment of dragoons, for their great vigilance.

16th. *Whitehall.* Miniſterial notes have been delivered at Peterſburgh, by Mr. Whitworth and Mr. Fawkener, and count Goltze, on the part of his majeſty and of the king of Pruſſia, and by count Oſterman on the part of the empreſs of Ruſſia, relative to the terms of pacification between Ruſſia and the Porte.

In theſe notes the miniſters of his majeſty and the king of Pruſſia agree, on the part of their reſpective ſovereigns, that their majeſties will propoſe to the Porte to conclude a peace with Ruſſia on the terms of the ceſſion of the diſtrict of Oczakow, from the Bog to the Dnieſter; her imperial majeſty engaging not to diſturb the free navigation of the latter river, but to favour and protect it, (to which condition the Porte is to be equally and reciprocally bound) and her imperial majeſty being alſo to reſtore to the Porte at the concluſion of the peace all other conqueſts whatever. The miniſter of her imperial majeſty agrees on the part of his ſovereign to make peace on theſe terms; and the miniſters of his majeſty and the king of Pruſſia agree, on the part of their reſpective ſovereigns, that if the Porte ſhould decline to enter into negociation on this baſis, their majeſties will leave the termination of the war to the courſe of thoſe events to which it may lead.

17th. This morning, as his majeſty was paſſing in his carriage through the Park to St. James's, a gentleman dreſſed in black, ſtanding in the Green-park, cloſe to the rails, within a few yards of Mr. Copley's pavilion, juſt as the carriage came oppoſite where he ſtood, was obſerved to pull a paper haſtily from his pocket, which he ſtuck on the rail, addreſſed to the king, throw off his hat, diſcharge a piſtol in his own boſom, and inſtantly fall. Though ſurrounded with people collected to ſee the king paſs, the raſh act was ſo ſuddenly perpetrated, that no one ſuſpected his fatal purpoſe till he had acomplished it. He expired immediately. In his left hand was a letter, addreſſed "To the coroner who ſhall take an inqueſt on James Sutherland."—This unfortunate gentleman, James Sutherland, eſquire, had been ſuſpended from his office of judge-advocate of Minorca on the ſecond of Auguſt, 1780; for which, on the 23d of July, 1783, he brought an action againſt general Murray, the governor, and obtained a verdict with 5,000l. damages. General Murray was indemnified by parliament; and the failure of ſome applications to government having at a ſubſequent period reduced Mr. Sutherland to great diſtreſs, had greatly deranged his mind. He was very genteelly dreſſed; had only two pence and ſome letters in his pockets.

pockets. The letters were carried to the ſecretary of ſtate's office. One of them was addreſſed to the king. The coroner's inqueſt brought in their verdict lunacy.

The following melancholy accident happened at Woodford, in Eſſex, on the night between Monday and Tueſday laſt: Mr. Thompſon, ſurgeon, of that place, being alarmed by a noiſe, occaſioned, as was ſuppoſed, by ſome thieves who were attempting to rob his houſe, roſe, and having awakened a ſervant who had been a long time in the family, and who was much reſpected for his honeſty and ſobriety, they both armed themſelves with blunderbuſſes, and went out into the garden. Mr. Thompſon ſtationed the ſervant at a particular corner, by which he ſuppoſed the thieves muſt paſs, if they had not already made a retreat, deſiring him to remain on the ſame ſpot till he ſhould take a turn round the garden. The ſervant having imprudently left the place where he was deſired to watch, was met by his maſter in another part of the garden, who, taking him for one of the houſebreakers, diſcharged his blunderbuſs at him, and lodged the whole contents in his body. The man died almoſt inſtantly, four balls having lodged in his lungs.

This day the following proclamation was iſſued by the king in council: "Whereas his Majeſty was pleaſed, by his order in council of the 29th of laſt month, to direct that the bounties granted by his Majeſty's proclamation of the 25th of March, 1791, to able and ordinary ſeamen, who ſhould enter themſelves to ſerve in his Majeſty's royal navy as therein mentioned, ſhould be continued until the 31ſt day of this inſtant Auguſt: and whereas his Majeſty doth judge it no longer neceſſary to continue the ſaid bounties: his Majeſty is thereupon pleaſed, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order and declare, that the ſaid bounties ſhall from henceforth ceaſe, determine, and be no longer paid or payable, any thing in the ſaid order of the 29th of laſt month contained to the contrary notwithſtanding. Whereof all perſons concerned are to take notice, and govern themſelves accordingly."

A few days ſince William Gray, about 25 years of age, being employed on a ſcaffold erected for the purpoſe of painting the ſpire of Great Marlow church, by the breaking of one of the pullies, fell with part of the ſcaffold upon the battlements on the roof of the church, from the roof of the church to the ground, being in the whole full fourſcore feet perpendicular. His right hand was ſomewhat lacerated, but he had no bone broken or diſlocated. 18th.

Whitehall. On Saturday laſt one of his majeſty's meſſengers arrived at the office of the Right honourable Lord Grenville, his majeſty's principal ſecretary for foreign affairs, with diſpatches from the Right honourable Sir Robert Murray Keith, knight of the bath, his Majeſty's envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to the court of Vienna, and plenipotentiary to the congreſs of Siſtovia, containing an account that a definitive treaty of peace was ſigned on the 4th inſtant between the Emperor and the Ottoman Porte, under the joint mediation of his Majeſty, of the king of Pruſſia, and of the States General of the United Provinces; and that a ſeparate conven- 23d.

tion between his Imperial Majesty and the Ottoman Porte, for settling the limits between the two empires, was afterwards signed on the same day.

25th. *Warwick.* On Monday the 22d, the *nisi prius* bar was opened by Mr. Baron Hotham at ten o'clock. At eleven baron Perryn came into court on the crown side, and delivered a charge to the grand jury, in which, among other things, he said, "In the calendar, gentlemen, you will perceive the names of many prisoners, who, in open defiance to the laws of their country, have wickedly and wantonly, in contempt of all legal authority and government, destroyed and set fire to the houses of their fellow-subjects. This devastation was particularly levelled at a class of subjects who have for a long series of years, by the wisdom of the established law, enjoyed the exercise of their religious tenets with free toleration of government.

"I shall not enter into any of the causes which may be urged upon the present occasion as having tended to excite this popular tumult; because if any body of men had offended the laws, they were amenable for their conduct to their country. But whatever was the cause or the motive for those outrages, on no pretext can they be justified or palliated.

"It is rather extraordinary and singular, that at a time when the laws which have long disgraced the statute books against the Roman catholics have, under the mild and blessed government during the present reign of his Majesty, been obliterated, and the situation of the catholics, so far as respects their religious principles, placed under the happy and wise influence of a liberal and manly freedom, that a spirit of intolerance should break out against another class of men with such fury.

"Gentlemen, you are the guardians of your country. You will examine patiently, coolly, and deliberately; and I am happy that this arduous, though painful task, has fallen into the hands of gentlemen who are as tenacious of their honour as they are of the safety, happiness, tranquillity, and stability of the constitution of their country."

The trials commenced the next day, when Francis Field, alias Rodney, was indicted for setting fire to the house of John Taylor, esquire, of Aston, near Birmingham, on the 15th of July last.

Witnesses were called, who clearly proved that the prisoner was seen to feed the fire kindled in the house, huzzaing all the time,

The jury retired, and after an hour's consideration, brought in their verdict—Guilty.

William Rice, also of the parish of Aston, was indicted for demolishing the house of William Hutton, esquire; but he proving an *alibi*, was acquitted.

Robert Whitehead was indicted for the same offence. Mr. Hutton's two servants swore to his activity in demolishing the house, and that he had snatched a gun from one of the witnesses, and knocked him down with the but-end of it. This evidence was confirmed by two other witnesses; but was flatly contradicted by another, whose evidence went to prove, that the prisoner, so far from being a rioter, did every thing in his power to quell the riot; and four respectable witnesses swore that he had a good character. The jury brought in their verdict—Not guilty.

On

On Wednesday the 24th, John Green, John Clifton, and Bartholomew Fisher, were capitally indicted for demolishing the house of Joseph Priestley, LL. D.

After a long trial, Green and Fisher were found guilty, death; and Clifton, on account of many favourable circumstances, and the testimony of several respectable persons to his good character, was acquitted.

John Stokes, indicted for pulling down the old meeting-house, was next put to the bar. The counsel took an objection to the indictment, because it charged that the meeting-house was situate in Philip-street; whereas the register proved that it was originally licensed as being situated in Old Meeting-house lane. The counsel for the crown gave the prosecution up.—Not guilty.

William Shuker, the bellman of Birmingham, was indicted for beginning to demolish the house of John Ryland, esquire, in that town. The evidence of the three first witnesses was very strong against him, but their testimony was impeached by several other witnesses. Others gave him a very excellent character, as an honest, inoffensive man, whose only fault was, that he loved a drop of liquor. The jury, therefore, in perfect concurrence with the opinion of the judge, brought in their verdict —not guilty.

Joseph Careless was indicted for the same offence. Two witnesses swore to the fact charged against the prisoner. But a third witness stated, that the prisoner had endeavoured to preserve some pigs on the premises. The jury acquitted him.

William Hands was indicted for the same offence. Two witnesses swore positively to the fact. The jury brought in their verdict—Guilty.

Daniel Rose, aged 16, was charged with beginning to pull down the dwelling-house of John Taylor, esquire, at Aston; but in consideration of his youth, no evidence was called against him. He was consequently acquitted.

On leaving the town, the judge ordered the four rioters, Francis Field, alias Rodney, John Green, Bartholomew Fisher, and William Hands, with Edward Brown, for highway robbery, and William Millington, for horse-stealing, to be executed on the 8th of September.

Whitehall. In consequence of the late edict of the Spanish government respecting foreigners, the principal merchants and other British subjects residing in Alicant, were on the 7th required by the governor to declare, whether they chose to be considered and classed foreigners *Transeuntes* or *Domiciliados*. On their preferring the latter class, they were ordered to leave Alicant within fifteen days, and were required to take an oath of implicit obedience to the laws of Spain during that period. Messr. Keith and Macdonald having declined complying with this order, they were confined in the castle of Alicant. 30th.

On the receipt of this intelligence at Madrid, count Florida Blanca immediately assured lord St. Helen's that he entirely disapproved of every part of the governor's conduct; that orders should immediately be sent for the release of Messieurs Keith and Macdonald, without a moment's delay and that the governor should be called upon to

prove any charge he might have made againſt them, and on his failing to make it good, that thoſe gentlemen ſhould certainly receive due ſatisfaction. Count Florida Blanca added, that he had the preceding evening ſent out circular orders on this ſubject, which would, he truſted, ſecure his majeſty's ſubjects ſettled at Alicant from any further moleſtation.

Within a few hours after this converſation, count Florida Blanca ſent lord St. Helen's the above-mentioned order for the releaſe of Meſſieurs Keith and Macdonald, which his excellency immediately forwarded to Alicant.

SEPTEMBER.

3d. *Windſor.* This morning, ſoon after five, their majeſties and their royal highneſſes the princeſs royal, princeſs Auguſta, and princeſs Elizabeth, ſet out for Weymouth.

Whitehall. Their majeſties and the th ee princeſſes arrived ſafely at Weymouth, a little after ſix o'clock on Saturday evening.

7th. Advices have been received by the lord Thurlow Eaſt Indiaman, that the Panther, of two hundred tons, commanded by lieutenant M'Cluer, with the Endeavour, of ſixty tons, had ſailed from Bombay on the 23d of Auguſt, 1790, and arrived ſafely at the Pelew iſlands.

On their arrival they obſerved two canoes, which made toward the ſhore inſtead of coming to the ſhips, as had been expected. Theſe, they ſuppoſed, were going to give an account to Abba Thulle of their arrival; and in this conjecture they were not miſtaken; for ſoon after they ſaw a number of canoes coming off to them, in one of which was the good old king.

Immediately on his coming on board he went up to the captain, taking him, from his dreſs, to be his former friend captain Wilſon, and immediately felt on his arm for the *bone*, (a mark of honour he conferred on captain Wilſon), and enquired what was become of it. Finding his miſtake in the perſon, and being informed that captain Wilſon was alive and well in England, he expreſſed great ſatisfaction. Captain M'Cluer then gave him to underſtand the death of Lee Boo, and the diſorder of which he died, for which event the good old man ſaid that he had prepared his mind: that he had counted up to ſome ſcore moons; but the time being p ſt, he had deſpaired of ever ſeeing the Engliſh more, judging that they had either periſhed in their voyage to China, or did not intend to return again to viſit his iſlands.

He was, however, perfectly confident in the goodneſs of the Engliſh, and that captain Wilſon would take care of his ſon. In relating the death of Blanchard (the ſeaman who had been left there by his deſire) he was full of grief, and could hardly utter himſelf, ſo much did he feel his loſs.

Blanchard was mortally wounded in an engagement with the people of Pellilew, and died ſoon after, as did thoſe great and good friends of captain Wilſon and his crew, Raa Kook and Arra Cooker. During the time of captain M'Cluer's ſtay at the iſlands, which was near a month, the utmoſt harmony and friendſhip prevailed, and the good old king liberally ſupplied them with fiſh and

yams when the canoes came in, as he uſed to do to his former friends.

Captain M'Cluer has taken a ſon and a daughter of the king's with him to China, and means to call at the iſlands again in his paſſage to Bombay. In his journal the captain ſays, "Having pitched my tent in a bay oppoſite to the ſhip, I found myſelf in a perfect paradiſe, and could have been happy to have continued here the remainder of my days."

8th. Edward Brown, for a highway robbery; William Millington, for ſtealing a mare; Francis Field, alias Rodney, and John Green, for being concerned in deſtroying the houſes, &c. of John Taylor, eſquire, and Dr. Prieſtley, were executed near Warwick, agreeably to their ſentences. The unhappy men appeared at the fatal tree with manly firmneſs and reſignation, and their whole conduct after condemnation evinced the trueſt penitence. Green, however, to the laſt moment declared he took no part in demoliſhing Dr. Prieſtley's houſe (for which he was convicted), but that he was merely a ſpectator there; though he acknowledged he ought to ſuffer, as he was very active in deſtroying Mr. Hutton's houſe.

His Majeſty's free pardon has been granted to Bartholomew Fiſher, one of the condemned rioters; and a reſpite for fourteen days was on Wedneſday received at Warwick.

14th. About half paſt ten o'clock at night, a dreadful fire broke out near Cherry Garden Stairs, Rotherhithe, near London, which, from the tide being low, and little water to be had, burnt with great fury a conſiderable time. It began at a chandler's, but how is not known: ſeveral barrels of tar were on fire before it was diſcovered. A number of engines attended, both on the river and on the ſhore; but, from the difficulty of finding water for the latter, and the impoſſibility of bringing the former near enough, the flames for a long time ſpread with the utmoſt fury. It was ſix or ſeven o'clock in the morning before the violence of the flames was any way got under, by which time above 50 houſes were burnt down, many of them warehouſes, containing property to a very conſiderable amount, of which very little was ſaved. The flames having communicated to the ſhipping in the river, great fears were entertained that a number of veſſels would fall a prey to the rage of the fire, as there was no poſſibility of drawing them off, owing to the water being ebb. The Ranger, Captain Swain, from the South Seas, and a ſmall brig, were burnt; but, by great exertions, the flames were prevented from communicating to any other veſſels, at leaſt from deſtroying any other. A great number of poor families have been burnt out, and their little all deſtroyed.

15th. About five o'clock in the morning, the poſt-boy carrying the mail (on horſeback) from Warrington to Mancheſter was murdered about a mile from Warrington, the mail opened, and the letters in the following bags were taken out and carried away, viz. the Cheſter bags for Mancheſter and Rochdale, and the Liverpool bags for Rochdale.

Two men (by accent Iriſhmen) were ſeen to leave the place where the robbery and murder had been committed in a precipitate manner, and to go towards Warrington.

The rider was found about ſix o'clock on Friday morning, after the whole of the night had been ſpent in ſearching for him, in Britch Brook, about a mile from Warrington (murdered); the body laid with the face downwards, his hands tied upon his back, and his feet tied together.

19th. George Dingler was executed oppoſite the debtors door at Newgate, according to his ſentence, for the wilful murder of his wife.

21th. The Old Bailey ſeſſions ended, when judgment of death was paſſed on John Portſmouth, Thomas Playter, Thomas Collis, William Triſtram, John Berry, Robert Clark, Thomas Haſtop, John Simpſon, Thomas Jones, and John Herbert.

Fifteen capital convicts, who had been reſpited during his majeſty's pleaſure, were pardoned on condition of being tranſported to New South Wales for life. One of them, Thomas Chapland, refuſed his pardon, and was ordered to be confined in a ſolitary cell, till his majeſty's further pleaſure be known. Ann Gale, another convict, who has two children, declared ſhe would rather die than leave her children behind her, when the Recorder ſaid he would do every thing in his power that her children might be permitted to go with her.

24th. A woman in Turnmill-ſtreet, Clerkenwell, quitted her houſe, leaving two children alone therein, who opened a cage in which three ferrets were confined, when the latter attacked one of the children, and tore out its eyes.

On the 21ſt of June at day-break, there fell a very violent rain in the iſland of Cuba; which continued till the next day, at half paſt two in the afternoon, with ſuch force, as to cauſe the greateſt flood ever known in that country.

The tobacco-mills belonging to the king of Spain were intirely carried away by the waters, and the village, in which they ſtood, is no more. Two hundred and fifty-ſeven of the inhabitants periſhed in it.

In the ſpot where the mills ſtood, the water, and, as it is thought, a ſlight earthquake, opened the ground to the depth of forty-five feet, and, in one of the openings, a river appeared of the pureſt water. In the ſite of a houſe, occupied by the count Barretto, cavities were diſcovered more than ſixty feet deep, from one of which roſe a thick ſmoke.

At the diſtance of four leagues from thence, the torrent was ſo great, that none of the inhabitants eſcaped, and all the upper part of the ſoil, in which corn or fruits were growing, was carried away. The number of deaths, or the extent of the misfortune, could not be immediately aſcertained; but the calculation was, that 3000 perſons had periſhed, with cattle of various kinds, to the number of 11,700.

Weymouth. His majeſty in council was this day pleaſed 28th. to declare his conſent to a contract of matrimony between his royal highneſs the duke of York and her royal highneſs the princeſs Frederique Charlotte Ulrique Catherine of Pruſſia, eldeſt daughter of his majeſty the king of Pruſſia; which conſent his majeſty has alſo cauſed to be ſignified under the great ſeal.

29th.

Scotland. George Davidſon, for forgery, and James Plunket, lately a ſoldier, for robbery, both under ſentence of death, and who were to have been executed on the 26th inſtant, found means to make their eſcape. When the two under-gaolers went up, about ten o'clock at night, to lock up the priſoners, Plunket begged he might have a pot of porter, which was granted; and, having drank heartily, he offered the remainder to his keeper, who, while he was drinking, had a piſtol held to his throat by Plunket, who ſwore he had not an hour to live, if he ſpoke a word. At the ſame inſtant Davidſon held a piſtol at the heart of the other under-keeper; and, having terrified them by threats, they bound them with cords, which they had provided for the occaſion, unchained themſelves from the bar to which they were chained down to the floor, and walked off unſuſpected. The two under gaolers were ordered by the Magiſtrates to be impriſoned. 29th.

At the quarter ſeſſions at Sudbury, on an affair of an aſſault, the jury, not agreeing on their verdict, about midnight broke open the door of the room in which they were incloſed, and made off, every man to his own houſe. Next morning they aſſembled; but, being then no longer conſidered as the ſame Jury, were diſmiſſed by the Court, who determined to apply to the Attorney General for advice in a caſe ſo unprecedented. 30th.

Birmingham. From ſome circumſtances which appeared from the evidence againſt William Hands, upon his trial, ſome gentlemen, who were led to apprehend that the whole truth reſpecting his conduct at Mr. Ryland's houſe, during the late riots, did not appear, and that the part he took there was to preſerve, and not to deſtroy Mr. Ryland's property, humanely united in obtaining and preſenting a petition to his majeſty in his favour, upon which a reſpite for fourteen days was granted: previous to the expiration of which, Mr. Juſtice Bond was ſent down with another reſpite for ſeven days more, and to inveſtigate the allegation ſtated in the petition in favour of the priſoner: and, on Sunday ſe'nnight, very ſatisfactory evidence was adduced before the magiſtrates of this town, Mr. juſtice Bond, ſir Robert Lawley, bart. the high bailiff, and many of the moſt reſpectable gentlemen of this place, in ſupport of the favourable circumſtances ſtated on behalf of the priſoner, which were returned to the ſecretary of ſtate by Mr. Bond; the reſult of which has been, the arrival of another reſpite on Saturday, during his majeſty's pleaſure, and on Tueſday, of a free pardon.

At Dublin, on the 19th of September, the firſt ſtone of the new Houſe of Induſtry, on an extenſive plan, was laid by the right honourable Thomas Conolly, as the firſt mover of a bill for the eſtabliſhment of a regular ſyſtem for the ſupport of the poor of that kingdom.

DIED—7th, at Madrid, aged 100, Don Carlos Felix O'Neale. He was an old lieutenant-general of the Spaniſh army, a great favorite of his monarch, and had been governor of the Havannah. He was the ſon of Sir Neale O'Neale, of the province of Ulſter, who was killed at the battle of the Boyne.

Lately at an alms-houſe in Monmouth, aged 103, Sarah Price. When

When about 50 ſhe could not ſee without the help of glaſſes; but as ſhe further advanced in years, ſhe recovered her ſight to ſuch a degree as to ſee to thread the ſmalleſt needle, till within a few days of her deceaſe.

In St. Elizabeth's, aged 110, a negro woman named Cooba.

At Edinburgh, in his 105th year, John Strachan.

OCTOBER.

1ſt. *Berlin.* The day before yeſterday, in the evening, the wedding of Princeſs Frederica was conſummated with the Duke of York.

About ſix o'clock, all perſons who were of princely blood aſſembled in gala in the apartments of the Dowager Queen, where the diamond crown was put on the head of Princeſs Frederica. The Generals, Miniſters, Ambaſſadors, and the high nobility, aſſembled in the white hall.

Immediately after it ſtruck ſeven o'clock, the duke of York led the princeſs, whoſe train was carried by four *Dames de la Cour*, preceded by the gentlemen of the chamber, and the court officers of ſtate, through all the parade apartments, into the white hall. After them went the king, with the Queen Dowager; Prince Lewis of Pruſſia, with the reigning queen (the crown prince was abſent, by indiſpoſition); the hereditary prince of Orange, with Princeſs Wilhelmina; Prince Henry, third ſon of the King, with the hereditary Stadtholderess, his aunt: Prince Wilhelm of Pruſſia, with Princeſs Auguſta; the duke of Weimar, with the ſpouſe of Prince Henry of Pruſſia; the reigning duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, with the hereditary Princeſs of Brunſwick.

In the white hall, a canopy was erected of crimſon velvet, and alſo a crimſon velvet ſopha for the marriage ceremony.

When the young couple had placed themſelves under the canopy, before the ſopha, and the royal family ſtood round them, the upper counſellor of the conſiſtory, Mr. Sack, made a ſpeech in German. This being over, rings were exchanged; and the illuſtrious couple, kneeling on the ſopha, were married according to the rites of the reformed church. The whole ended with a prayer; and twelve guns placed in the garden firing three rounds, the benediction was given. After which, the new-married couple received the congratulations of the royal family, and they returned in the ſame manner to the apartments, where the royal family, and all perſons preſent, ſat down to card-tables; after which, the whole court, the high nobility, and the ambaſſadors, ſat down to ſupper.

The ſupper was ſerved at ſix tables. The firſt was placed under a canopy of crimſon velvet, and the victuals ſerved in gold diſhes and plates. Lieutenant-General Bornſtedt and Count Bruhl had the honour to carve, without being ſeated.

The other five tables, at which ſat the Generals, Miniſters, Ambaſſadors, all the officers of the court, and the high nobility, were ſerved in other apartments.

Thoſe who did the *honneurs* at theſe tables were—At the firſt, Prince Sacker, miniſter of ſtate—At the ſecond, General Mollendorff—At the third, Count Jinckenſtein, miniſter

miniſter of ſtate.—At the fourth, count Schulemburg, lieutenant-general and miniſter of ſtate—At the fifth, major-general Biſchoffswerder.

During ſupper, muſick continued playing in the galleries of the firſt hall, which immediately began when the company entered the hall.

At the deſert, the royal table was ſerved with a beautiful ſet of china, made in the Berlin manufactory.

Supper being over, the whole aſſembly repaired to the white hall, where the trumpet, timbrel, and other muſick, were playing; the flambeau dance was begun, at which the miniſters of ſtate carried the torches. With this ended the feſtivity.

The new couple were attended to their apartment by the reigning Queen and the Queen Dowager.

The Duke of York wore on this day the Engliſh uniform; and the Princeſs Frederica was dreſſed in a ſuit of *drap d'argent*, ornamented with diamonds.

The palace of the Margrave of Anſpach was illuminated.

6th. The houſe of Sir James Sanderſon, Roxby, and Co, hop-merchants, at the bottom of Fiſh-ſtreet-hill, was broke open and robbed of bills of exchange, caſh, &c. to the amount of 18col.

A moſt unhappy affair has lately occurred on board the Fitzwilliam Eaſt-Indiaman, juſt arrived: A gentleman and his niece were paſſengers in the ſhip from Bengal, having part of the Captain's cabin, or round-houſe, aſſigned to themſelves for accommodation, and lived at the Captain's table; the gentleman was a widower, and appeared to be about 45 years of age, and his niece about 30; the former had been in the profeſſion of the law, and was reputed to have ſome fortune, as had the lady, and both were from Yorkſhire. On Wedneſday morning the 28th ult. it was currently reported in the ſhip, that Mr. D. (a cuddy paſſenger) had, by looking through the keyhole of the door of their apartment on Tueſday afternoon, diſcovered them in an improper ſituation; that he had called another perſon to be witneſs of the ſame; that they alarmed the parties by knocking at the door, and retired. The affair being univerſally made known, a reſerve took place at table during dinner between the gentlemen and the parties, and an explanation was ſo far gone into as to convince the latter that their guilt was public. They accordingly ſoon retired from table, and remained that day and Thurſday in their apartment. On Friday morning the 30th, upon a ſervant's knocking at the door, and not being able to obtain admittance or attention, a ſuſpicion aroſe, and the gunner was deſired to go over the ſhip's quarter, and look into their apartment, on which he diſcovered that they had deſtroyed themſelves. The gentleman was found ſitting in the quarter gallery, with a fuſee and a piſtol, with the latter of which he had ſhot himſelf through the head; the lady was lying in the balcony, and a diſcharged piſtol near her, with which ſhe had ſhattered her head in a ſhocking manner. They had been dead for ſome time, and it was about ſeven in the morning when this part of the melancholy buſineſs was publicly known in the ſhip. Their bodies were committed to the deep at mid-day.

Some letters were found written by

by the lady, addreſſed to ſeveral friends and relations; one to the Captain, thanking him for his kindneſs; one to the perſon whoſe fatal curioſity had occaſioned the diſcovery, upbraiding him for cruel officiouſneſs; and one to a gentleman who was in the ſame ſhip, and who paid his addreſſes to the lady, aſſuring him, that ſhe eſteemed him highly; but declaring, that it never was her intention to impoſe on him a woman whoſe conduct he could not approve, and whoſe affections were devoted to another.

12th. *Glaſgow.* In conſequence of very heavy rains, which we had for the two preceding days, the river Clyde yeſterday overflowed its banks, and roſe to ſuch a height as to lay all the lower part of this city ſeveral feet under water. The furniture and goods in the houſes which the water reached have been very much damaged; and as the harveſt is not yet quite got-in in this country, great quantities of cut corn have been ſwept away by the flood from the lands overflowed by the river. The water roſe ſo high as to reach the cells of the mad-houſe. The inſtantaneous effect which the dread of the water had upon the lunatics, was very remarkable—the whole of them, even the moſt furious, were rendered quiet and tractable, and allowed themſelves, trembling like children, to be conducted to apartments on the upper ſtory, where they remained calm and peaceable, as long as the court-yard remained covered by the water.

16th. A moſt diſtreſſing circumſtance happened at the houſe of Dr. Ford, head of Magdalen Hall, Oxford. One of the Doctor's children, a fine boy of about four or five years of age, having been left by the maid at play in the room with his brothers, approached ſo near the fire, that the flames caught his pin-cloth; and, though the child ſcreamed immediately for help, and all poſſible aſſiſtance was afforded, he died on Tueſday.

17th. *Windſor.* Their majeſties and the princeſs royal, princeſs Auguſta, and princeſs Elizabeth, ſet out from Glouceſter Lodge, Weymouth, on Saturday morning a little before ſix o'clock, and arrived here at ſix in the afternoon, in perfect health.

Vienna, Sept. 7th. The ratifications of the treaty of peace, and of the convention between his imperial majeſty and the Ottoman Porte, were exchanged on the 23d ult. at Siſtova, by the Auſtrian and Turkiſh plenipotentiaries, in due form. And on the 5th of this month, ſir Robert Murray Keith, his Britannic majeſty's plenipotentiary at the above congreſs, returned to this city.

24th. On Saturday, at four in the morning, the watch at the Bank diſcovered a fire in that part of the buildings which is lately appropriated for ovens to burn the uſeleſs papers; a large beam which ran acroſs the chimney took fire, and communicated to the carpenters' workſhops, which in an hour were wholly deſtroyed. The fire was then got under, and no farther damage enſued. Several bank directors attended.—It may be neceſſary to add, that this fire in no way affected, or could affect, the repoſitories of the public accounts, &c. which are amply ſecured againſt the poſſibility of being injured by fire.

25th.

25th. Accounts were received this morning at the Admiralty, by the Daphne man of war, from Jamaica, which place ſhe left Sept. 10, that a dreadful inſurrection had taken place at St. Domingo, among the negroes and free people, and that they were in arms to the number of from 35,000 to 40,000 men, and were ſuppoſed to have in their poſſeſſion about 5000 ſtand of arms, had deſtroyed about 200 ſugar plantations, and a number of coffee, &c. and had killed and deſtroyed all the white people that fell in their way, it is ſuppoſed to a great amount. The reaſon aſſigned for the revolt of theſe people is, the late decree paſſed in the National Aſſembly. It appears that the revolt was confined to the French diſtrict; but it was imagined it would become general through the iſland.

By other information we learn, that the white people at St. Domingo had diſpatched a ſhip to America, praying for aſſiſtance: that the news of the inſurrection being received at Jamaica, Lord Effingham had collected all the troops together, to be ready on the firſt alarm; and it was expected that martial law would be proclaimed. We are happy to ſay, that no ſerious conſequence is apprehended among our own iſlands: and the military at Jamaica is on the moſt reſpectable footing, and very numerous.

27th. This evening, about ſeven o'clock, Count de Verteillac made his eſcape from the Fleet priſon, in a manner ſo unſuſpected by the keepers, that the firſt intelligence leading to a diſcovery was given by the maſter of the Bell Savage inn, through which he was found to have paſſed. He is the perſon who ſome time ſince was impriſoned in the King's Bench, and endeavoured to make his eſcape from thence. The debt for which he was detained is ſaid to amount to 5000l.

31ſt. The ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when judgment of death was paſſed upon 18 capital convicts; one was ſentenced to be tranſported for 14 years, 28 for ſeven years, four to be impriſoned in Newgate, and nine in Clerkenwell Bridewell; 11 were publicly and two privately whipped; one judgment reſpited, on condition of his enliſting as an Eaſt India ſoldier; one (viz. Spence Broughton) for robbing the Mail, ordered to be ſent to Cambridge, five to be ſent to Surrey, and 34 were diſcharged by proclamation.

This evening, about ſeven o'clock, it was diſcovered that Oxley, one of the men impriſoned upon a charge of being concerned in ſome of the mail robberies, had made his eſcape from Clerkenwell priſon. Some bricklayers had been employed during the day in repairing the outhouſes in the yard, and their ladder, by a ſtrange neglect, was left there after it was dark. This man was a priſoner in a place called the Lodge, where the confinement is leſs ſtrict than in ſome other parts of the priſon, and had been indulged with very light irons. He aſcended the ladder without diſcovery or ſuſpicion, and was preſently beyond the walls of the priſon. In paſſing over ſome leads belonging to an adjoining houſe, he threw down an earthen pan placed there for the reception of birds, which circumſtance firſt diſcovered his eſcape by the noiſe of the falling pieces. In-

formation

formation was given to the priſon-keepers that ſome perſon had been paſſing over thoſe leads, and he was immediately purſued, but has not yet been taken.

The moſt dreadful riots have lately happened at Avignon, in which ſeveral people loſt their lives. One man, the companion of Jourdain, ſurnamed *Cut-throat*, was aſſaſſinated in a church, at the foot of the altar. Above fifty others have become miſerable victims to popular fury.

DIED, at his apartments in Milſom-ſtreet, Bath, of a total decay, in his 64th year, Bamber Gaſcoyne, Eſq. receiver-general of his majeſty's cuſtoms, one of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, verdurer of Waltham foreſt, Eſſex, formerly M. P. for Liverpool, and only ſon of Sir Criſp Gaſcoyne, knt. lord-mayor of London in 1753, and who died in 1761.

NOVEMBER.

2d. The following melancholy accident occurred in the houſe of Mrs. Clitherow, firework-maker, near Halfmoon-alley, Biſhopſgate-ſtreet:

Mrs. Clitherow, with two journeymen, her ſon, and eldeſt daughter, being at work in her ſhop, to complete ſome orders againſt Friday, about half paſt one o'clock in the morning ſome tea was propoſed as a refreſhment; while this was drinking, ſome of the materials upon which they had been at work, by unknown means took fire, when Mrs. Clitherow's eldeſt daughter ran up ſtairs to alarm her three ſiſters, who were in bed. Her ſiſters preſſing her as to the ſafety of her mother, ſhe came down again, but not till the flames had got to ſuch an height, that, every attempt to get out of the front door proving abortive, ſhe, with one of the men, got into the yard. She there firſt perceived that her clothes were on fire, which the man had ſcarcely extinguiſhed, by aſſiſting her to get into the water-tub, before a beam fell, with the exploſion of the roof, and broke his arm. At the ſame time, both the roof and the gable end of the next houſe, Mr. Gibbs's, was forced into the ſtreet, by which a perſon, who lodged in the garret, was thrown out of his bed upon the ground at ſeveral yards diſtance; this man's thighs were broke, and he is otherwiſe much hurt. It was not till ſome time after the principal exploſion, that the two unhappy people in Mrs. Clitherow's yard were found by the populace almoſt intombed in the ſmoking ruins: the young woman was conveyed to St. Bartholomew's hoſpital, and the two men to St. Thomas's; two of whom are ſince dead. It is ſuppoſed that her mother and the other journeyman fell a ſacrifice to an attempt to extinguiſh the flames in the ſhop below, as the principal part of the powder, which was depoſited in the garret, was a conſiderable time before it took fire. Happily only ſix lives were loſt, viz. thoſe of Mrs. Clitherow, one journeyman, her ſon, and three daughters; nor were any other perſons hurt than thoſe above mentioned. Mrs. Clitherow's houſe is entirely conſumed, but the two adjacent are only conſiderably damaged, as were the windows and tiling of almoſt all the houſes as far off the ſpot as Broad-ſtreet buildings.

It

It is remarkable, that the late husband of Mrs. Clitherow had a similar accident on the same spot about thirty years since, when several lives were lost.

3d. A few days since Mr. Kirk's cotton-mills, at Barnford, in the county of Derby, were destroyed by fire; which was so rapid, that only the walls of that great work were left standing. The damage is computed at 8,000l. and a considerable number of men, women, and children, are for a time deprived of the means of getting their bread.

4th. As some men were lately employed in drawing a pond at Hinton Abbey, they found a human skeleton, in a sitting posture, the skull not above six inches covered with mud. It is supposed to be the remains of Walter Robinson, Esq. uncle to the late Stocker Robinson, Esq. He was drinking at a public-house in the neighbourhood about fifty-two years since, and was supposed to have been murdered in his way home, as he had not been seen or heard of since. The sum of a thousand pounds, with interest, is among the unclaimed dividends at the bank in his name. A pair of high-heeled shoes were found whole, a small distance off. The bones were carefully buried in the church-yard.

7th. *Birmingham.* Between ten and eleven o'clock on Saturday night, the family (after they were gone to bed) at the Bull's Head public-house, in Erdington, being disturbed by a violent knocking at the door, Mr. Gorton, the master of the house, got up to his chamber window, and leaning out of it, he observed three men, one of whom, upon his enquiring what they wanted, fired a pistol at him, the contents of which lodged in his body, and he expired in great agony yesterday morning.

10th. *Edinburgh.* On Tuesday morning, about twenty minutes after nine, a newly-finished glass-house at Dumbarton, supposed to be the largest in Great Britain, the cone being 120 feet in height, suddenly fell down. At this time there were twelve men in the inside, employed in removing the scaffolding, all of whom were buried in the ruins. The greatest exertions were made to remove the rubbish, and six of the men were got out alive, but two of them are since dead: so that eight out of the twelve have lost their lives, and the other four are not out of danger. The hour of breakfast was unfortunately altered the day before from nine till ten o'clock.

11th. This day came on, in the court of king's-bench, a long depending cause on behalf of the seamen of the late commodore Johnstone's squadron, and the troops on board that squadron, under the command of general Medows. The question had been argued six times. It originated from a meditated attack upon the Cape of Good Hope in the late war, and the capture of a Dutch vessel in Saldanha Bay, which the lords and commissioners of appeal had determined to be 'good and lawful prize to the king,' and which the court of king's-bench affirmed.

Stockholm. A Mr. d'Aiken, a physician of Orebo, has invented a powder, which, being infused in water, will extinguish the most dreadful fires. A number of experiments have already been made with great success, and he is to repeat them, in presence

preſence of his majeſty, at Drotningholm, where a number of houſes have already been built for that purpoſe.

John Portſmouth, for ſtealing a bay gelding, of the price of 10l. the property of Patrick Smeeth, and a black gelding, of the price of 10l. the property of Thomas Wood; William Triſtram and John Berry, for ſtealing a gelding of the price of 5l. the property of John Cull; Thomas Eaſtop, for ſtealing and driving away eight ſheep, of the price of 8l. the property of Joſeph Sellon; and Robert Clark, for aſſaulting William Dawſon in a field near the high-way, and robbing him of a metal watch, nine guineas, and a black leather pocket book, value 11l. 4s. 5d. and a bank note value 10l. his property, were executed before Newgate.

15th. The court of King's Bench delivered their opinion on a ſpecial verdict returned to them in the ſittings after the laſt term on an action againſt the printer of a morning paper, for having publiſhed therein illegal ſchemes for the lottery; when their lordſhips unanimouſly determined that he had incurred the penalty.

16th. The printer of a morning paper was brought up in the court of King's Bench, to receive judgment for a libel upon the lord lieutenant of Ireland and Lady Fitzgibbon. Mr. Juſtice Aſhhurſt paſſed ſentence on the defendant, that he ſhould be impriſoned in Newgate for 12 months, and at the end of that period enter into a recognizance for his good behaviour for three years.

A ſhort time ago, a patent paſſed the great ſeal to Mr. Hare, brewer, of Lime-houſe, for his invention of an apparatus for effectually retaining and applying to uſe the eſſential oil of hops during the boiling of worts for beer, which was formerly loſt in the air. By the ſame apparatus, water in a veſſel of any ſize may be heated to boiling-heat, without the application of fire, quicker than it could be heated by actual fire.

Southampton. On Wedneſday morning laſt, about two o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out at Bugle-hall, in this town, occaſioned, it is ſuppoſed, by the fires which were daily kept in the houſe to dry it, it being then uninhabited, and undergoing great alterations. As the wind was remarkably high, the engines exceedingly out of repair, and there being a ſcarcity of water, that large and antient building was ſoon reduced to aſhes. 19th.

Whitehall. On Friday the Duke and Ducheſs of York landed at Dover, and arrived the day following, between five and ſix in the afternoon, at York Houſe, in perfect health. 21ſt.

It is a fact, not generally known, that as the Duke of York was travelling through part of France, on his way home, a frantic mob aſſembled round his royal highneſs's carriage, and were with extreme difficulty prevented from defacing the *Arms* on the pannels!

London. At ſeven o'clock in the evening, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Biſhop of London, came to the queen's houſe; the Archbiſhop attended by two pages and his train-bearer; and the Lord Chancellor in his full robes, with 23d.

with the great ſeal of England carried before him, and his train borne.

At half paſt eight o'clock, the Prince of Wales, the Duke and Ducheſs of York, and the Duke of Clarence, entered the Queen's houſe, and were immediately conducted to her majeſty's drawing-room.

The Biſhops and the Chancellor were in a ſeparate room for near three quarters of an hour, preparing the form of the regiſter.

At nine o'clock, the biſhops and the lord chancellor having intimated that they were ready, they were admitted into her majeſty's drawing-room; upon which the proceſſion, attended by the officers of the chapel royal, proceeded to the grand ſaloon. Books of the marriage ceremony were delivered to all the royal family by the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

At the requeſt of the archbiſhop, a table was directed to be placed in the ſaloon, which was formed as an altar, and was narrow enough for the archbiſhop to reach acroſs, and join the hands of the royal pair.

At half paſt nine, the ceremony was performed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſiſted by the biſhop of London: his majeſty ſtanding at one end of the altar, and her majeſty at the other extremity; the duke and ducheſs of York in the centre; the archbiſhop oppoſite to them, and the lord chancellor ſtanding behind him; the prince of Wales next to the ducheſs of York, and the duke of Clarence next to the duke of York. The princeſſes were ſeated on chairs at a diſtance from the altar, in the ſaloon.

As ſoon as the ceremony was finiſhed, the ducheſs of York went to his majeſty, and attempted to kneel, which his majeſty with ſome difficulty prevented; and, raiſing her in his arms, affectionately embraced her.

The certificate of the marriage was then ſigned by their majeſties, the prince of Wales, the duke of Clarence, and laſtly by the lord chancellor. After which, the biſhops and the lord chancellor, retired, and immediately left the queen's houſe.

The royal family returned to the queen's drawing-room; and at a few minutes before eleven o'clock, the duke and ducheſs of York went to York-houſe; where they were accompanied by the prince of Wales and the duke of Clarence, an elegant ſupper having been provided by direction of the duke of York.

The prince of Wales gave the ducheſs away.

The ducheſs was dreſſed in white ſatin, with taſſels, and fringe of gold, and a number of diamonds; in her head-dreſs ſhe wore feathers, and three brilliant pins preſented to her by the king at the royal viſit on Tueſday. The duke was in his regimentals—the prince was in a chocolate-coloured dreſſed ſuit, and the duke of Clarence in his full uniform.

Yeſterday, was a ſplendid drawing-room at St. James's, on account of the preſenting of the ducheſs of York at court. The duke and ducheſs went in the ſame coach, accompanied by lady Anne Fitzroy. Her royal highneſs was handed from the carriage by H. Bunbury, eſq. by whom ſhe was conducted to the private chamber, where ſhe was met by lady Sydney, lady Mary Howe, and lady Caroline Waldegrave, who led her into the drawing

25th.

drawing room, and preſented her to their majeſties and the princeſſes. The ceremony over, the nobility paid their reſpects to the illuſtrious ſtranger, and at half paſt three o' clock her highneſs returned to York-houſe. The duke did not leave the drawing-room till near five.

26th. *Copenhagen.* In the month of June laſt, it was made known, that a dangerous ſhoal had been diſcovered in the Cattegat, between the iſland of Anholt and the town of Warberg in Sweden. The court of admiralty has now given orders to the keeper of the royal records of ſea charts, that the ſaid ſhoal (upon which is found only nineteen feet water, with a large ſtony or rocky bottom) ſhall be immediately engraved upon the plate of the ſurvey of the Cattegat for 1790, and there laid down exactly agreeable to the report of his Daniſh majeſty's officers, appointed this ſummer to ſurvey theſe grounds.

It is further found, by the exact ſurveys lately made, that the iſland of Anholt and Anholt Reef are ſituated near one and one third of an Engliſh league more to the eaſtward, in the ſame latitude, than they are laid down in the aforeſaid charts of 1790. This error will be corrected in the new charts.

It is alſo ſaid, that the ſhoal in queſtion lies E. N. E. from Anholt light-houſe, and at about twenty Engliſh miles diſtance from it.

27th. *Northampton.* The memorable Bow-bridge, which has long been viſited by every curious ſtranger who has paſſed through Leiceſter, on account of its being the accidental monument over the grave of king Richard the Third's bones, fell on Saturday laſt, about eleven o'clock. Its foundation has been ſome time viſibly decaying; and the late rains having ſwelled the waters which paſſed under it, probably took away its principal ſupport on that end toward St. Auſtin's well, which occaſioned its deſtruction.

DIED—on the 3d, aged 101, Mrs. Aſkham, of York.

16th, in the pariſh of Henbury, in the county of Glouceſter, aged 102, Abraham Fiſhpool, who enjoyed ſo uninterrupted a ſtate of health, that, till within the laſt ſix months, he conſtantly attended the gate between Kingſweſton and Henbury.

DECEMBER.

1ſt. The pope has ſent to all the courts, and to all the princes of Europe, without exception, a long memoire, in which he fully details the unjuſt proceedings, and the contradictory, atrocious, and barbarous meaſures, of the French *ſoi-diſant* conſtituent aſſembly, relative to the uſurpation of Avignon and of the Comtat.

He complains that this aſſembly, after having loudly proteſted that they renounced the ſpirit of conqueſt, and after having acknowledged the right of the Holy See to Avignon and the Comtat Venaiſſin, confirmed by an undiſturbed poſſeſſion for more than five centuries, have been guilty of the moſt horrible crimes, and have ſhed torrents of blood, with a view to uſurp this country.

William Jolliffe, Eſq. was brought up to receive the judgment of the court of King's Bench, (having been convicted at the laſt aſſizes for Kingſton,

Kingſton, of diſtributing papers, with a view of prejudicing the minds of the jury, on the trial of an information againſt him).—The court ſentenced him to ſix months impriſonment in the King's Bench priſon, and a fine of one hundred pounds, and to be impriſoned until he paid the fine. Mr. Jolliffe addreſſed himſelf to the court, ſaying, that he appriſed their Lordſhips that he was a member of parliament, and that he ſhould inform the houſe of his being impriſoned.—To this Lord Kenyon made this anſwer, "The defendant muſt be committed in execution of his ſentence."

On the 7th was held a general court of the proprietors of the Sierra Leone Company, when it was reſolved, that a capital of not leſs than 50,000 l. ſhould be added to their former capital of 100,000 l. before reſolved upon, in conſideration of the increaſing magnitude of their affairs, and of the wiſh expreſſed by many proprietors to recommend more new ſubſcribers than a capital of 100,000 l. would allow of: it was alſo reſolved, that the whole of the ſubſcriptions ſhould be paid at once, within one month after they ſhould be called for by the directors; and that each proprietor ſhould give in his ſhare of recommendations of new ſubſcribers on or before the 13th inſt. who are to be ballotted for on the 20th inſt. Such deficiency as may remain from any proprietor failing to fill up his ſhare by the 13th inſt. is to be ſupplied by the proprietors in general, on or before the 1ſt of February.

10th. In the court of chancery, application was made for further directions as to the re-delivery of Madame du Barré's jewels, and the payment of the expences incurred on their recovery. The lord chancellor made ſome pointed animadverſions on the *ſcramble* for the reward and expences: and it was finally ſettled, that 3000l. ſhould be depoſited by Madame du Barré to anſwer all demands, which are to be liquidated by arbitration, and the jewels immediately delivered up.

11th. John Frith, who has been for a conſiderable time confined in Newgate for high treaſon, in throwing a ſtone at his majeſty, was, upon the motion of Mr. Garrow, his counſel, put to the bar. The affidavits of a phyſician and ſurgeon were produced, purporting, that they had attended and examined the ſtate of mind of the priſoner ſince his confinement in Newgate, and that they had found that he was an inſane perſon. The attorney general ſaid, he had ſeen and admitted the truth of the affidavits. He was authoriſed to inform the court, that he was in poſſeſſion of the king's ſign manual, by which his majeſty conſented to the priſoner's being diſcharged from the gaol of Newgate, upon condition that ſecurity was given that he ſhould be confined in ſome proper place as a lunatic, or in ſome other manner taken care of, ſo as to anſwer his majeſty's moſt gracious intentions. Bail were then produced, and the priſoner was ordered to be liberated.

12th. In the afternoon as ſeveral young men were ſkaiting on the ice on the Canal in St. James's Park, two of them fell in; two others, endeavouring to reſcue them, ſhared the ſame fate, by the ice giving way; they were in the water

more than half an hour, when one, by the aſſiſtance of a ladder, was got out, but three were unfortunately drowned. A boat was brought from Weſtminſter Bridge, but too late; the bodies were taken up, and carried to three public-houſes, where the uſual means preſcribed by the Humane Society were uſed, but without the deſired effect.

13th. In the morning a moſt dreadful fire broke out at the ſugar-houſe of Mr. Engell, Wellcloſe Square, which entirely conſumed the ſame, together with three houſes contiguous to it. There were about 500 tons of ſugar, rough and refined. The conflagration was truly dreadful, and raged with the utmoſt fury for above four hours.—The loſs is eſtimated at upwards of 30,000l.

14th. Was tried at Guildhall, the cauſe of —— Martin, Eſq. againſt —— Petrie, Eſq.

This was an action againſt the defendant for criminal converſation with the plaintiff's wife.—The damages were laid in the declaration at 20,000l.

Mr. Bearcroft, on the part of the plaintiff, ſtated, that he was the eldeſt ſon of a gentleman of large fortune in the county of Galway, in Ireland. In the year 1777 he married a lady of beauty and accompliſhments, a Miſs Veſey. With her he lived happily for the ſpace of fourteen years, having had, during that time, nine children by her. At the end of that period he was under the neceſſity of leaving his wife at Paris, where he had reſided for ſome time, and of returning to England. During his abſence the defendant was introduced to the acquaintance of his lady, whom he after a ſhort period ſeduced.—The jury gave a verdict of 10,000l. damages.

18th. This evening, as an elderly woman, houſekeeper to Mr. Francis, of St. James's-ſquare, was ſitting by the kitchen fire, the flames caught her cloaths, and burned her in ſo terrible a manner, that ſhe expired in a few hours afterwards.

19th. The right hon. the lord mayor, the aldermen, ſheriffs, and common council of the city of London, waited upon their royal highneſſes the duke and ducheſs of York, and preſented their complimentary congratulations on their late marriage.

The following is the duke of York's anſwer: "I return you my moſt hearty thanks for this addreſs, ſo full of ſentiments of attachment to the houſe of Brunſwick, and of affection to me.

"Your expreſſions of joy on the occaſion of my marriage give me the higheſt ſatisfaction; and the city of London may rely upon my unabating zeal for their welfare and proſperity, and on my conſtant endeavour to preſerve their affection and regard."

The following is the Ducheſs's anſwer, viz. "I thank you for your congratulations, ſo expreſſive of love and duty to the king our ſovereign, and of affection to the duke of York and myſelf. They make impreſſions on my mind, and it ſhall be my conſtant and unremitting ſtudy to continue to deſerve the eſteem of the city of London."

21ſt. At half paſt 8 o'clock, a fire broke out in Miſs Le Clerc's apartments, on the ſecond floor in Richmond-houſe, Privy-Gardens, which was occaſioned by a ſpark having ſhot from the fire to the bed furniture,

ture, where the young lady lay aſleep. The duke was then writing a letter in the library, where the breakfaſt-cloth was laid. In a few minutes afterwards, his grace, the ducheſs, and Miſs Le Clerc (the ducheſs carying a favourite dog under her arm) left the houſe, and the ladies were eſcorted to the duke of Buccleugh's by a gentleman, who appeared to be a friend of the family, and who met this party upon the ſteps.

The duke returned to the yard of his houſe, and there being then no engines, and very little readineſs either in the aſtoniſhed ſervants, or the populace, to afford aſſiſtance, he ſeemed likely to be in a very ſhort time a witneſs to the deſtruction of his entire property there. A gentleman at this time ran up the great ſtair-caſe, and preſently afterwards ſome of the populace, encouraged by his example and entreaty, followed. Eight or nine perſons ſeemed then to be employed by his direction in lowering furniture from the windows, and bearing it down ſtairs. Three looking-glaſſes, ſaid to be worth twelve hundred pounds, were thus reſcued; two large cabinets, containing his grace's papers, were lowered from the rails of the balcony by this unknown gentleman.

Upon the whole it appears, that the endeavours then uſed for the preſervation of the valuable furniture and effects were ſo far ſucceſsful, that all the papers in the office fronting towards the garden, and appropriated by the duke to ordnance buſineſs, are ſaved; all the furniture of the firſt floor, even to the hangings of the duke's bed; all his private papers, with the letter which he had left unfiniſhed, and the valuable paintings, are ſaved. One looking-glaſs of great value was broken and left behind, the others were carried down the great ſtair-caſe.

The books in the library were ſaved by being thrown from the windows upon mattreſſes, which the ſtranger, who ſeemed to conduct the whole, had ordered to be placed under them. The model of the new houſe intended to be built by the Duke at Goodwood, and all the valuable buſts from the library, were alſo ſaved.

About one o'clock the whole roof fell in; three floating engines on the river played the water on the eaſt ſide, and a number of engines in the yard played very rapidly; ſo that ſoon after four o'clock they got it nearly under. His Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, with about 300 of the Coldſtream regiment, aſſiſted the watermen, and kept off the mob.

During the rage of the fire, a favourite ſpaniel dog of the Duke's was obſerved at the window of an apartment, jumping and making endeavours to force his way through the glaſs. His Grace offering a reward to any perſon that would ſave him, a waterman, by means of ladders faſtened together, mounted to the window, threw up the ſaſh, and brought the dog down ſafe. The Duke gave him ten guineas, and the Duke of York one, for this act of humanity and courage.

The pictures, and moſt of the numerous writings and curious books, which his Grace poſſeſſed, we are extremely happy to hear, are ſaved. At ſuch a fire, the loſs of property is not the higheſt conſideration; ſcience often ſuffers irreparably.

No lives were loſt, nor have we heard of any material accident ſuſtained

tained by the perſons who aſſiſted.

Several reſpectable buckle-manufacturers from Birmingham, Walſall, and Wolverhampton, waited upon his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales with a petition, ſetting forth the diſtreſſed ſituation of thouſands in the different branches of the buckle manufacture, from the faſhion now, and for ſome time back, ſo prevalent, of wearing ſhoeſtrings inſtead of buckles. His Royal Highneſs, after conſidering the petition very attentively, graciouſly promiſed his utmoſt aſſiſtance by his example and influence.

24th. The Roman Catholic inhabitants of Kerry county in Ireland have preſented an addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant, profeſſing their loyalty and attachment to the government, with a ſolemn declaration, that they hold in abhorrence all writings and actions tending to excite ſedition or favour faction. The addreſs is ſigned by Lord Kenmare and Gerard Teahan — the former as repreſentative of the inhabitants, the latter as primate of the clergy.

30th. The Fazeley and Birmingham canal, which has proved ſo advantageous to that ſeat of induſtry and arts, on which was expended upwards of 100,000l. a few years ago, is now ſo far improved in value, that a ſhare which coſt 140l. was lately ſold by auction for 1080l.

Died on the 2d, Henry Flood, Eſq. member of the privy council of Ireland.—He has by his laſt will bequeathed a property of about 800l. a year to his kinſman Warden Flood, Eſq. — to Ambroſe Smith, Eſq. his confidential lawyer and friend, a landed property of about 250l. a year for ever, and an annuity of 300l. a year for life; to a young lady who has lived for ſome years in the houſe with lady Frances Flood, 1000l.; to George Huſon, an old and faithful ſervant whom he had ſettled on his eſtate, 1000l. and the rent of his farm; to his own man 200l.; and to all his other ſervants of every deſcription a full year's wages; to Lady Frances Flood, all the remainder of his perſonal property, and all the remainder of his eſtates, amounting to more than 4000l. a year, for the term of her natural life; and at her death, the whole of the landed property to the univerſity of Dublin, for the purpoſe of founding a profeſſorſhip, and encouraging the ſtudy of the Iriſh or Erſe language; for purchaſing manuſcripts and printed books in that language, and in the ſeveral dialects connected with it, whereſoever they can be found; and alſo manuſcripts and printed books in the claſſical and modern languages; and for granting ſix liberal annual premiums for the beſt compoſitions in proſe and verſe in the Iriſh, Greek, or Latin, and Engliſh languages. And ſhould, through any defect in his will, or from the operation of any ſtatute of force in this kingdom, his bequeſt to the univerſity not prove valid, he then leaves the eſtates meant for that learned ſeminary to Ambroſe Smith, Eſq. whom, together with Lady Frances Flood, he appoints joint executors of his will.

Lately, at Plymſtock, near Plymouth, aged 77, Captain Thomas Rayment, of the royal navy. As a lieutenant, in the war of 1755, he ſerved with diſtinguiſhed reputation; was preſent at the reduction of Louiſbourg, the taking of Quebec,

bec, and the ſiege of Belleiſle; at all which places he was ſeverely wounded, inſomuch that he was obliged to return to England for his health. He commanded a cutter on the Weymouth ſtation. On the late peace he often took the preſent Earl of Chatham a cruize in the Channel for the benefit of his health; and though repeatedly aſked what he wiſhed in the line of his profeſſion, by the Duke of Grafton, when firſt lord of the admiralty, he declined any preferment but the command of a cutter, ſaying, in his blunt way, "If the admiralty thought his ſervices and wounds did not demand promotion, he would not aſk it." When his Majeſty viſited Plymouth, in Auguſt, 1789, Lieutenant Rayment was preſented to him, with other officers, and particular mention made of him by the Earl of Chatham. His Majeſty, with his uſual benignity, ordered the board of admiralty to put his name as a maſter and commander on the liſt. This honeſt, rough ſailor declared he felt more pleaſure at being thus promoted than at any circumſtance of his life. Subſequent to his promotion, the wounds in his leg gave him great pain; and ſeveral ſmall bones working out, he determined to ſuffer amputation of the limb affected. He underwent the operation with great fortitude, not even uttering a ſigh or a groan; and declaring to the ſurgeon, that if he would find knife he would find leg, and bid him take care to "belay well, and mind his backſtays."

At Bath, Sir Henry-George Ravenſworth Liddell, bart. of Durham. He ſucceeded the late Lord Ravenſworth in his eſtates, when the title became extinct, and only the baronetage revived in his perſon; and afterwards married Miſs Steele, ſiſter to the Right Hon. Thomas Steele, M. P. who ſurvives him. He poſſeſſed an immenſe eſtate in the North, where he was diſtinguiſhed for a warm and generous ſpirit, which ſometimes, however, carried him into romantic tranſactions. His excurſion to Lapland, upon a wager, and his return with two Lapland girls and rein-deer, are well remembered. See the "Tour through Sweden, Swediſh Lapland, Finland, and Denmark. By Matthew Conſett, Eſq. Stockton, 1789," 4to. from May 24 to Auguſt 12, 1786. The Lapland girls were returned ſafe to their native country, after an abſence of ſeveral months, with 50l. and a cargo of trinkets; and the rein-deer have bred in England.

BIRTHS for the Year 1791.

Jan. 1. Lady of Thomas Boothby Parkyns, Eſq. M. P. a daughter.

Feb. 1. Counteſs of Aylesford, a daughter.

6. Lady of ſir Richard Carr Glynn, a ſon.

11. Lady of Samuel Thornton, Eſq. M. P. a daughter.

14. Lady Apſley, a ſon.

15. Lady Mary Palk, wife of Lawrence Palk, Eſq. M. P. a ſon.

Lady Elizabeth Loftus, a ſon.

Lady Deerhurſt, a ſon.

16. Her Catholic majeſty, a princeſs, baptiſed by the name of Maria Thereſa Philippa, &c. &c. to the number of ſixty names.

Mar. 24. Lady of William Adam, Eſq. M. P. a ſon.
April 5. Lady Leſlie, a daughter.
17. Marchioneſs of Saliſbury, a ſon and heir.
Lady Catharine Rodney, a daughter.
23. Lady of Sir James Tylney Long, bart. a daughter.
At the Hague, Lady Auckland, a ſon.
24. Counteſs of Tankerville, a daughter.
May 4. Counteſs of Cavan, a ſon.
15. Marchioneſs de Choiſeul, a ſon.
19. Lady of Reginald Pole Carew, Eſq. M. P. a daughter.
21. Lady of Dr. Cleaver, biſhop of Cheſter, a daughter.
30. Lady of George Finch Hatton, Eſq. a ſon and heir.
31. Lady of Gerard Noel Edwards, Eſq. M. P. a daughter.
June 3. Ducheſs of Montroſe, a daughter.
8. Lady of Richard Joſeph Sulivan, Eſq. M. P. a ſon.
14. Lady Cathcart, a daughter.
26. Lady M. Stuart, a daughter.
Lately, Counteſs of Lincoln, a daughter.
July 4. Viſcounteſs Bayham, a daughter.
25. Lady of Sir William Foulis, a daughter.
28. Viſcounteſs Valletort, a daughter.
Aug. 3. Lady Charlotte Lenox, a ſon and heir.
4. Lady of James Lowther, Eſq. M. P. a daughter.
5. Lady of Sir Thomas Rumbold, bart. a daughter.
Lady of the Hon. Mr. Petre, a daughter.
10. Lady of Sir Gregory Page Turner, bart. a ſon.
12. Lady Elizabeth Howard, lady of Bernard Howard, Eſq. preſumptive heir to the Duke of Norfolk, a ſon and heir.
13. Lady of Lord Brownlow, a ſon.
21. Ducheſs of Leinſter, a ſon and heir.
Sept. 13. Ducheſs of Northumberland, a daughter.
15. Lady of Scrope Bernard, Eſq. M. P. a ſon.
22. Lady of the Hon. colonel Fox, a ſon.
Counteſs of Granard, a ſon.
29. Lady Kinnaird, a daughter.
Oct. 9. Counteſs of Lauderdale, a daughter.
12. Lady Saltoun, a ſon.
16. Hon. Mrs. Drummond, of Perth, a ſon.
27. Counteſs Spencer, a ſon.
Nov. 4. Lady Suſannah Thorpe, a daughter.
6. Lady of Sir John Sinclair, bart. a daughter.
13. Viſcounteſs Stopford, a ſon and heir.
20. Counteſs of Harrington, a daughter.
21. Lady of Sir William Wake, bart. a ſon and heir.
24. Viſcounteſs Falmouth, a daughter.
27. Lady Balgonie, a ſon.
28. Lady of Sir John Frederick, bart. a ſon.
Dec. 1. Lady of Sir Cecil Biſhopp, bart. a daughter.

Lately,

Lately, Counteſs Poulett, a ſon.

13. Lady of the Hon. colonel Rodney, a ſon.

14. Lady of Viſcount Gage, a ſon and heir.

20. Lady Compton, a daughter.

28. Lady of the Hon. Edw. Foley, a ſon and heir.

MARRIAGES for the Year 1791.

Jan. 5. Right Hon. John Charles Villiers, to Miſs Mary Forbes, daughter of the Hon. admiral Forbes.

6. Earl Fauconberg to Miſs Cheſhyre, daughter of the late J. Cheſhyre, Eſq. of Bennington, Herts.

18. Lord Ducie to Mrs. Child.

Sir John Roger Palmer, bart. to Miſs Altham.

24. Sir Henry Tempeſt, bart. to Miſs S. Pritchard Lambert.

29. Viſcount Stopford, to Lady Mary Montagu Scott, daughter of the Duke of Buccleugh.

Feb. 16. Henry Auguſtus Leiceſter, Eſq. brother to Sir John Fleming Leiceſter, bart. to Miſs Letitia Sophia Smyth, daughter of Nicholas Owen Smyth Owen, Eſq. of Condover, Salop.

Rawſon Hart Boddam, Eſq. late governor of Bombay, to Miſs Tudor, of St. James's-ſtreet.

22. Benjamin Bond Hopkins, Eſq. M. P. to Miſs Knight, ſiſter of Robert Knight, Eſq. of Burrells, in Warwickſhire.

24. Marcus Beresford, Eſq. ſon of the Right Hon. John Beresford, to Lady Frances Arabella Leeſon.

Rev. Miles Beevor, ſon of Sir Thomas Beevor, bart. to Miſs Beevor, daughter of James Beevor, Eſq. of Norwich.

March 25. Francis John Browne, Eſq. M. P. for Dorſet, to Miſs Baring, daughter of John Baring, Eſq.

29. John Sutton, Eſq. captain in the navy, to Miſs Hotham, daughter of Baron Hotham.

30. William Richardſon, Eſq. accomptant-general to the Eaſt India company, to Elizabeth counteſs dowager of Winterton.

April 4. Lord Strahaven, to Miſs Cope, ſiſter to the Ducheſs of Dorſet.

16. Lord chief baron Eyre, to Miſs Southwell.

25. Thomas Tyrwhitt Jones, Eſq. M. P. to Miſs Harriet Williams, daughter of Edward Williams, Eſq. of Eaton, Shropſhire.

George James Earl of Cholmondeley, to Lady Georgiana Charlotte Bertie, daughter of Peregrine, third Duke of Ancaſter.

26. Viſcount Fielding, ſon to the Earl of Denbigh, to Miſs Powys, daughter of Thomas Powys, Eſq. M. P. for Northamptonſhire.

28. James

28. James earl of Cardigan, to lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, daughter of John third earl Waldegrave.

29. Lionel earl of Dyſart, to Miſs Lewis, ſiſter of Henry Greſwold Lewis, eſquire.

May 6. Sir Sidney Stafford Northcote, baronet, to Miſs Baring, daughter of Charles Baring, eſquire.

16. Henry Charles, marquis of Worceſter, to lady Charlotte Leveſon Gower, daughter of the marquis of Stafford.

24. Reverend Edward Hay Drummond, brother to the earl of Kinnoul, to Miſs Auriol, of Portugal-ſtreet, Groſvenor-ſquare.

June 2. Francis Buller Yarde, eſquire, member of parliament, to Miſs Halliday.

Sir Thomas Cave, baronet, to lady Lucy Sherrard.

4. Chambrey Brabazon Ponſonby, eſquire, to lady Harriot Taylor.

12. Robert Knight, eſquire, of Barrils, Warwickſhire, to the honourable Miſs F. Dormer.

16. William Farrington, eſquire, of Shaw-hall, Lancaſhire, to Miſs Wilbraham Bootle, daughter of Richard Wilbraham Bootle, eſquire.

17. Sir James Foulis, baronet, to Miſs Dallas.

21. Thomas Smith, eſquire, of the Inner-Temple, to the honourable Miſs Mary Hely Hutchinſon, daughter of lord Donoughmore.

27. William Robert Philimore, eſquire, to the honourable Miſs Sarah Henley Ongley, daughter of the late lord Ongley.

July 4. Philip lord Sherard, to Miſs Eleanor Monckton, daughter of the honourable John Monckton.

11. Sir Nelſon Rycroft, baronet, to Miſs Read, daughter of the late Henry Read, eſquire, of Crowood, Wilts.

13. John Chardin Muſgrave, eſquire, eldeſt ſon of ſir Philip Muſgrave, baronet, to Miſs Filmer, daughter of the reverend Edward Filmer, rector of Crandale, Kent.

20. Lord William Beauclerk, to Miſs Carter Thelwall.

12. Lord Le Deſpencer to Miſs Eliza Eliot, daughter of Samuel Eliot, eſquire, of Antigua.

21. Sir George Wombwell, baronet, to lady Anne Bellaſyſe, daughter of the earl of Fauconberg.

31. Honourable Richard Chetwynd, eldeſt ſon of viſcount Chetwynd, to Miſs Charlotte Cartwright, daughter of the late Thomas Cartwright, eſquire, of Aynho, Northamptonſhire.

Aug. 1. Charles Milne, eſquire, of Preſton-hall, Kent, to Miſs Harriot Dyke, daughter

daughter of ſir John Dixon Dyke, baronet.

4. Lord Henry Fitzgerald, to Miſs Boyle, daughter of the late honourable captain Robert Boyle Walſingham.

9. John Trevelyan, eſquire, eldeſt ſon of ſir John Trevelyan, baronet, to Miſs Maria Wilſon, daughter of lieutenant-general ſir Thomas Spencer Wilſon, baronet.

15. William Plumer, eſquire, member of parliament, to Miſs Jane Hamilton, daughter to the late honourable and reverend Dr. George Hamilton.

18. Colonel Greville, to Miſs Graham, ſiſter to ſir Bellingham Graham, baronet.

19. Earl of Darnley, to Miſs Elizabeth Brownlow, daughter of the right honourable William Brownlow.

24. Hugh Barlow, eſquire, member of parliament for Pembroke, to Miſs Creſpigny, daughter of Philip Champion Creſpigny, eſquire.

25. Captain Paget Bayly, brother to the earl of Uxbridge, to Miſs Colepeper.

29. Rev. ſir Richard Kaye, baronet, dean of Lincoln, to Mrs. Mainwaring.

Sept. 6. Sir William Hamilton, K. B. to Miſs Harte.

15. Marquis of Blandford, to lady Suſan Stewart, daughter of the earl of Galloway.

29. The duke of York, to the princeſs-royal of Pruſſia.

Oct. 1. The hereditary prince of Orange, to princeſs Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina of Pruſſia.

Lately, lord Grantley, to Miſs Midgley, daughter of the late Jonathan Midgley, eſquire, of Beverley.

12. Timothy Shelly, eſquire, member of parliament, to Miſs Pilfold, of Weſt Grinſtead.

13. Reverend William Sneyd, to Mrs. Emma Cecil, daughter of the late Thomas Vernon, eſquire, of Hambury, Worceſterſhire, and late wife of Henry Cecil, eſquire.

Nov. 30. Margrave of Anſpach and Bareith, to Elizabeth lady Craven.

4. George William Rickets, eſquire, of Biſhop's-Sutton, Hants, to Miſs Letitia Mildmay, of Twyford.

12. Earl of Mount-Caſhell, to the honourable Miſs King, daughter of lord Kingſborough.

Dec. 6. Sir George Armytage, baronet, to miſs Mary Bowles, daughter of Oldfield Bowles, eſquire, of North-Aſton, Oxfordſhire.

9. Captain J. Smith, of the royal-navy, to viſcounteſs dowager Dudley and Ward.

12. Colonel Charles Gould, to the honourable Miſs Dormer.

PRO-

PROMOTIONS for the Year 1791.

January. John Hughes, Horatio Spry, William Souter, Harry Innes, James Francis Perkins, and Maurice Wemyss, lieutenant-colonels of marines, to be colonels in the army.

John Watson, esquire, to be his majesty's consul at Venice, vice Robert Richie, esquire, deceased.

Sir Robert Chambers, knight, to be chief justice of the supreme court of judicature at Fort William, in Bengal, vice sir Elijah Impey, knight, resigned.

William Dunkin, esquire, to be one of the judges of the supreme court of judicature at Fort William, in Bengal, vice sir Robert Chambers, knight.

The dignity of baron of the kingdom of Ireland to the right honourable Alleyn Fitz-Herbert, by the name, stile, and title of Baron St. Helen's.

Arthur viscount Gosford to be governor of the county of Armagh.

February. James Earl of Cardigan to be governor of Windsor Castle.

The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain to Charles Warre Malet, esquire, resident at Poonah, in the East Indies;

As also to John Kennaway, esquire, captain of infantry in the service of the East India Company, and resident at Hydrabad.

The dignity of a baronet of Ireland to Thomas Lighton, esquire, of Merville, in the county of Dublin.

March. Mr. Steele and the honourable Mr. Ryder to the office of joint paymaster, vice duke of Montrose and lord Mulgrave, resigned; and Mr. Charles Long to be secretary of the treasury, vice Mr. Steele.

Thomas Steele, Esq. to be one of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

The reverend Charles Manners Sutton to the deanery of Peterborough, vice the reverend Dr. Charles Tarrant, deceased.

The honourable Spencer Percival to the offices of clerk of the irons, and surveyor of melting-houses, in the tower of London, vice George Selwyn, esquire, deceased.

W. Dunkin, esquire, lately appointed one of the judges of the supreme court at Bengal, to the honour of knighthood.

Lord Charles Henry Somerset to be gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales.

April. Right honourable Thomas Harley to be lieutenant and custos rotulorum of Radnorshire, vice his late brother, the earl of Oxford, deceased.

The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain to Stephen Lushington, of South-hill park, in Berks, esquire, chairman of the East-India company, and the heirs male of his body, lawfully begotten.

Right honourable Thomas Ord to be governor of the Isle of Wight, vice the duke of Bolton, resigned.

Major General O'Hara to the command of the 74th regiment of foot, vice sir Archibald Campbell, deceased.

Barne Barne, esquire, to be a commissioner of taxes, vice Daniel Bull, esquire, deceased.

Right honourable George viscount Parker to be comptroller of his majesty's household, and one of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Major-

Major-general David Dundas to be colonel of the 22d regiment of foot.

May. The right honourable lord Grenville, the right honourable William Pitt, the right honourable Henry Dundas, the right honourable lord Frederick Campbell, his grace James duke of Montroſe, and the right honourable Thomas Steele, to be his majeſty's commiſſioners for the affairs of India.

June. The right honourable Henry Dundas to be one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, vice the duke of Leeds, reſigned.

The right reverend father in God, Dr. Shute Barrington, biſhop of Saliſbury, to be biſhop of Durham, vice Dr. Thomas Thurlow, deceaſed.

The right honourable ſir William Hamilton, K. B. to be one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council.

The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain to the following gentlemen, and the reſpective heirs male of their bodies, lawfully begotten; viz.

Walter James James, of Langley-hall, in Berks, eſquire.

Lieutenant-general Sir William Erſkine, knight.

Henry Martin, eſquire, comptroller of his majeſty's navy.

C. W. Boughton Rouſe, of Rouſe Lench, in Worceſterſhire, eſquire.

Chriſtopher Hawkins, of Trewithen, in Cornwall, eſquire.

John Call, of Whiteford, in Cornwall, eſquire.

George Jackſon, of Harthamhouſe, in Wilts, eſquire, judge-advocate of his majeſty's fleet.

Ralph Woodford, eſquire, late envoy extraordinary to Denmark.

Charles Pole, of Woolverton, in Hants, eſquire.

Robert Howell Vaughan, of Nannau, in Merionethſhire, eſquire.

Reverend Charles Rich (late Boſtock), of Roſe-hall, Suffolk, LL. D.

Charles Grave Hudſon, of Wanlip, in Leiceſterſhire, eſquire.

George Iviſon Tapps, of Hinton Admiral, in Hants, eſquire.

George Chad, of Thurſford, in Norfolk, eſquire; and

Berney Brograve, of Worſteadhouſe, in Norfolk, eſquire.

Sir James Peachy, baronet, to be maſter of the robes to his majeſty, vice the earl of Cardigan.

The honourable vice-admiral Robert Digby, to be groom of his majeſty's bed-chamber.

John earl of Chatham, Charles George Lord Arden, Samuel lord Hood, honourable John Thomas Townſhend, Alan Gardner, John Smyth, and Charles Small Pybus, eſquires, to be lords of the admiralty.

The dignity of a marquis of the kingdom of Ireland to the right honourable Arthur earl of Donegal, by the name, ſtyle, and title of marquis of Donegal; alſo to the right honourable Charles earl of Drogheda, by the name, ſtyle, and title of marquis of Drogheda.

James Allan Park, eſquire, of Lincoln's-inn, barriſter at law, appointed (by the chancellor of his majeſty's duchy of Lancaſter) vice-chancellor of the county palatine of Lancaſter, vice Swinnerton, deceaſed.

Thomas Lord Welles, created viſcount Northland, of Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone.

Arthur Lord Harberton, created viſcount Harberton, of Carbury, in the county of Kildare.

Robert

Robert Boyd, esq. appointed a justice of the court of king's-bench in Ireland, vice Bradstreet, deceased.

July. Lord Hervey, envoy extraordinary at Florence, to be minister plenipotentiary at that court.

Dr. John Douglas, bishop of Carlisle, translated to the see of Salisbury.

Major-general Alured Clarke to be colonel of the 60th regiment of foot.

Joseph Hewitt, esquire, to be a justice of the court of king's-bench in Ireland.

George earl of Morton created baron Douglas, of Lochleven, in the county of Kinross.

August. William Woodley, esquire, to be governor of the Leeward Charibbee islands.

The reverend Edward Venables Vernon, LL. D. to the bishoprick of Carlisle.

Dr. James Cornwallis, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, to the deanery of Windsor and Wolverhampton, and registry of the knights of the most noble order of the garter thereunto annexed, vice Dr. John Douglas.

October. The right honourable the viscountess Sydney to be one of the ladies of the bed-chamber to her majesty, vice the dowager countess of Effingham, deceased.

Lieutenant-general Smith to be lieutenant-general of marines, vice lieutenant-general Mackenzie.

November. Morton Eden, esquire, to be his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin.

Honourable William Eliot to be his majesty's secretary of legation to the court of Berlin.

Charles Mace, esquire, to be his majesty's agent and consul-general at Algiers.

Hugh Elliot, esquire, to be his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Dresden.

David Gray, esquire, to be his majesty's secretary of legation to the court of Dresden.

Francis James Jackson, esquire, to be his majesty's secretary of embassy at the court of Madrid.

Reverend Robert Darley Waddilove to the deanery of Rippon, Yorkshire; vice the reverend Francis Wanley, D. D. deceased.

Thomas Stepney, esquire, to be groom of the bed-chamber; and the honourable lieutenant-colonel Charles Monson to be equerry to the duke of York.

Right honourable lady Ann Fitzroy, and the right honourable lady Elizabeth Spencer, to be ladies of the bed-chamber to her royal highness the duchess of York.

William Lindsay, esquire, to be resident at Venice, vice sir Francis Vincent, baronet, deceased.

December. George Martin Leake, esquire, to be Chester herald of arms, vice John Martin Leake, esquire, resigned.

Jacob earl of Radnor to be lord lieutenant of the county of Berks.

Honourable Arthur Paget to be his majesty's secretary of legation at the court of Petersburgh.

Daniel Hailes, esquire, to be envoy extraordinary to the court of Copenhagen.

William Gardiner, esquire, to be minister plenipotentiary to the court of Warsaw.

Colonel Samuel Hulse appointed treasurer; J. Kemys Tynte, esquire, master and comptroller of the household;

hold; colonel Charles Leigh groom of the bed-chamber; the honourable major George Hanger equerry; and major J. Doyle ſecretary to his royal highneſs the prince of Wales.

Captain J. W. Payne, of the royal navy, to be auditor and ſecretary of the duchy of Cornwall.

Reverend Iſaac Milner, D. D. F.R.S. and maſter of Queen's College, Cambridge, to the deanry of Carliſle.

The right honourable lord Grenville to the offices of ranger and keeper of St. James's-park, and of Hyde-park, vice the earl of Orford, deceaſed.

John King, eſquire, to be under-ſecretary of ſtate.

Captain Thomas Seabright to be gentleman-uſher of the privy-chamber in ordinary to his majeſty.

G. A. Pechell, eſquire, to be receiver-general of the cuſtoms, vice Bamber Gaſcoigne, eſquire, deceaſed.

DEATHS for the Year 1791.

January. In Great George-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, after a fortnight's illneſs, Lady Young, wife of Sir William Young, baronet, member of parliament.

At Badſidſe-houſe, in the county of Dumbarton, lady Helen Colquhoun, late wife of ſir James Colquhoun, and aunt to the late counteſs of Sutherland.

At Althorpe, in the county of Northampton, honourable Mr. Spencer, ſecond ſon of earl Spencer,

Reverend George Carleton, of Bartholomew-lane, couſin to lord Dorcheſter.

Suddenly, at his lordſhip's houſe in Curzon-ſtreet, May-fair, Mary counteſs Verney, the lady of Ralph earl Verney, one of the daughters and coheirs of Henry Herring, eſquire, of London and Egham, merchant and bank-director, and aunt to ſir Robert Clayton, baronet. She was born February 4, 1716, and married to his lordſhip September 11, 1740.

George Auguſtus Selwyn, eſquire, member of parliament.

At Grittleton, in Wiltſhire, Rear-admiral John Houlton.

In Groſvenor-ſquare, after a few-days illneſs, Lucy Knightley, eſquire, of Faweſly, in the county of Northampton, which county he repreſented in parliament many years. He married the daughter of ſir James Daſhwood, baronet, and ſiſter to ſir Henry Daſhwood, baronet, the ducheſs of Mancheſter, and the counteſs of Galloway. Dying without iſſue, his eſtate, which is very conſiderable, and has been in the family for many centuries, devolves to his next brother, Valentine Knightley, eſquire.

At Dover, the right honourable James Cunningham, earl of Glencairn, baron Kilmaurs in Scotland.

February. In Park-lane, after a long and painful illneſs, in the 24th year of her age, the lady of ſir Charles Roſs, baronet, member of parliament, to whom ſhe was married about three years ſince. She was counteſs of the Roman empire, and eldeſt daughter of the late general James Count Lockhart, of Lee, who died at Piſa, in Tuſcany, in February, 1790.

Lady Mary St. John, lady of the honourable major Frederick St. John.

At Brompton, Erſkine Douglas, M. D. brother to the late ſir John Douglas, baronet, of Kilhead, and

great

great nephew of William firſt duke of Queenſberry.

The honourable Miſs Leſlie, daughter of Lord Balgonie.

At Twickenham, lady Mary Savile, wife of Dr. Morton, principal librarian of the Britiſh muſeum, mother of the late ſir George Savile, baronet, and the preſent counteſs of Scarborough, and daughter of John Pratt, eſquire; married, 1722, to ſir George Savile, baronet, who died in 1743, by whom ſhe had alſo two daughters.

The counteſs dowager of Tankerville, mother of the preſent earl. She was daughter of ſir John Aſhley, baronet, of Pateſhall, Staffordſhire.

At Whalſey, lady Mitchell, daughter of John Bruce Stewart, eſquire, of Simbiſter, and widow of ſir John Bruce Mitchell, baronet, of Weſtſhore.

Suddenly, at her return from paying morning-viſits, to receive a ſelect party of friends at dinner, in her 33d year, the widow of the late ſir Robert Fletcher. It is ſuppoſed a blood-veſſel burſt in her head, as ſhe complained of an uncommon ſenſation there two days before. She was daughter of the late Mr. Pybus, banker, and niece to Mrs. Blackburne, of Buſh-hill.

March. In Bruton-ſtreet, lady Mary Palk, wife of Laurence Palk, eſquire, member of parliament for Aſhburton, in the county of Devon.

At Hampton, Middleſex, in his 85th year, ſir Robert Carr, baronet.

At his ſeat at Wentworth-caſtle, in the county of York, the right honourable William Wentworth, earl of Strafford, viſcount Wentworth, of Wentworth Woodhouſe, baron of Stainborough, baron Raby, Newmarch, and Overſley, and a baronet. He was born in November, 1712; was lineally deſcended from the younger brother (ſir William) of Thomas the celebrated earl of Strafford, beheaded in 1641; in whoſe ſon all the titles failed, except the barony of Raby, but were revived in Thomas, eldeſt ſon of ſir William, 1711 (10 Anne), who died 1739, leaving iſſue the late earl, who married, April 28, 1741, Anne, ſecond daughter and coheir of John Campbell, late duke of Argyle, who died February 7th, 1785, but had no iſſue. His lordſhip dying without iſſue, the titles of earl of Strafford and viſcount Wentworth, as well as the barony of Raby, devolve to his nephew, Frederick Thomas Wentworth.

At Paris, in his 49th year, right honourable lord Spencer Hamilton, uncle to the preſent duke of Hamilton, and one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales.

Lady Barclay, relict of the late ſir William, and mother of the preſent ſir James Barclay, baronet, captain in the royal navy.

At her houſe at Finchley, in a very advanced age, lady Mary Harris, relict of ſir Thomas Harris, knight. She was the youngeſt of the two daughters and coheireſſes of ſir Thomas Hare, of Stow Bardolph, Norfolk, knight, who died in 1759.

At Exeter, aged ſeven, the ſon of lord St. John.

At Bath, Edward Buller, eſquire, of Port Looe, Cornwall, brother to judge Buller.

On the South Parade, Bath, the lady of ſir William Wheler, baronet, of Leamington-Haſtang, in the county of Warwick, and daughter and

heireſs of the late Giles Knightley, eſquire, of Woodford, in the county of Northampton.

At Hampton-court, Anne counteſs dowager Ferrers (relict of Waſhington earl Ferrers, vice-admiral of the blue) and aunt to Robert the preſent earl Ferrers, to whom a conſiderable jointure devolves by her death. Her ladyſhip has been a widow ſince October 1ſt, 1778, when her lord died at Chartley-caſtle, and was buried at Staunton-Harold Dying without iſſue, he was ſucceeded by his brother Robert; and he, in 1787, by the preſent earl, his ſon and nameſake.

At his houſe in Curzon-ſtreet, May-Fair, aged 78, Ralph earl Verney in the kingdom of Ireland, one of the repreſentatives for the county of Buckingham. His counteſs died January 20. Sir John Verney, baronet, of a very antient family in the county of Bucks, in 1703 was created, by Queen Anne, baron Belturbet and viſcount Fermanagh in Ireland. He had one ſon, Ralph, (who ſucceeded him in 1717) and three daughters, one of which married ſir Thomas Cave, of Stanford-hall, baronet; another married colonel John Lovett. This Ralph was created earl Verney in the kingdom of Ireland in 1743, and died in 1752. He had two ſons: 1. John, who on July 2, 1736, married Miſs Nichols. He died in June following, his wife being then with child of a daughter, who is now living. 2. Ralph, who on September 11, 1740, married the daughter of Henry Herring, eſquire, of Mincing-lane. December 9, 1741, Richard Calvert, eſquire, brother to alderman Calvert, married Mrs. Verney, the widow of John Verney. She died about two years ago.—The laſt earl had no iſſue, ſo that the titles are extinct.

At his houſe in Upper Groſvenor-ſtreet, ſir Archibald Campbell, K. B. late governor and commander in chief on the coaſt of Coromandel, colonel of the 74th regiment of foot, a major-general of his majeſty's forces, and repreſentative in parliament for Stirling, &c. in Scotland.

April. In child-bed, Henrietta, viſcounteſs St. Aſaph, daughter of the marquis of Bath.

In Queen-Anne-ſtreet, in her 78th year, lady Charlotte Rich, only daughter of the late earl and counteſs of Warwick and Holland.

At his ſeat at Wallhampton, near Lymington, Hants, in his 85th year, ſir Harry Burrard, baronet.

At his ſeat in Scotland, where he had been indiſpoſed ſome time, John viſcount Arbuthnot. He is ſucceeded by his ſon Robert, an infant, only four years of age.

At Florence, in a decline, the honourable Mrs. Beckford, relict of Peter Beckford, eſquire, and daughter of lord Rivers.

At Aſpley, in Bedfordſhire, Arthur Owen, eſquire, uncle to ſir William Owen, baronet.

May. Sir William Parſons, baronet, member of parliament for King's-county, Ireland.

At his ſeat at Booterſtown, near Dublin, ſir Samuel Bradſtreet, baronet, one of the juſtices of the court of king's-bench in Ireland.

In Cavendiſh-ſquare, ſir William Jones, baronet, of Ramſbury-manor, Wilts.

Lady Dryden, relict of ſir John Dryden, baronet.

At Aberdoor-houſe, in Scotland, lieutenant general Robert Watſon.

At her houſe, the corner of Park-lane, after a long and painful illneſs,

Henrietta, dowager-counteſs Groſvenor.

At his houſe at Brompton-Grove, Middleſex, in his 90th year, Sir John Mylne, baronet, of Barnton, in North Britain, captain of Cowes caſtle, in the iſle of Wight (in which he is ſucceeded by colonel Drouly, of the firſt regiment of guards), captain of invalids in the iſland of Guernſey, and one of the oldeſt officers in his majeſty's ſervice.

At his ſeat at Calder-caſtle, in Scotland, the honourable John Sandilands, uncle to lord Torpichen.

At his houſe in Portland-place, in his 59th year, the right reverend Thomas Thurlow, D.D. biſhop of Durham.

At Fortroſe, the lady of ſir Alexander Mackenzie, baronet, of Coul, to whom he had been married 60 years.

In her 81ſt year, lady Carpenter, widow of George lord Carpenter, grandmother of the preſent earl of Tyrconnel, and mother of the counteſs of Egremont.

At Roehampton, ſir Gerard Vanneck, baronet, of Hevingham-hall, Suffolk.

At Dublin, in her 14th year, lady Emma-Elizabeth Proby, eldeſt daughter of the earl of Carysfort.

At Heaton, lady Egerton, relict of ſir Thomas Egerton, baronet, and mother of lord Grey de Wilton.

At Logicalmond-houſe, in Scotland, lady Catherine Drummond.

At his ſeat at Shavington, in the county of Salop, John Needham, tenth viſcount Kilmory.

June. At Tenby, in the county of Pembroke, after a long illneſs, John Knox, eſquire, of Waringsford, in the county of Down, in Ireland, only brother of lord Welles.

Selina counteſs dowager of Huntingdon

Lately, at Yeverdain, in Switzerland, lieutenant general Sir Frederick Haldimand, K. B. colonel of a battalion of the 60th, or royal American regiment, and late governor of the province of Canada.

At his lodgings in Hampſtead, ſir David Murray, baronet.

At Hallow-park, in the county of Worceſter, in an advanced age, lady Mary Douglas, baroneſs Mornington, wife of William Weaver, eſquire, and daughter of George fourth lord Mornington.

At Stubbs, in Scotland, ſir Francis Elliot, baronet.

After a very ſhort illneſs, ſir Lionel Lyde, baronet, of Bedford-ſquare, and of Ayot St. Lawrence, Herts.

Lady Anne Hamilton, relict of lord Anne Hamilton, ſon of James fourth duke of Hamilton.

Anne counteſs dowager of Heberdeen.

At Pangbourn, ſir Edward Manly Pryce, baronet.

July. At Rameceau, near Calais, after a tedious illneſs, the lady of ſir Thomas Champneys, baronet, of Orchardleg-houſe, in the county of Somerſet.

At his father's ſeat, in Scotland, lord Downe, eldeſt ſon and heir of the earl of Moray.

At Antrim-houſe, in Merrion-ſquare, Dublin, the moſt noble Randall-William M'Donnell, marquis, earl, and baron Antrim, viſcount Dunluce, one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, governor of the county of Antrim, knight of the bath, a baronet, and grand-maſter of antient maſons in England. He was born November 4, 1749; ſucceeded

ſucceeded his father, October 13, 1775; married, July 3, 1774, Letitia Trevor, daughter of Harvey lord viſcount Mountmorres, relict of the honourable Arthur Trevor, ſon of Arthur lord viſcount Dungannon: by whom he has left iſſue Anne-Catherine, and Letitia-Mary, both born Auguſt 11, 1778, on whom the earldom and viſcounty are entailed by patent, May 2, 1785. His lordſhip was created a marquis in Auguſt, 1789.

In Derbyſhire, in his 43d year, ſir William Fitzherbert, of Tiſſington-hall, in that county, baronet, one of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace for the ſaid county, and recorder of the borough of Derby; in which office he is ſucceeded by John Balguy, eſquire, of Duffield. He was the eldeſt brother of lord St. Helens, ambaſſador at Madrid, and married a daughter of baron Perryn.

At Hamburgh, after a few days illneſs, in her 69th year, her ſerene highneſs the ducheſs-dowager of Mecklenbourg Schwerin.

Auguſt. At Valenciennes, John Byron, eſquire, eldeſt ſon of the late honourable admiral Byron, born February 7, 1756. He married lady Conyers, after her divorce from the preſent duke of Leeds, 1779.

At his houſe in Sloane-ſtreet, Benjamin Jennings, eſquire, huſband to the viſcounteſs dowager Dudley and Ward.

At his ſeat at Dean's-court, Wimborne, aged 28, ſir William-Thomas Hanham, baronet. The title and eſtate devolve to his uncle, the reverend James Hanham, of the Cloſe, Saliſbury, rector of Winterborn-Zelſton, Dorſet.

At Great-Marlow, in Ireland, the right honourable dowager baroneſs Maſſey.

At Wanſtead, Eſſex, Mrs. Thurlow, widow of the late biſhop of Durham.

In Kennington-lane, Vauxhall, the honourable Iſabella Scott, widow of the honourable John Scott, only brother to the earl of Deloraine.

Sir Francis Vincent, baronet, reſident for the court of London at Venice.

September. Sir Brook Brydges, baronet.

Sir George Cayley, baronet.

Humphry Stevens, eſquire, major-general in the army, and lieutenant-colonel of the 3d regiment of foot-guards.

Catharine marchioneſs of Abercorn, at Bentley Priory, Stanmore. She was daughter of ſir Joſeph Copley.

At Woodbury-hill, near Gamlingay, in Cambridgeſhire, the honourable George Lane Parker, brother to the earl of Macclesfield, lieutenant-general in the army, and colonel of the 12th regiment of dragoons.

At Dunſany-caſtle, in Ireland, the lady of lord Dunſany.

Sir Francis Gerrard, baronet.

The right honourable lady Elizabeth Hay, ſiſter to the late and aunt to the preſent earl of Kinnoul.

At his ſeat of Gnoll-caſtle, in Glamorganſhire, ſir Herbert Mackworth, baronet, F. R. S. one of the vice-preſidents of the marine ſociety, colonel of the Glamorganſhire militia, and member in the laſt parliament for Cardiff, as was his father (who died Auguſt 20, 1765) in 1739. He was created a baronet Auguſt 24, 1776.

October. At Tormantine-houſe, in Scotland, lord Haddo. The unfortunate accident which occaſioned his death is very ſingular. After

handing lady Haddo and her ſiſter into her poſt-chaiſe, to go to attend the Aberdeen races, which commenced next day, his lordſhip had juſt mounted his horſe, and in leaning forward, the animal ſtruck him a violent blow with his head on the cheſt, which ſtunned him ſo much that he fell. His groom immediately ran to his aſſiſtance, and in a few minutes he was ſo far recovered as to be able again to mount his horſe with apparent eaſe; but before he had proceeded a few yards, the ſervant perceived him to be ſeized with a ſudden giddineſs, and he fell to the ground motionleſs. The burſting of a blood-veſſel is ſuppoſed to have been the immediate cauſe of his death.

At Niagara, in Canada, ſir William Erſkine, baronet, of Cambo.

At Dunlop, in Scotland, the dowager lady Wallace, relict of ſir Thomas Wallace, baronet.

At his houſe in Great Queen-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, in his 80th year, lieutenant-general John M'Kenzie, colonel-commandant and adjutant-general of the marine forces. He commanded the marines at the capture of Belleiſle, in 1761, where that corps gained immortal honour by their gallantry and good conduct. The general (then a lieutenant-colonel) was ſeverely wounded there.

At her houſe in town, by an apoplectic fit, the dowager-counteſs of Glaſgow. Her ladyſhip was the daughter of George lord Roſs, and was married to the late earl in 1775.

At Chelſea-college, Elizabeth counteſs-dowager of Effingham, daughter of Peter Beckford, eſquire, of Jamaica. She married, 1. Thomas ſecond earl of Effingham; and after his death, 1763, 2. Sir George Howard, K. B. She was one of the ladies of the bed-chamber to her majeſty.

At his ſeat at Firle, near Lewes, in Suſſex, after a long and painful illneſs, the right honourable William Hall Gage, viſcount Gage of Caſtle-iſland in Ireland, and baron Gage of Firle in England; paymaſter, 1780, of his majeſty's penſions, and F. R. S. K. B. and member of parliament for the cinque-ports of Seaford, 1744 and 1754. His lordſhip married, February 3, 1757, Miſs Gideon, daughter of the late Sampſon Gideon, eſquire, and ſiſter of the preſent lord Eardley, who died in 1783, and by whom he had no iſſue.

At Sunniſide, in Scotland, rear-admiral Inglis.

At Edinburgh, ſir Robert Dalzell, baronet, of Bruns.

On board his majeſty's ſhip Diana, in her paſſage from Jamaica to New-York, whither her ladyſhip was going for the recovery of her health, Catherine counteſs of Effingham, wife of the earl of Effingham, governor of Jamaica, to whom ſhe was married in October, 1765. She was daughter of Metcalfe Procter, eſquire, of Thorpe, near Wakefield, in the county of York, by his firſt wife, Martha, ſiſter of the late John Diſney, eſquire, of Lincoln, and was born September 17, 1746. Previous to her ladyſhip's death, ſhe expreſſed a wiſh, that when dead her body might be opened, which was accordingly done, and the liver found cloſely adhered to the right ſide; in which ſituation it appeared to have been ſome time.

At his houſe at Snareſbrook, Epping-foreſt, rear-admiral John Harriſon,

riſon, who was firſt captain under ſir George Pococke, in all the engagements with the French admiral Monſieur d'Aché, and at the taking of the Havannah.

At the Hoo, near Welmyn, Herts, lady Georgiana Beauclerk, daughter of the duke of St. Albans.

The honourable Thomas Henry Coventry, youngeſt ſon of lord Deerhurſt.

At Cheſter-le-ſtreet, ſir Blackſton Conyers, baronet, late collector of the cuſtoms at the port of Newcaſtle, and captain in the marines, 1757. He was of a very antient family, ſeated at Houghton Comeis, and Sockburn, in the county of Durham, ſoon after the conqueſt. John was firſt created a baronet by Charles I.; and from him was lineally deſcended the late baronet, whoſe father, ſir Ralph, married Jane, only daughter of Ralph Blackſton, eſquire.

In Switzerland, the right honourable William lord Craven, lord-lieutenant of the county of Berks.

At Donnybrook, near Dublin, the right honourable William lord Chetwynd.

At his houſe of Barras, in Scotland, ſir William Ogilvie, baronet.

November. Bamber Gaſcoigne, eſquire, receiver-general of the cuſtoms.

On her journey to Southampton, from which place ſhe was to embark for the ſouth of France, for the recovery of her health, Miſs Percy, daughter of the late duke of Northumberland, and half-ſiſter to the preſent duke, and to the earl of Beverley.

At his houſe in Lower Groſvenor-ſtreet, lieutenant-general Francis Smith, colonel of the 11th regiment of foot.

At her houſe in Epping-foreſt, Mrs. Harriſon, relict of the late rear-admiral Harriſon.

At his houſe in Queen-Anne-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, ſir Thomas Rumbold, baronet.

Miſs Jenkinſon, ſiſter to lord Hawkeſbury.

At Albyns, Eſſex, the lady of lieutenant-general ſir Robert Boyd, K. B. governor of Gibraltar.

Sir William Fagg, baronet.

At Jamaica, Thomas Howard, earl of Effingham, lord Howard, governor-general of that iſland, and a colonel in the army. He had been for ſome time in a dangerous ſtate of health; and it was partly in the hope of amendment from the climate, that he ſolicited the appointment to the government of Jamaica.

At his ſeat at Aldenham, near Bridgnorth, in the county of Salop, in his 80th year, ſir Richard Acton, baronet, fourth baronet of the family. He was ſheriff of Salop, in 1751, and married, 1744, lady Anne Grey, daughter of the earl of Stamford.

The right honourable lord Chetwynd.

In Clarges-ſtreet, the lady of ſir William Wake, baronet, after being ſafely delivered of a ſon and heir the preceding day. Her death was occaſioned by an incurable diſorder in her ſtomach, ſuppoſed of long duration.

The reverend John Shirley Fermor, brother-in-law to lord viſcount Conyngham.

At his ſeat at Hoddeſdon, Herts, ſir John Baptiſt Hicks, baronet, of Beverſton, in the county of Glouceſter. He is ſucceeded in title by Howe Hicks, eſquire, of Whitcombe-park, in the county of Glouceſter.

At Bath, ſir Henry George Raveniworth Liddell, of Durham, baronet.

William Dutton Napper, eſquire, brother to the right honourable lord Shireborn.

December. At Grantham, in Lincolnſhire, in his 70th year, Francis Cockayne Cuſt, eſquire, member of parliament.

Aged 86, Evan Lloyd Vaughan, eſquire, of Corſygedhl, member of parliament in the two laſt and preſent ſeſſions for Merionethſhire, North Wales.

Of a long illneſs, George third earl of Orford, viſcount and baron Walpole, baron of Houghton, and (from the death of his mother in 1781) baron Clinton and Say. He was grandſon of the firſt earl of Orford, prime-miniſter of George II. and was born April 1, 1730; and in the late reign enjoyed the places of lord of the bed-chamber, and of lord-lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Norfolk, and of the county and city of Norwich; in all which he was continued by his preſent majeſty, who appointed him alſo, 1763, ranger and keeper of St. James's and Hyde-parks. He was alſo ſteward of the corporation of Yarmouth.

At Buckland, Berks, in his 90th year, ſir Robert Throckmorton, baronet.

At his ſeat at Winterdyne, in Worceſterſhire, ſir Edward Winnington, baronet.

Sir George Richardſon, baronet, of Abingdon-ſtreet, Weſtminſter.

In her 88th year, honourable Mrs. Martin, ſiſter to the right honourable lord Fairfax.

At Summer-hill, in the county of Meath, in Ireland (the ſeat of her huſband), the right honourable Elizabeth Ormſby Rowley, viſcounteſs Langford, of Langford-lodge, and baroneſs of Summer-hill, in the county of Meath. Her ladyſhip married, on the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1732, Hercules Langford Rowley, eſquire, by whom ſhe had iſſue three ſons and four daughters; viz. Hercules, member of parliament for the county of Antrim; Clotworthy and Arthur, both deceaſed; Jane, married to Thomas earl of Bective; Catherine, to Edward-Michael lord Longford; Elizabeth, and Maria. She was raiſed to the peerage of Ireland in 1776, by the titles of viſcounteſs Langford, and baroneſs of Summer-hill, with limitations of the honours of viſcount and baron to her heirs-male by the right honourable Hercules Langford Rowley; and ſhe is ſucceeded in theſe honours by her eldeſt and only ſurviving ſon, Hercules, born in October, 1737, and who is yet unmarried. She was the daughter of Clotworthy Upton, eſquire, member of parliament for Newtown, 1695, and for the county of Antrim, from 1703 to his death, 1725, by Jane, daughter of John Ormſby, eſquire.

At Fern-hill, Windſor-foreſt, in her 63d year, lady Mary Knollys, relict of ſir Francis Knollys, baronet, and daughter of ſir Robert Kendall Cater, of Kempſton, in the county of Bedford. She was married in 1756.

At Edinburgh, the right honourable lady Mary Campbell, relict of Dougal Campbell, eſquire, of Glenſaddie.

At his ſeat at Craigie-hall, Scotland, in his 82d year, the honourable Charles Hope Weir. He was the ſecond ſon of Charles the firſt earl

earl of Hopetoun, who was ſo created in 1703, and uncle of the preſent earl. The name of Weir he took in addition to that of his family, in conſequence of his marriage with the heir of ſir William Weir, of Blackwood, baronet, by whom he had two ſons and a daughter.—From his ſecond lady, who was the daughter of the late and ſiſter of the preſent earl of Darlington, he was divorced; and her ſecond huſband was the honourable brigadier-general George Monſon, who died in 1777, in the Eaſt Indies, one year after lady Anne. Two ſons remained to Mr. Weir from this match.—His third lady, who brought him one ſon and three daughters, was Miſs N. Duncar, who ſurvives him.

In his fifth year, the honourable Charles Yorke, ſecond ſon of the earl of Hardwicke.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council, for the Year* 1791.

Berkſhire. Timothy Hare Earl, of Swallowfield-place, eſquire.

Bedfordſhire. F. Pym, of Haſell-hall, eſquire.

Bucks. Sir Robert Bateſon Harvey, of Langley-park, baronet.

Cumberland, Edmund Lamplugh Irton, of Irton, eſquire.

Cheſhire. Charles Watkin John Shakerley, of Somerford, eſquire.

Cambridge and Huntingdon, Geo. Thornhill, of Diddington, eſquire.

Devonſhire, Walter Palk, of Marleigh, eſquire.

Dorſetſhire. John Calcraft, of Rempſton, eſquire.

Derbyſhire, John Broadhurſt, of Foſton, eſquire.

Eſſex. Donald Cameron, of Great-Ilford, eſquire.

Glouceſterſhire. Michael Hicks Beach, of Williamſtrip, eſquire.

Hertfordſhire. Mathew Raper, of Aſhlyns-hall, eſquire.

Herefordſhire. Thomas Stallard Pennoyre, of the Moor, eſquire.

Kent James Drake Brockman, of Beechborough, eſquire.

Leiceſterſhire. John Frewen, of Cold Overton, eſquire.

Lincolnſhire. Robert Mitchell Robinſon, of Hanthorpe, eſquire.

Monmouthſhire. William Harriſon, of Ragland, eſquire.

Northumberland. J. Wood, of Beadnell, eſquire.

Northamptonſhire. Sir William Wake, of Courteenhall, baronet.

Norfolk. Sir John Fenn, of Eaſt Dereham, Kent.

Nottinghamſhire. George de Ligne Gregory, of Lenton, eſquire.

Oxfordſhire. J. P. Auriol, of Woodcot, eſquire.

Rutlandſhire. Thomas Woods, the younger, of Brook, eſquire.

Shropſhire. Thomas Pardoe, of Fairtree, eſquire.

Somerſetſhire. Abraham Elton, of Whiteſtanton, eſquire.

Staffordſhire. Moreton Walhouſe, of Hatherton, eſquire.

Suffolk. Sir William Rowley, of Stoke, baronet.

County of *Southampton.* Charles Poole, of Woolverton, eſquire.

Surry. Henry Bine, of Carſhalton, eſquire.

Suſſex. John Drew, of Chicheſter, eſquire.

Warwickſhire. Charles Palmer, of Ladbrooke, eſquire.

Worceſterſhire. Henry Wakeman, of Clalmes, eſquire.

Wiltſhire. John Awdry, of Norton, eſquire.

Yorkſhire. Sir George Armytage, of Kirklees, baronet.

SOUTH WALES.

Carmarthen. George Griffith Williams, of Llywynywermodd, eſquire.

Pembroke. William Wheeler Bowen, of Lampſton, eſquire.

Cardigan. David Hughes, of Veynog, eſquire.

Glamorgan. John Richards, of Cardiff, eſquire.

Brecon, Walter Jeffreys, of Brecon, eſquire.

Radnor. Thomas Jones, of Penkerigg, eſquire.

NORTH WALES.

Angleſea. Herbert Jones, of Llynnon, eſquire.

Carnarvonſhire. Thomas Lloyd, of Hendre Fenws, eſquire.

Merioneth. Griffith Roberts, of Bodynllyn, eſquire.

Montgomery. John Moxon, of Vaynor, eſquire.

Denbighſhire. John Jones, of Cefncoch, eſquire.

Flint. G. L. Wardle, of Hartsheath, eſquire.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highneſs the Prince of* Wales, *in Council, for the Year* 1791.

County of Cornwall. Sir William Moleſworth, of Pencarrow, baronet.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

SUCCESSES OF THE BRITISH ARMS IN THE EAST INDIES.

Account of the Capture of Cannanore *and* Turuckabad, *with ſeveral forts on the* Malabar Coaſt.

Camp near Cannanore,
January 9, 1791.

To Stephen Luſhington, Eſq. Chairman of the Honourable the Court of Directors for tranſacting all Affairs of the United Engliſh Eaſt India Company.

SIR,

THE Princeſs Royal, which arrived at Tellicherry the 7th inſtant, in her way to England, having left Bombay previous to the arrival of the Drake ſnow, which carried the account of the capture of Cannanore, I now do myſelf the pleaſure to ſend you, for the information of the honourable the ſelect committee, a detail of every material circumſtance which has taken place, from my firſt determination of coming to Tellicherry to the preſent time, which I flatter myſelf will meet the approbation of the honourable company.

The eſſential aſſiſtance given the Travancore Raja, by a detachment under Lieut. Colonel Hartley, has long ſince been known in England. It was my intention, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would admit, to aſſemble the force of this preſidency, to emancipate the Malabar princes, with whom alliances had been concluded, and afterwards to co-operate with General Medows. His ſucceſsful advance through the Coimbatore, and the ſanguine expectations univerſally held of a ſpeedy termination of the war, induced his lordſhip to conſider any aſſiſtance as unneceſſary; to place the troops with Lieutenant Colonel Hartley, and on the Malabar coaſt, under General Medows's orders; and to confine my attention to granting the Marattas whatever force they might require. A detachment of artillery, and two battalions of native troops, were ſent them before the rains. This corps has ſince been augmented with a battalion of European infantry, and another of ſepoys, under Colonel Frederick's command. By the lateſt accounts from Bombay, the reinforcement was expected to join the Maratta army employed at the ſiege of Darwar.

Agreeably to the ſyſtem adopted by his Lordſhip and General Medows, Lieut. Colonel Hartley, as ſoon as the ſeaſon admitted, marched to Palicautcherry, and opened the communication from this coaſt with the Madras army, at that time ſtationed in the Coimbatore. Supplies

plies of military ſtores were ſent them from Bombay; but the inconvenience of tranſporting them by land pointed out the neceſſity of opening the Paniani river. In the mean time, the enemy's advance into Coimbatore, and the retreat of Lieut. Colonel Floyd from Sallimungulum, prevented General Medows from aſcending the Ghauts, and obliged him to detain Lieut. Colonel Hartley, with his detachment, at Palicautcherry, to form magazines of grain.

From this change in the movements originally intended, his Lordſhip was convinced, that a diverſion on the Malabar coaſt might be attended with beneficial conſequences. As ſoon as I was acquainted with his wiſhes that I would in perſon proceed hither, I reſolved, with the little force that could be ſpared from Bombay, to embark for Tellicherry, and on the ſpot determine, if an attempt could be made with propriety to clear the country of a force ſtationed by Tippoo to awe the garriſon of Tellicherry, and curb the Nairs, who were univerſall diſpoſed to join us.

On my arrival, the 5th of December, I was informed, that the force to the ſouthward of Tellicherry had aſſembled, and had marched towards Lieut. Colonel Hartley, at that time ordered to Paniani, to keep the communication open. Much as I wiſhed to aſſiſt him in a meaſure ſo important in its conſequences, I found it impracticable to take a corps ſufficient for the purpoſe, unleſs Cannanore was firſt reduced. The government of that diſtrict had, during the rains, made a treaty with the chief of Tellicherry; had evaded a compliance with the articles; had invited a force ſtationed by Tippoo in the Cherical country, and which had retired at the opening of the campaign, to return to their defence; and had at length openly avowed their hoſtile intentions.

On the 10th, the force that could be ſpared for the purpoſe, encamped on the heights of Egar. It conſiſted of his Majeſty's 77th regiment, ſeven companies of the 1ſt Bombay regiment, the 2d, 3d, 10th, and 12th battalions of native infantry, the flank companies of the 6th, and two companies of artillery, amounting to upwards of 3000 diſciplined men. On the 12th and 13th the neighbouring Rajas joined, with about 2000 irregular Nairs.

The 14th the line moved towards the enemy. They were ſtrongly poſted on heights to the ſouthward and eaſtward of Cannanore, defended by a chain of ſtone redoubts, with cannon in them. On viewing their poſition, I determined to gain poſſeſſion of Avery redoubt in the centre of their poſts, which would enable me to attack either of their wings with the greateſt part of my force. Notwithſtanding much reſiſtance during the day, I took poſt ſufficiently near to erect a battery, which early in the morning of the 15th demoliſhed the defences, and obliged them to evacuate the place. At the ſame time the left brigade advanced in line, and attacked the height of Carley. The reſiſtance was trifling, conſidering the ſtrength of the ground occupied by a brigade of the enemy's troops. They retreated under the guns of Carley redoubt, and through the town of Cannanore. In the night of the 15th a battery was raiſed againſt Carley, which

which ſurrendered at day-break next morning.

By theſe operations I was in poſſeſſion of the heights and works to the ſouthward, and by a ſmall movement to my right, could completely prevent the enemy's retreat. Convinced of the danger of their ſituation, they offered to capitulate. The articles were agreed on in the evening, and hoſtages came into my camp.

On the morning of the 17th, the Cannanore troops, amounting to 800 men, retired within the town, and Tippoo's forces paraded in front of their encampment, and, agreeably to the terms that had been granted, ſurrendered their arms and all Circar property, and engaged not to ſerve during the war. They conſiſted of 200 horſe, a corps of grenadiers, two brigades of regular infantry, and rocket-boys, irregulars, &c. amounting to upwards of 5000 men. The fort of Cannanore was ſummoned immediately afterwards, and ſurrendered without conditions.

The fort of Biliapatam, the capital of the Cherukal Raja, ſituated on the South bank of the river, and Nurrcarow on the North, alſo ſurrendered in the evening, and the garriſon received the ſame terms with the reſt of Tippoo's troops. They have ſince been all ſent under an eſcort to the Canara country.

By theſe ſucceſſes we have taken thirty-four ſtand of colours, 68 pieces of cannon, a quantity of ammunition, military ſtores and grain, and near 5000 ſtand of arms. I have the honour to encloſe a return of them, and of the killed and wounded of the detachment, which I am happy to obſerve, is much more trifling than could have been expected. I have alſo great pleaſure in aſſuring you, I have every reaſon to be perfectly ſatisfied with the gallantry and diſcipline of the troops, whoſe behaviour equalled my moſt ſanguine expectations.

I was now at liberty to have aſſiſted Lieutenant Colonel Hartley; but his little detachment had completely defeated and diſperſed the corps oppoſed to them, and were in poſſeſſion of Turuckabad, the capital of this coaſt. It conſiſted of his Majeſty's 75th regiment, the grenadier native battalion, and ſeven companies of the 7th battalion, amounting to about 1600 men, with 10 pieces of cannon, 500 Travancore horſe, a battalion of Travancore Sepoys, and a body of irregular Nairs. The enemy's force was about 10,000 men, poſted at Ventzetty Cottah, whither Lieutenant Colonel Hartley marched on the 6th of December. They retreated on his approach the 7th, and the fort ſurrendered on the 8th in the morning. They were found poſted in a wood in the front of the village of Tervanangurry. The detachment forced them from thence, and attacked the village, as well as the grounds on both ſides of it, which were woody, and interſected with hedges and mud banks. The enemy retreated, after diſputing the ground; and formed in front, and on the flanks of the fort of Trincalore, the eſplanade of which extends to the village; but our troops advanced with vivacity and ſpirit, purſued them into the covert-way, where many of them were killed, obliged the fort to ſurrender, and totally diſperſed them. Upwards of 800 were taken in the fort, and numbers were killed in the different attacks.

Mootaub Khan, who commanded them, retreated to Turuckabad, and the next day he left it, with about 2000 men, and a conſiderable ſum in ſpecie, and fled to the Ghauts. Lieutenant Colonel Hartley advanced to that place on the 10th, when 1500 men, the remains of their army, laid down their arms. A conſiderable quantity of military and other ſtores were captured, and, in particular, the guns taken from the Travancore lines.

The poſts of Barragurry and Cootahpore, in the Cartanad country, ſtill remained in poſſeſſion of Tippoo's troops. A detachment from hence marched againſt them the 27th of December, and returned on the 5th inſtant with 400 priſoners, which they had taken without any loſs. The poſts ſurrendered, after a little oppoſition, on nearly the ſame terms as Cannanore.

The object that induced me to viſit the coaſt, being completed, and the ancient Nair princes in poſſeſſion of their diſtricts, from Biliapatam river to Cape Comorin, nothing remains to be done with the little force under my command. Having reaſon, however, to imagine his Lordſhip wiſhes to unite the detachments, and being perſuaded they may be of eſſential conſequence to his future operations, I have determined to remain and wait his orders.

I am pleaſed at an opportunity of aſſuring you, that Captain Byron, of his Majeſty's ſhip Phœnix, has been of eſſential ſervice, not only by a well-directed fire from his ſhip, but in his exertions in forwarding the public ſtores, and in landing, with two eighteen-pounders, his marines and a part of his crew, to aſſiſt us in the reduction of Carley and Barragurry,

By a letter from Lieutenant Colonel Hartley, received ſince writing the above, dated Turuckabad, the 6th inſtant—he adviſes me, that he had received orders from General Medows to deliver over charge of Palicautcherry to Major Cuppage, who was coming from Coimbatore with two regiments for that purpoſe, and that he and his detachment were then to conſider themſelves as under my orders.

Encloſed you will pleaſe to receive a general return of the troops encamped at this place; and I have the honour to remain,

Sir, &c.

ROBERT ABERCROMBY.

General return of the troops encamped near Cannanore, under the command of Major General Abercromby, Jan. 8, 1791.

Total for duty, 4603. Total Sick and wounded, 396.

ROB. ABERCROMBY.

General return of ordnance ſtores, &c. taken in Cannanore Fort and other ſubordinates. Camp near Cannanore, Dec. 26, 1790.

Guns.—Total, 1 thirty-two pounder, 7 twelve ditto, 7 nine ditto, 9 eight ditto, 23 ſix ditto, 8 four ditto, 2 two ditto, 11 ſwivels.

Carriages.—Total, 1 thirty-two pounder, 7 twelve ditto, 7 nine ditto, 9 eight ditto, 23 ſix ditto, 8 four ditto, 2 two ditto.

Shot.—Total, 1 thirty-two pounder, 38 twenty-four ditto, 459 eighteen ditto, 973 twelve ditto, 282 nine ditto, 979 ſix ditto, 93 four ditto, 1016 different ſizes.

Powder.—Total, 312 cartridges, 19 cheſts, 19 jars.

Stores.—Total, 61 handſpikes,

45 ſpunges, 25 ladles and worms, 1 limber, 4 linſtocks, 104 quoins.

R. Jones, Major Artillery.
S. Auchmuty, Act. Mil. Sec.

Return of killed, wounded and miſſing of his majeſty's and the honourable company's troops, under the command of Lieutenant Col. Hartley, in the action of Trivanangurry, Dec. 10, 1790.

Total, 5 killed; 50 wounded; 2 miſſing.

Names of the Officers wounded.—Capt. Lawman, Artillery; Capt. Blachford, Engineers; Lieutenant Charles Stewart, 7th battalion; Lt. Fireworker Powell, Artillery.

J. Hartley, Lieut. Col. Com.
S. Auchmuty, Act. Mil. Sec.

Return of killed and wounded of his majeſty's and the honourable company's troops, under the command of Major General Abercromby, the 14th and 15th of Dec. near Cannanore.

Total, 8 killed; 75 wounded.

Mr. Cockran, ſurgeon's mate, wounded.

One ſepoy of the native infantry, and many of the Nairs, wounded, and ſince dead.

R. Sinclair, Dep. Adj. Gen.
S. Auchmuty, Act. Mil. Sec.

Account of the Capture of Bangalore.

To the Honourable Court of Directors for Affairs of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies.

Honourable Sirs,

I ſhall not trouble your honourable court with an explanation of the nature of the inceſſant exertions, both of body and mind, which are required by the various duties of my preſent ſituation; nor ſhould I now have alluded to them, but that I am under the indiſpenſable neceſſity of ſtating them, as the cauſe of my being obliged, on this occaſion, inſtead of entering into a detail of particulars, to limit myſelf to a conciſe and general account of our late operations, and of my future intentions.

Our preparations for the campaign having been completed at Madras, the army marched from Velhout on the 5th of February; and, having reached Vellore on the 11th, we halted there two days, for the purpoſe of drawing from thence a ſupply to my ſtock of proviſions, and an addition that had been prepared to the battering train, and of receiving ſome ſtores and recovered men from Arnee.

I had, previous to my arrival at Vellore, employed every means in my power to obtain accurate deſcriptions of the different paſſes that lead into the Myſore country; and having ſeen ſufficient grounds to be confident that the Moogly paſs could eaſily be rendered practicable, I turned off to the right at Vellore, and not only aſcended the paſs without much difficulty, but, by having taken a route that Tippoo does not ſeem to have expected, I was alſo lucky enough to advance a conſiderable diſtance into his country before it was poſſible for him to give us the leaſt obſtruction.

The forts of Colar and Ouſcottah lay in our route to Bangalore, and ſurrendered to us without reſiſtance; but, as neither of them were in a tenable condition, nor at that time of any value to us, I left them unoccupied, after diſarming and diſmiſſing their ſmall garriſons.

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I arrived before Bangalore on the afternoon of the 5th of March, and on the 6th the engineers were employed in reconnoitering the place, both in the morning and evening: on their latter excurſion, Lieutenant-Colonel Floyd, who eſcorted them with the whole cavalry, diſcovered the rear of Tippoo's line of march, apparently in great confuſion, and unfortunately ſuffered himſelf to be tempted, by the flattering proſpect of ſtriking an important blow, to deviate from the orders he had received from me, and to attack the enemy. His ſucceſs at firſt was great, but the length and ardour of the purſuit threw his ſquadrons into great confuſion. In this ſtate they were charged by Tippoo's cavalry, and being out of the reach of all ſupport, they were obliged to retire with great precipitation, and with the loſs of above 200 men, and near 300 horſes. Lieutenant-Colonel Floyd received a very ſevere wound in the face; from which, however, I have the pleaſure to add, that he is now perfectly recovered.

The ill ſucceſs of our examination, the fear of loſing time, and many other circumſtances, of which the hopes of obtaining a ſupply of forage was not the leaſt, induced me to determine immediately to attack the fort from the Pettah ſide. The Pettah was accordingly aſſaulted and carried on the morning of the 7th; and the ſiege of the fort, which was rendered ſingularly arduous, not only by the ſcarcity of forage, and the ſtrength of its works and garriſon, but alſo by the preſence of Tippoo and his whole army, was happily terminated by an aſſault on the night of the 21ſt, in which the Kellidar, and a great number of his garriſon, were put to the ſword; and our loſs, in proportion to the nature of the enterpriſe, was extremely inconſiderable. I cannot, however, help expreſſing, on this occaſion, my ſincere regret for the death of that brave and valuable officer Lieutenant-Colonel Moorhouſe, who was killed at the aſſault of the Pettah on the 7th of March.

I have not yet been able to obtain correct liſts of the ordnance, or of the different articles that were found in the magazines of the place; and I can therefore only ſay, in general, that there were upwards of one hundred ſerviceable pieces of ordnance, near fifty of which were braſs, a large quantity of grain, and an immenſe *depôt* of military ſtores.

Although Tippoo approached our poſition, and even cannonaded the camp, both on the 7th and 17th, yet on theſe occaſions, and on all others during the ſiege, he took his meaſures with ſo much caution, as put it effectually out of my power to force him to riſk an action; and on the night of the aſſault he retired, in great haſte, from the ſouth ſide of the fortreſs, where he was then poſted, immediately upon his being acquainted with its fall. After giving ſome repairs to the breaches, making a number of neceſſary arrangements, and leaving the train of heavy artillery to be refitted during my abſence, I moved from Bangalore on the 28th, with the deſign of ſecuring a ſafe and ſpeedy junction with a large body of cavalry that the Nizam had promiſed to ſend to me, and of receiving a reinforcement of troops, and a ſupply of proviſions and ſtores, which I had ſome time before ordered to be in readineſs to join me, by the way of

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Amboor, from the Carnatic, conſidering thoſe as neceſſary preliminary meaſures for enabling me to proceed to the attack of Seringapatam; and I, at the ſame time, communicated my intentions to General Abercromby, and directed him to uſe every exertion in his power, that might be conſiſtent with the ſafety of the corps under his command, to prepare himſelf, in the manner that I preſcribed, to give me effectual aſſiſtance when I ſhould reach the enemy's capital.

Tippoo having made a movement to the weſtward on the ſame day that I marched from the neighbourhood of Bangalore, I fell in with his rear, at the diſtance of about eight or nine miles from that place; but, from the want of a ſufficient body of cavalry, it was found impracticable, after a purſuit of conſiderable length, either to bring him to action, or to gain any advantage over him, except that of taking one braſs gun, which, owing to its carriage breaking down, he was obliged to leave upon the road.

My firſt object being to form a junction with the Nizam's cavalry, I made ſuch movements, or took ſuch poſitions, as I knew would effectually prevent Tippoo from intercepting them, or even from diſturbing their march; but, although I was at great pains to point out the ſafety of the march to Rajah Teige Wunt, and to encourage him to proceed, the effects of my recommendations and requeſts were but ſlow; and, after waſte of time, which, at this late ſeaſon of the year, was invaluable, and which almoſt exhauſted my patience, this junction was not made till the 13th inſtant.

It is not eaſy to aſcertain the number of the corps with preciſion, but I ſuppoſe it to amount to fifteen or ſixteen thouſand horſe; and though they are extremely defective in almoſt every point of military diſcipline, yet, as the men are in general well mounted, and the chiefs have given me the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their diſpoſition to do every thing in their power to promote the ſucceſs of our operations, I am in great hopes that we ſhall derive material advantage from their aſſiſtance.

This junction being accompliſhed, I marched on to effect my next object without loſs of time: and having arrived at my preſent camp on the 18th, and ordered the moſt expeditious meaſures to be taken for tranſporting the ſtores from the head of the paſs, I ſhall commence my march again to the weſtward on the 22d, and, after calling at Bangalore for the heavy artillery, I truſt that I ſhall find it practicable to reach Seringapatam before the 12th of next month.

No uſeful purpoſe could be promoted by my enumerating the difficulties which I have already encountered in carrying on the operations of this campaign, and it would be equally unprofitable to enlarge at preſent upon the obſtacles which I foreſee to our future progreſs; they are, however, of ſo weighty a nature, that under different circumſtances I ſhould undoubtedly act with more caution, and defer the attempt upon the enemy's capital till after the enſuing rains; but, acquainted as I am with the unſettled ſituation of political affairs in Europe, and knowing that a procraſtinated war would occaſion almoſt certain ruin to your finances, I conſider it as a duty which I owe to my ſtation and

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to my country, to diſregard the hazard to which my own military reputation may be expoſed, and to proſecute, with every ſpecies of precaution that my judgment or experience can ſuggeſt, the plan which is moſt likely to bring the war to an early deciſion.

I have, at the ſame time, been the more encouraged to perſevere in the execution of my original intentions, as both the Nizam and the Mahrattas have of late ſhewn an uncommon alacrity in fulfilling their engagements, which by the ſmalleſt appearance of backwardneſs on our part, would be immediately cooled; and which, I truſt, will, in addition to our own efforts, eſſentially contribute to counteract many of the diſadvantages which the difficulty of the march, the riſk of ſcarcity of proviſions and forage, and the approach of the rainy ſeaſon, preſent againſt the undertaking; and, if thoſe obſtacles can be overcome, the capture of Seringapatam will probably, in its conſequences, furniſh an ample reward for our labours.

A few days after our ſucceſs at Bangalore, Tippoo repeated his propoſitions to open a negociation for terminating our differences; but whether with a ſincere deſire to obtain peace, or with the inſidious hopes of inciting jealouſies in our allies, by inducing me to liſten to his advances, is not certain. The line for my conduct, however, was clear; and, conformable to our treaties, I declined, in civil and moderate terms, to receive a perſon of confidence, on his part, to diſcuſs the ſeparate intereſts of the company; but informed him, that, if he ſhould think proper to make propoſitions, in writing, for a general accommodation with all the members of the confederacy, I ſhould, after communicating with the other powers, tranſmit our joint ſentiments upon them.

I ſhall refer you entirely at preſent to the accounts that you will receive from the different governments of the details of their reſpective buſineſs; and ſhall only add, that the perſonal attention that I have experienced from the members of the ſupreme board, and the zeal which they have manifeſted, ſince I left Calcutta, in promoting the public good, have given me very particular ſatisfaction.

The Swallow packet will remain in readineſs to be diſpatched in Auguſt, or ſooner, if it ſhould be thought expedient; and I ſhall, by that opportunity, have the honour of writing fully to you on ſeveral of thoſe ſubjects, on which you muſt, no doubt, be anxious to receive minute information.—I cannot, however, conclude this letter without bearing the moſt ample teſtimony to the zeal and alacrity which have been uniformly manifeſted by his majeſty's and the company's troops, in the performance of the various duties of fatigue and danger in the courſe of this campaign; and aſſuring you, that they are entitled to the moſt diſtinguiſhed marks of your approbation.

I have the honour to be,
With the greateſt reſpect,
Honourable Sirs,
Your moſt obedient, and
Moſt humble ſervant,
CORNWALLIS.

Camp at Venkettigherry,
April 21, 1791.

Letter

Letter from l'Abbé Raynal *to the National Aſſembly of* France; *May* 31, 1791.

Gentlemen,

ON arriving in this capital after a long abſence, my heart and looks are turned towards you; and I ſhould have thrown myſelf at the feet of your auguſt aſſembly, would my age and infirmities have ſuffered me to ſpeak to you, without too ſtrong an emotion, of the great things which you have done, and of all that remains for you to do, in order to confer upon this agitated land that peace, liberty, and proſperity, which it is your intention to procure to us.

Do not imagine, gentlemen, that I am one of thoſe who are ignorant of the indefatigable zeal, the talents, the information, and the courage which you have ſhewn in your immenſe labours. A ſufficient number of other perſons have addreſſed you upon theſe ſubjects; a ſufficient number have reminded you of the title which you have to the eſteem of the nation: for my part, whether you conſider me as a citizen availing himſelf of his right to petition, or whether, in indulging my gratitude in an unincumbered flight, you permit an old friend of liberty to reſtore to you what he is indebted, for the protection with which you have honoured him, I beſeech you not to reject uſeful truths. I have long dared to ſpeak to kings of their duty; permit me now to ſpeak to a people of their errors, and to the repreſentatives of the people, of the dangers with which we are all threatened.

I confeſs that I profoundly lament the diſorders and the crimes which have covered this empire with mourning. Can it be true, that I muſt recollect with horror, that I am not one of thoſe, who in teſtifying a generous indignation againſt arbitrary power, have perhaps armed licentiouſneſs? Do religion, the laws, the royal authority, the public order, require back from philoſophy and reaſon, the ties which united them to that great ſociety of the French nation; as if, in purſuing abuſes, in ſtating the rights of the people, and the duties of the prince, our criminal efforts had broken theſe ties? But no, the bold conceptions of philoſophy were never preſented by us as the rigorous meaſure for acts of legiſlation. You cannot attribute to us as errors what could only reſult from a falſe interpretation of our principles. And yet, ready to deſcend into the grave, ready to quit this immenſe family, of which I have ſo ardently wiſhed the welfare, what do I ſee around me? Religious troubles, civil diſſention, the contentions of ſome, the audacity and paſſions of others, a government enſlaved by popular tyranny, the ſanctuary of the laws ſurrounded by ungovernable men, who will alternately either dictate or brave them; ſoldiers without diſcipline, chiefs without authority, miniſters without means, a king, the firſt friend of his people, plunged into affliction, outraged, threatened, deprived of all authority, and the public power exiſting but in thoſe clubs, where ignorant and brutal men dare to decide upon all political queſtions.

Such, gentlemen, is, beyond all doubt, the true ſituation of France. Another perhaps would not dare to tell it you; but I dare, becauſe I conſider it as my duty; becauſe I am on the verge of eighty years of age; becauſe no one can accuſe me of re-

gretting the former government; becauſe in lamenting over the preſent ſtate of deſolation of the church of France, no one can accuſe me of being a fanatic prieſt; becauſe in conſidering the re-eſtabliſhment of the legitimate authority as the only means of ſafety, no one will accuſe me of being the partizan of deſpotiſm, and of expecting favours from it; becauſe in attacking before you thoſe writers who have blown the kingdom into a flame, and perverted its underſtanding, no one will accuſe me of not knowing the value of the liberty of the preſs.

Alas! I was full of hope and joy when I ſaw you lay the foundations of the public happineſs, attack all abuſes, proclaim all rights, and ſubject the different parts of this empire to the ſame laws, to an uniform regulation. My eyes were filled with tears when I ſaw the vileſt and the moſt wicked of men employed as inſtruments in bringing about a uſeful revolution; when I ſaw the holy love of patriotiſm proſtituted to villainy, and licentiouſneſs march in triumph under the banners of liberty. Terror was mingled with my juſt grief, when I beheld all the reſources of government deſtroyed, and feeble barriers ſubſtituted to the neceſſity for an active and repreſſing force. I have every where ſought the veſtiges of that central authority which a great nation depoſits in the hands of the monarch for its own ſafety; I have been no where able to find them; I have ſought the principles whereby property is preſerved, and I have ſeen them attacked; I have endeavoured to find under what ſhelter ſecurity and individual liberty repoſed, and I have ſeen audacity always gathering ſtrength from the multitude attending, and invoking the ſignal for deſtruction, which the factious, and the innovators as dangerous as the factious, are ready to inflict.

I have heard thoſe inſidious inſinuations, which impreſs you with falſe terrors, to turn aſide your attention from real dangers; which inſpire you with fatal diſtruſts, to induce you to deſtroy ſucceſſively all the props of monarchical government. I have particularly ſhuddered on obſerving in their new life, that people who are deſirous of being free, not only diſregard the ſocial virtues of humanity and juſtice, the ſole baſis of true liberty, but receive with eagerneſs the new ſeeds of corruption, and ſuffer themſelves to be ſurrounded with new cauſes of ſlavery.

Ah! gentlemen, what do I not ſuffer, on ſeeing in the midſt of the capital, and in the very focus of information, this ſeduced people eagerly adopt with a ferocious joy the moſt criminal propoſals, ſmile at the details of aſſaſſinations, ſing their crimes as if they were conqueſts, ſtupidly invite enemies to the revolution, ſully it by complaiſance, and ſhut their eyes upon all the evils with which they overwhelm themſelves! for this unhappy people are ignorant that an infinity of calamities may ſpring from a ſingle crime. I ſee them laugh and dance on the ruins of their own morality, even on the brink of the very abyſs which may ſwallow up their hopes; this ſpectacle of joy is that by which I have been the moſt deeply affected. Your indifference with reſpect to this alarming deviation of the public underſtanding, is the firſt and perhaps the ſole cauſe of the change which has taken place with reſpect to you, of that change whereby the

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corrupt adulation, or the murmurs ſtifled by fear, have ſucceeded the pure homages beſtowed upon your firſt labours.

But with whatever courage the approach of my laſt hour inſpires me, whatever duty even that love of liberty which I profeſſed before you exiſted, impoſes upon me, I nevertheleſs experience in addreſſing you that reſpect and ſort of fear, of which no man can diveſt himſelf, when he places himſelf in thought in a ſtate of immediate communication with the repreſentatives of a great people.

Ought I to ſtop here, or to continue to ſpeak to you as to poſterity? —Yes, gentlemen, I believe you worthy of hearing this language.

I have meditated throughout the whole courſe of my life on the ideas which you have lately applied to the regeneration of the kingdom: I meditated on them at a time when, rejected by all the ſocial inſtitutions, by all the intereſts, by all the prejudices, they only preſented the ſeduction of a conſolatory wiſh: at that time no motives induced me to weigh the difficulties of application, and the terrible inconveniencies annexed to abſtractions, when they are inveſted with the force which commands men and things, when the reſiſtance of things and the paſſions of men are neceſſary elements to combine.

What I neither ought nor could foreſee, at the time and in the circumſtances under which I wrote, the circumſtances and the time in which you act require that you ſhould keep an account of; and I think it my duty to tell you that you have not ſufficiently done ſo.

By this ſole but continued fault, you have vitiated your work; you have placed yourſelves in ſuch a ſituation as has perhaps rendered you unable to preſerve it from total ruin, but by meaſuring back your ſteps, or by indicating that retrogade march to your ſucceſſors. Ought you to be afraid of being the ſole object of all the virulence with which the altar of liberty is aſſailed? Believe, gentlemen, that this heroic ſacrifice will not be the leaſt conſolatory of thoſe remembrances which you will be permitted to preſerve, What men muſt thoſe be, who, leaving to their country all the good which they have been able to do, accept and claim for themſelves alone the reproaches which have been deſerved by real and ſerious evils, but of which they could only accuſe the circmſtances! I believe you, gentlemen, worthy of ſo high a deſtiny, and that idea encourages me to point out to you, without reſerve, thoſe defective parts which you have introduced into the French conſtitution.

Called upon to regenerate France, you ought firſt to have conſidered what you could uſefully preſerve of the former government, and particularly that part of it which it would be improper to abandon.

France was a monarchy; its extent, its wants, its manners, its national ſpirit, were invincible objections to republican forms being ever admitted into it without occaſioning a total diſſolution.

The monarchical power was vitiated by two cauſes; its baſes were ſurrounded by prejudices, and its limits were defined but by partial reſiſtances. To purify the principles, by eſtabliſhing the throne upon its true baſis, the ſovereignty of the nation; to aſcertain its limits, by placing them in the national repreſentation, was what you ought to

have done, and you think that you have done it.

But in organizing theſe two powers, the ſtrength and the ſucceſs of the conſtitution depended upon their equilibrium; and you had to guard againſt the propenſity of your ideas. You ought to have ſeen that in the general opinion, the power of kings is on the decline, and that the rights of the people are on the encreaſe: thus, by weakening beyond meaſure that which naturally tends to annihilation, and by ſtrengthening beyond all proportion that which naturally tends to increaſe, you arrive by force at this melancholy reſult, a *king without authority, and a people without reſtraint.*

By abandoning yourſelves to the wanderings of opinion, you have favoured the influence of the multitude, and infinitely multiplied popular elections. Did you not forget that elections inceſſantly renewed, and the tranſient duration of power, are a ſource of relaxation in political juriſdictions? Did you not forget that the ſtrength of government ought to be proportioned to the number of thoſe whom it has to provide for, and whom it ought to protect?

You have preſerved the name of king, although in your conſtitution it is not only no longer uſeful, but even dangerous. You have reduced his influence to that point which corruption may uſurp; you have in fact invited him to combat a conſtitution which inceſſantly ſhews him what he is not, and what he may be.

This, gentlemen, is a vice inherent in your conſtitution; a vice which will deſtroy it, if you and your ſucceſſors do not haſten to extirpate it.

I will not point out to you all the faults which may be aſcribed to circumſtances; of thoſe you are yourſelves aware: but why will you ſuffer the evil to exiſt which it is in your power to deſtroy? Why, after having proclaimed the dogma of liberty in religious opinions, will you ſuffer the clergy to be overwhelmed with perſecutions and outrages, becauſe they do not obey your religious opinions?

Why, after having conſecrated the principles of individual liberty, do you ſuffer to exiſt in your boſoms an inquiſition, which ſerves as a model and a pretext to all thoſe inferior inquiſitions which a factious uneaſineſs has generated in every part of the empire?

Why do not you ſhudder at the audacity and the ſucceſs of thoſe writers who profane the name of patriots? More powerful than your decrees, they daily pull down what you erect. You are deſirous of a monarchical government, and they endeavour to render it odious: You are deſirous that the people ſhould enjoy liberty, and they wiſh to make them the moſt ferocious of tyrants: You are deſirous of reforming the manners, and they command the triumph of vice, the impunity of crimes.

I will not mention to you, gentlemen, your operations of finance; God forbid that I ſhould encreaſe your uneaſineſs, or diminiſh your hopes upon that ſubject. The public fortune is yet entire in your hands; but recollect, that where a government is neither powerful nor reſpected, there can be neither taxes, credit, nor an aſcertained receipt or expenditure.

What form of government can ſtand againſt this new aſſumption of power

power of the clubs? You have deſtroyed all the corporations, and the moſt coloſſal and moſt formidable of aggregations is raiſing itſelf upon your heads, to the deſtruction of all other powers. France at preſent contains two kinds of people exceedingly unlike. That conſiſting of the virtuous and of the moderate ſpirits, is ſcattered, ſilent, and alarmed; whilſt men of violent diſpoſitions, of which the other conſiſts, crowd together, electrify each other, and form thoſe terrific volcanos which vomit forth ſuch quantities of inflamed lava.

You have made a declaration of rights, and that imperfect declaration has ſpread throughout the empire of France numerous ſeeds of anarchy and diſorder.

Conſtantly heſitating between the principles which a falſe modeſty prevents you from modifying, and circumſtances which extort exceptions from you, you conſtantly do too little for the public good, and too much according to your doctrine. You are frequently both inconſequent and impolitic, at the time when you endeavour to be neither. Thus, by perpetuating the ſlavery of the negroes, you have not the leſs, by your deciſion reſpecting the mulattoes, given an alarm to commerce, and expoſed your colonies.

Be aſſured, gentlemen, that none of theſe obſervations eſcape the friends of liberty: they demand back from your hands the depoſit of the public opinion, of the public reaſon, of which you are but the organs, and which no longer poſſeſs any character. Europe conſiders you with aſtoniſhment; Europe, which may be ſhaken to its foundations by the propagation of your principles, is vexed at their exaggeration.

The ſilence of its princes may be that of terror; but do not aſpire, gentlemen, to the fatal honour of rendering yourſelves dreadful by extravagant innovations, as dangerous for yourſelves as for your neighbours. Open once more the annals of the world; call to your aſſiſtance the wiſdom of ages, and ſee how many empires have periſhed by anarchy. It is time to put an end to that by which we are deſolated, to ſtop the revenges, the ſeditions, and commotions, and to reſtore to us at length peace and confidence.

To attain this ſalutary end, there is but one mode, and that is by reviſing your decrees, by uniting and ſtrengthening the powers weakened by diſperſion, by entruſting to the king all the force neceſſary to maintain the power of the laws, and by particularly watching over the liberty of the primary aſſemblies, from which factions have driven all wiſe and virtuous citizens.

Do not imagine, gentlemen, that the re-eſtabliſhment of the executive power can be the work of your ſucceſſors; no, they will take their ſeats with leſs power than you poſſeſs: they will have to acquire that popular opinion of which you have diſpoſed; you only are able to create anew what you have deſtroyed, or ſuffered to be deſtroyed.

You have laid the foundation of the liberty of every reaſonable conſtitution, by ſecuring to the people the right of making their laws, and determining their taxes. Anarchy will even ſwallow up theſe important rights, if you do not place them under the protection of an active and vigorous government; and deſ-

potiſm awaits us, if you continue to reject the tutelary protection of royal authority.

I have collected my ſtrength, gentlemen, to ſpeak to you the auſtere language of truth. Forgive, in favour of my zeal and love for my country, what may appear too free in my remonſtrances, and believe my ardent wiſhes for your glory, as much as my profound reſpect.

G. T. RAYNAL.

Letter from Mr. John Harriott, *of* Rochford, *in* Eſſex, *to* Mr. More, *Secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. deſcribing the Effects of the high Tide,* February 2, 1791, *on Land which he had incloſed from the Sea.*

Sir, Rochford, Feb. 24.

THE kindneſs and friendſhip expreſſed in your letter claim my warmeſt acknowledgments; and, as you requeſt to be informed of the real ſtate of my misfortunes, I will endeavour to place it in as clear a point of view as poſſible; for, having nothing to reproach myſelf with, in regard to ſuch accumulated misfortunes as I have experienced in ſo ſhort a time (accidents which human ſagacity could neither foreſee nor prevent), I have no reaſon to be aſhamed at being unfortunate: on the contrary, I feel a ſecret ſatisfaction in having endeavoured to do my duty as a man whoſe views are not wholly confined to this ſpot, and bow my head without repining to the diſpoſal of Providence.

It was no longer than the 17th of March, 1790, that I had the heavy misfortune to have my houſe, barn, and out-offices, all burnt down, with difficulty ſaving our lives. My loſs from this (above my inſurance) was great to a man who never could boaſt of affluence; yet I looked forward with a pleaſing confidence; my iſland (ſo lately embanked from the ſea) was beginning to repay me moſt bountifully: it cleared me 300l. the laſt year, with a promiſing appearance of greater things for years to come. I had rebuilt my houſe, &c. and got my family together again.

In this ſituation of my affairs, the 2d of this month produced a tide on our coaſt higher by a foot than is remembered by the oldeſt man living. My iſland fell a victim to its ravages: above one-fourth part of the wall or bank had ſettled (on account of its being *all* new earth) near a foot more than the reſt: this was intended to have been raiſed 18 inches laſt ſummer, had not my loſs from the fire, and the conſequent attention to rebuilding, obliged me to defer it, which occaſioned the loſs of my iſland; for, flowing ſeven or eight inches deep over 150 rod in length of walling, it flooded the whole iſland. Attending to the fall of the tide, I found my iſland left full of water, too fatal a proof of the ſtrength of my walls, though it ſatisfied me there was no breach. By extraordinary exertions, I drained the water four feet below the ſurface of the land in a few days: I then had the walls ſurveyed, and an eſtimate made of what it would require to repair them, and ſecure the iſland from a ſimilar accident. This amounted to 300l.; I had it not, and could not think of borrowing without a greater certainty of payment than I could pretend to; for, if my iſland ſhould become a total loſs, I knew I had not ſufficient be-

ſide to pay what I owed already. I therefore did not think myſelf at liberty to lay out money that belonged to others without their conſent, though to ſave the miſerable wreck of my own fortune; and, as there was a neceſſity of coming to a ſpeedy determination, I reſolved on ſending to every one I owed a ſum of money exceeding 20 l. requeſting their meeting each other on Wedneſday, the 9th; informing them the reaſon, and that I would then lay before them a full ſtate of my affairs.

This was the firſt time in my life I diſtruſted my own fortitude. Attempting to ſpeak, I found myſelf incapable of uttering. My feelings overpowered me, and I was obliged to leave the room abruptly. I can only ſay, they were the feelings of a father (conſidering his misfortunes as affecting his children) that overcame me. I have been in various engagements by ſea and land; I was in the ſecond earthquake off Liſbon; in ſeveral on the iſland of Sumatra; belonged to a ſhip that had the plague on board in Turkey; ſhipwrecked off Plymouth after an abſence of two years; wounded and rendered incapable of farther active ſervice in India; yet never knew the want of courage before. In every other point of view, I could encounter danger and difficulties with greater reſolution.

The ſtate of my affairs was thus: I had, by fire and water, within one year, loſt upwards of 3,000l.; but, if enabled to ſecure the iſland, my loſs would be reduced to about 2,000l., laying the damage to the land from the effect of the ſalt water at the loweſt eſtimate, but it may prove conſiderably more. I owed rather more than 2,500 l. and the remainder of my property did not amount to more than 1,400 l. beſide my half-pay as a lieutenant. I had the ſatisfaction to find my conduct approved. My creditors, inſtead of diſtreſſing, ſoothed me, and voluntarily propoſed, and agreed to accept, ten ſhillings in the pound.

Such, Sir, is the diſtracted ſituation of my affairs; and I do not wonder at there being various reports concerning it, though I am no ways apprehenſive of there being any to the prejudice of my character; for in that, poor as I am, and unfortunate as I have been, I fear not the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny.

I remain,
Sir,
Your very humble ſervant,
JOHN HARRIOTT.

Directions of the Lancaſhire *Humane Society for the Recovery of Perſons apparently dead by Drowning, and other Species of Suffocation.*

Drowning.

I. WHEN the body is taken out of the water, ſtrip and wrap it cloſely in a coat, blanket, or other warm covering: and convey it gently to the neareſt commodious houſe, with the face upwards, and the head a little raiſed.

II. Lay it on a bed or mattreſs which has been heated by a warming-pan, in a chamber containing a fire: or, during ſummer, in the ſunſhine. Dry the body completely with warm cloths, and afterwards rub it diligently, but gently, with hot flannels on the *left* ſide, near the heart. Apply to the hands and feet cloths wrung out of hot water; and heated bricks; or bottles or

bladders half filled with hot water; or bags of hot grains or ſand, to the ſtomach and arm-pits. Let a healthy perſon, of the ſame ſex with the ſufferer, lie down unclothed, on the *right* ſide of the body; and be employed in rubbing, and aiding other neceſſary operations.

If a tub of warm water be in readineſs, let the body be placed in it up to the neck, and continued in it half an hour. The water ſhould not be hotter than can be comfortably borne by the aſſiſtants; and the heat of all the applications before directed ſhould be moderate.

When the body is taken out of the tub of water, it muſt be wiped dry; laid upon the bed; and treated according to the rules already given.

III. During the foregoing operations, put the pipe of a pair of bellows into one of the noſtrils, the other noſtril and the mouth being cloſed by an aſſiſtant; and blow gently, till the breaſt be a little raiſed. Let the mouth and noſtril then be left free, and an eaſy preſſure made upon the breaſt. Repeat this imitation of natural breathing till ſigns of returning life appear, when it is to be gradually diſcontinued.

N. B. If no bellows be at hand, let an aſſiſtant blow into the noſtrils of the drowned perſon with his breath, through a quill, reed, or any other ſmall pipe.

IV. When breathing begins to be renewed, let a feather dipt in ſpirit of hartſhorn or ſharp muſtard, be occaſionally introduced into the noſtrils. Pepper or ſnuff alſo may be blown into them. A glyſter ſhould now be given without delay, compoſed of equal parts of wine and hot water, with a ſmall table ſpoonful of flour of muſtard, or a tea ſpoonful of powdered pepper, ginger, or other ſpice. Rum, brandy, or gin, mixed with ſix times its quantity of hot water, with the addition of muſtard, &c. may be uſed inſtead of wine.

V. As ſoon as the patient can ſwallow, adminiſter to him, by ſpoonfuls, hot wine, or ſpirits mixed with water.

VI. When life is completely reſtored, the ſufferer ſhould remain at reſt in a warm bed; be ſupplied moderately with wine-whey, ale-poſſet, or other nouriſhing drinks; and gentle ſweating ſhould be encouraged.

Hanging.

I. If a medical aſſiſtant be preſent, let him take a few ounces of blood from the jugular veins; or apply a cupping glaſs to the neck.

II. The other methods of treatment are to be the ſame as recommended for the recovery of drowned perſons.

Suffocation by Noxious Vapours, or Lightning.

Sprinkle the face and the whole body with cold water, if the heat of the ſufferer be above or equal to that of a living perſon. But if the body feel cold, apply warmth gradually; and uſe the means directed under the head of drowning. A ſmall quantity of blood may alſo be taken from the jugular veins.

Froſt.

Take the body to the neareſt room with a fire-place, but not near the fire.

fire. Rub it with ſnow or cold water. Attempt warmth and breathing by ſlow degrees, and the way directed for the recovery of drowned perſons.

Smothering in Child-Birth, by Confinement under Bed-Clothes, &c.

I. In ſtill-born children, blow air into the mouth, through a quill, or any ſmall tube, till the breaſt be a little raiſed; then gently preſs the cheſt; and repeat this proceſs till natural breathing begins. Gently rub the body with warm flannels; and foment the legs and feet with water of a moderate degree of heat.

II. When a child has been ſmothered under the bed-clothes, if the body be too hot, as is commonly the caſe, expoſe it for a ſhort time to a ſtream of freſh air, and ſprinkle a little cold water on the face and breaſt; then fill the lungs, and follow the other directions above delivered.

No other means but thoſe here recommended are ever to be employed; except by the authority of ſome judicious phyſician, or of one of the medical aſſiſtants of the Society.

N. B. In all the above caſes, immediately diſpatch a meſſenger for medical aſſiſtance: ſend, alſo, another meſſenger to the neareſt houſe, where warm water, grains, or other things of the ſame nature may be procured; with a good fire, and a warm bed for the reception of the unfortunate perſon.

Extracts of Letters, &c. and Accounts, relative to the Settlements in New South Wales. *Laid before the Houſe of Commons.*

Extracts of a Letter from Governor Phillip to the Right Honourable Lord Sydney; dated Sydney Cove, 12th Feb. 1790.

WHEN the Supply left Norfolk Iſland, the people were all very healthy, and they had vegetables in the greateſt abundance; they get fiſh when the weather permits the boat to go without the reef, and, at times, in ſuch quantities, that fiſh is ſerved to the people in lieu of ſalt proviſions. They make their lines from the flax plant, but unfortunately we have not any perſon who underſtands how to dreſs it.

Half a pod of cotton being found on the iſland, ſuppoſed to be brought there by a bird, and a cocoa nut, which was perfectly ſound, and appeared to have been but a ſhort time in the water, being thrown upon the beach, have given ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe that both theſe articles will be found in ſome iſland at no great diſtance.

Lord Howe Iſland has been examined, but no freſh water, or good anchorage, being found, it can be of no other advantage to this ſettlement, than occaſionally ſupplying a few turtle.

I had the honour of informing your lordſhip, that a ſettlement was intended to be made at a place I named Roſe Hill. At the head of this harbour there is a creek, which at half flood has water for large boats to go three miles up; and one mile higher the water is freſh, and the ſoil good. A very induſtrious man,

man, whom I brought from England, is employed there at preſent, and has under his direction one hundred convicts, who are employed in clearing and cultivating the ground. A barn, granary, and other neceſſary buildings, are erected, and twenty-ſeven acres in corn promiſe a good crop. The ſoil is good, and the country, for twenty miles to the weſtward, which is as far as I have examined, lays well for cultivation; but even there, the labour of clearing the ground is very great; and I have ſeen none that can be cultivated without cutting down the timber, except ſome few particular ſpots, which, from their ſituation, (laying at a diſtance from either of the harbours) can be of no advantage to us at preſent; and I preſume the meadows mentioned in Captain Cook's Voyage, were ſeen from the high grounds about Botany Bay, and from whence they appear well to the eye, but when examined, are found to be marſhes, the draining of which would be a work of time, and not to be attempted by the firſt ſettlers.

The captain's guard, which until lately did duty at Roſe Hill, is now reduced to a lieutenant and twelve privates, and intended merely as a guard to the ſtore which contains the proviſions, and which is in the redoubt, for I am now ſenſible there is nothing to be apprehended from the natives; and the little attention which had been deſired of the officers, more than what was immediately garriſon duty, when at Roſe Hill, is now no longer required.

At Sydney Cove, all the officers are in good huts, and the men in barracks; and, although many unforeſeen difficulties have been met with, I believe there is not an individual, from the governor to the private ſoldier, whoſe ſituation is not more eligible at this time than he had any reaſon to expect it could be in the courſe of the three years ſtation. And it is the ſame with the convicts; and thoſe who have been any ways induſtrious, have vegetables in plenty. The buildings now carrying on are of brick and ſtone. The houſe intended for myſelf was to conſiſt of only three rooms, but having a good foundation, has been enlarged, contains ſix rooms, and is ſo well built, that I preſume it will ſtand for a great number of years.

The ſtores have been lately overrun with rats, and they are equally numerous in the gardens, where they do conſiderable damage; and as the loſs in the ſtores could only be known by removing all the proviſions, that was ordered to be done, and many caſks of flour and rice were found to be damaged or totally deſtroyed. The loſs in thoſe two articles by the rats, ſince landing, has been more than twelve thouſand weight.

Vegetables and proviſions having been frequently ſtolen in the night from convicts and others, twelve convicts were choſen as a night watch; and they have actually anſwered the end propoſed, no robbery having been committed for ſeveral months, and the convicts in general have lately behaved better than I ever expected. Only two convicts have ſuffered death in the laſt year. Four were executed the firſt year.

As near two years have now paſſed ſince we firſt landed in this country, ſome judgment may be formed of the climate; and I believe a finer or more healthy climate is not to be found in any part of the world. Of one thouſand and thirty people who

who were landed, many of whom were worn out by old age, the ſcurvy, and various diſorders, only ſeventy-two have died in one-and-twenty months; and by the ſurgeon's returns, it appears that twenty-ſix of thoſe died from diſorders of long ſtanding, and which it is more than probable would have carried them off much ſooner in England. Fifty-nine children have been born in the above time.

In December the corn at Roſe Hill was got-in: the corn was exceeding good; about two hundred buſhels of wheat, and ſixty of barley, with a ſmall quantity of flax, Indian corn, and oats, all which is preſerved for ſeed. Here I beg leave to obſerve to your lordſhip, that if ſettlers are ſent out, and the convicts divided amongſt them, this ſettlement will very ſhortly maintain itſelf; but without which, this country cannot be cultivated to any advantage. At preſent I have only one perſon (who has about an hundred convicts under his direction) who is employed in cultivating the ground for the public benefit, and he has returned the quantity of corn above-mentioned into the public ſtore; the officers have not raiſed ſufficient to ſupport the little ſtock they have. Some ground I have had in cultivation will return about forty buſhels of wheat into ſtore; ſo that the produce of the labour of the convicts employed in cultivation has been very ſhort of what might have been expected, and which I take the liberty of pointing out to your lordſhip in this place, to ſhew, as fully as poſſible, the ſtate of this colony, and the neceſſity of the convicts being employed by thoſe who have an intereſt in their labour. The giving convicts to the officers has been hitherto neceſſary, but it is attended with many inconveniences, for which the advantages ariſing to the officers do not make amends. It will not, therefore, be continued after this detachment is relieved, unleſs particularly directed. The numbers employed in cultivation will of courſe be increaſed, as the neceſſary buildings are finiſhed, but which will be a work of time; for the numbers in this ſettlement who do nothing towards their own ſupport, exceed thoſe employed for the public.

In November, the Supply ſailed for Norfolk Iſland with ſome convicts, and returned after being abſent ſix weeks.—All the people in that iſland were well, and their crops, after all they had ſuffered from rats, birds, and a worm which had done them conſiderable damage, ſo good, that they had grain ſufficient for ſix months bread for every one upon the iſland, reſerving ſufficient for their next year's crops.

Early in January, 1790, the Supply again ſailed for Norfolk Iſland, with more convicts; and in her paſſage left a ſmall party on Lord Howe Iſland, to turn turtle; but in fifteen days only three were taken; ſo that no great advantages will accrue at preſent from thence. The iſland has freſh water, but no good anchoring ground.

Since the deaths mentioned in a former part of this letter, one woman has ſuffered for a robbery, five children have died, and twenty-eight children have been born; making in all ſeventy-ſeven deaths, and eighty-ſeven births.

Extract of a Letter from Governor Phillip to the Right Honourable Lord Sydney; dated

dated Sydney Cove, 13th Feb. 1790.

In order to get a knowledge of the country round this ſettlement, frequent excurſions have been made ſince the ſhips ſailed, in November 1788; ſoon after which I went to Botany Bay, and the five days ſpent in that harbour confirmed me in the opinion I had firſt formed of it—that it afforded no eligible ſituation for fixing the ſettlement, and was a bad harbour, not affording good ſecurity for ſhips againſt the eaſterly winds, which frequently blow very hard in the winter, and which has been farther proved by Captain Hunter, and the firſt lieutenant of the Sirius, when there to ſurvey the bay.

After having been ſeveral times with the boats to Broken Bay, in order to examine the different branches in that harbour, a river was found; but the want of proviſions obliged us to return without being able to trace it to its ſource, which has ſince been done; and in the ſixteen days we were then out, all thoſe branches which had any depth of water were traced as far as the boats could proceed.

The breadth of this river (named the Hawkeſbury) is from 300 to 800 feet; and it appears, from the ſoundings we had, to be navigable for the largeſt merchant ſhips to the foot of Richmond Hill; but as the water near the head of the river ſometimes riſes, after very heavy rains, thirty feet above its common level, it would not be ſafe for ſhips to go ſo far up; but fifteen or twenty miles below Richmond Hill, they would lay in freſh water, and perfectly ſafe. I ſpeak of Richmond Hill as being the head of the river, it there growing very ſhallow, and dividing into two branches.

The high rocky country which forms Broken Bay is loſt as you proceed up the Hawkeſbury, and the banks of the river are there covered with timber, the ſoil a rich light mould; and, judging from the little we ſaw of the country, I ſhould ſuppoſe it good land to a very conſiderable extent; the other branches of freſh water are ſhoal, but probably run many miles farther into the country than we could trace them with our boats. On theſe rivers we ſaw great numbers of wild ducks, and ſome black ſwans; and on the banks of the Hawkeſbury, ſeveral decoys made by the natives to catch the quail.

Richmond Hill (near the foot of which a fall of water prevented our proceeding farther with the boats) is the ſouthern extremity of a range of hills, which, running to the northward, moſt probably join the mountains which lay nearly parallel to the coaſt, from fifty to ſixty miles inland. The ſoil of Richmond Hill is good, and it lies well for cultivation. Our proſpect from the hill was very extenſive to the ſouthward and eaſtward; the country appearing, from the height at which we were, to be a level covered with timber: there is a flat of ſix or ſeven miles between Richmond Hill and a break in the mountains, which ſeparates Lanſdown and Carmarthen Hills; and in this flat, I ſuppoſe, the Hawkeſbury continues its courſe, but which could not be ſeen for the timber, that, with very few exceptions, covers the country wherever the ſoil is good.

The great advantages of ſo noble a river,

a river, when a ſettlement can be made on its banks, will be obvious to your Lordſhip.

The ſettlement made at Port Jackſon, near the head of the harbour (Roſe Hill) very fully anſwers my expectations; the ſoil is exceeding good, lies well for cultivation, and is well watered. Six miles to the ſouthward, there is a ſmall freſh-water river; and 20 miles to the weſtward, there is a more conſiderable river, the ſource of which I ſuppoſe to be at the foot of the mountains. The banks of this river, which moſt probably empties itſelf into the Hawkeſbury, are high; the ſoil a good light mould, and covered with trees; the wood of ſome of theſe trees is very light; they are about the ſize of large walnut trees, which they reſemble; they ſhed their leaves, and bear a ſmall fruit which is ſaid to be very wholeſome. This river likewiſe frequently riſes thirty feet above its common level; it is, as far as I have ſeen it, from 300 to 400 feet in breadth. I named it the Nepean, and its ſource will be traced in the courſe of the winter; and from its banks I hope to reach the mountains, which has been attempted by a party who croſſed the river, but after the firſt day's journey, they met with ſuch a conſtant ſucceſſion of deep ravines, the ſides of which were frequently inacceſſible, that they returned, not having been able to proceed above fifteen miles in five days; when they turned back, they ſuppoſed themſelves to be 12 miles from the foot of the mountains.

As the land for ſeveral miles to the ſouthward, and twenty miles to the weſtward of Roſe Hill, that is, to the banks of the Nepean, is as fine land for tillage as moſt in England, (ſome few particular ſpots excepted, the ſoil of which is poor, but bears a very ſmall proportion to the good land) I propoſe that tract of land for thoſe ſettlers which may be ſent out; and though they will be placed at ſome diſtance from each other, for the conveniency of water, (from one to three or four miles) they will have nothing to apprehend from the natives, who avoid thoſe parts we moſt frequent, and always retire at the ſight of two or three people who are armed.

As the labour of clearing the ground of timber will be great, I think each ſettler ſhould not have leſs than twenty men on his farm, which I ſuppoſe to be from five hundred to one thouſand acres: it will be neceſſary to give that number of convicts to thoſe ſettlers who come out, and to ſupport them for two years from the public ſtores; in that time, if they are any ways induſtrious, they will be in a ſituation to ſupport themſelves, and I do not think they would be able to do it in leſs time. At the expiration of the two years, they may return half the convicts they have been allowed, and would want no farther aſſiſtance from government.

It may be neceſſary to grant lands to officers and ſoldiers, who becoming ſettlers, will of courſe be entitled to every indulgence; but few of the officers now here have reaped any great advantage from being allowed convicts; and it is attended with unavoidable inconveniences, from thoſe convicts being left ſo much to themſelves, and from their mixing with the ſoldiers. It may be found more to the advantage of the crown and the officer likewiſe, if officers on duty in this ſettlement

were allowed a certain quantity of grain to ſupport their live ſtock, until they have a market to go to, and I make no doubt, but that in the third year from the time ſettlers arrive, there will be a market well ſupplied with grain, poultry, hogs, and goats, of all which there has been a great increaſe, but killed, from wanting corn to ſupport them; and the natives ſo frequently ſetting fire to the country, which they do to catch the opoſſum, flying ſquirrel, and other animals, has prevented ſwine from being turned out, as was intended.

If this plan, of diſtributing amongſt the ſettlers thoſe convicts who are not immediately neceſſary for carrying on the public works, is approved of, and which I propoſe, as appearing to me the moſt likely to render this ſettlement independent for the neceſſaries of life, in the ſhorteſt time poſſible, there are many regulations which will of courſe take place.

Extracts of a Letter from Governor Phillip to Lord Sydney; dated Government Houſe, Sydney Cove, April 11, 1790.

The quantity of flour brought from the Cape of Good Hope by the Sirius, was leſs than I expected—four months flour only for the ſettlement, and a year's proviſions for the ſhip's company; and it was neceſſary to give the ſhip a very conſiderable repair before ſhe could be ſent to ſea again, which was not completed before the middle of January, when I had reaſon to expect ſhips from England in the courſe of a few weeks. The ſending to the iſlands would have anſwered as far as procuring live ſtock to breed from, but which was not immediately wanted; and what the Sirius could have brought for the conſumption of ſuch a number of people, would have been but a very ſmall relief. Howe Iſland had been tried ſeveral times, and only a very few turtle procured.

The goodneſs of the ſoil on Norfolk Iſland, and the induſtry of thoſe employed there, rendered that iſland a reſource, and the only one that offered, when, from the time which had paſſed ſince my letters might be ſuppoſed to have been received in England, there was reaſon to ſuppoſe ſome accident had happened to the ſtore ſhips ſent out.

I therefore ordered two companies of marines to be ready to embark with a number of convicts, by the 5th of March, if no ſhip arrived before that time; and a proportion of what proviſions and ſtores remained in this ſettlement being put on board the Sirius and Supply, ſixty-five officers and men, with five women and children from the detachment and civil department, one hundred and ſixteen male and ſixty-ſeven female convicts, with twenty-ſeven children, embarked and ſailed the 6th of March.

The advantage I expected by ſending away ſuch a number of people, was from the little garden ground they would leave, and which would aſſiſt thoſe who remained, and the fiſh which might be caught in the winter would go the farther; at the ſame time, thoſe ſent to Norfolk Iſland would have reſources in the great abundance of vegetables raiſed there, and in fiſh and birds, which this ſettlement could not afford them; and it was my intention to have ſent more convicts to that iſland, if

if there had not been this neceſſity.

The proviſions ſent, with what was on the iſland, and the wheat and Indian corn raiſed there, more than would be neceſſary for ſeed, was calculated to laſt full as long as the proviſions in this place; and at Norfolk Iſland, from the richneſs of the ſoil, a man may ſupport himſelf, with little aſſiſtance from the ſtore, after the timber is cleared away.

As I wiſhed to ſend an officer to England who could give ſuch information as cannot be conveyed by letters, and the detachment was now divided, I replaced the officer who was ſuperintendant and commandant at Norfolk Iſland, by Major Roſs; the officer I have recalled having been two years on the iſland, is very capable of pointing out the advantages which may be expected from it, and I think it promiſes to anſwer very fully the end propoſed by making the ſettlement; it will be a place of ſecurity for the convicts, where they will ſoon ſupport themſelves, and where they may be advantageouſly employed in cultivating the flax plant.

Extracts from Inſtructions given by Governor Phillip to the Lieutenant Governor, during his Command at Norfolk Iſland; dated 2d March, 1790.

You will cauſe the convicts to be employed in the cultivation of the land, in ſuch manner as ſhall appear to you the beſt calculated to render that ſettlement independent, as far as reſpects the neceſſaries of life, paying ſuch attention to the cultivation of the flax plant as your ſituation will admit of, and which is to be the principal object, when the neceſſaries of life are ſecured to the ſettlers.

As from the great increaſe of corn and other vegetable food which may be expected from a common induſtry, and in ſo fertile a ſoil, after a certain quantity of ground is cleared and in cultivation, as well as from the natural increaſe of ſwine and other animals, it cannot be expedient that all the convicts ſhould be employed in attending only to the object of proviſions, you are to cauſe the greateſt poſſible number of theſe people to be employed in cultivating and dreſſing the flax plant, as a means of acquiring cloathing for themſelves and other perſons, who may become ſettlers, as well as for a variety of maritime purpoſes, and for which its ſuperior excellence renders it a deſirable object in Europe.

You will, at every opportunity, tranſmit to me all ſuch remarks or obſervations as you may make reſpecting the nature of the ſoil on the iſland, and point out ſuch means as may appear to you the moſt likely to anſwer the views of government in the cultivation of the flax plant, and in rendering that iſland independent for the neceſſaries of life, and for the order and government of the ſettlers thereon, that ſuch information may from me be tranſmitted to his majeſty's miniſters.

Deſcription of Norfolk Iſland.

Norfolk Iſland is ſituated in the latitude 29° 00′, and in the longitude of 168° 00′ eaſt: its form is nearly an oblong, and contains from twelve to fourteen thouſand acres.

The

The face of the country is hilly, and ſome of the vallies are tolerably large for the ſize of the iſland; many of the hills are very ſteep, and ſome few ſo very perpendicular, that they cannot be cultivated; but where ſuch ſituations are, they will do very well for fuel; on the tops of the hills are ſome extenſive flats.

Mount Pitt is the only remarkable high hill in the iſland, and is about one hundred and fifty fathoms high. The clifts which ſurround the iſland are about forty fathoms high, and perpendicular; the baſis of the iſland is a hard firm clay. The whole iſland is covered with a thick wood, choaked up with underwood.

The iſland is well ſupplied with many ſtreams of very fine water; many of which are ſufficiently large to turn any number of mills. Theſe ſprings are full of very large eels.

From the coaſt to the ſummit of Mount Pitt, is a continuation of the richeſt and deepeſt ſoil in the world, which varies from a rich black mould to a fat red earth; we have dug down forty feet, and found the ſame ſoil; the air is very wholeſome, and the climate may be called a very healthy one: there has been no ſickneſs ſince I firſt landed on the iſland.

There are five kinds of trees on the iſland, which are good timber, viz. the pine, live oak, a yellow wood, a hard black wood, and a wood not unlike the Engliſh beech. The pine trees are of a great ſize, many of which are from 180 to 220 feet in height, and from ſix to nine feet in diameter. Thoſe trees which are from 100 to 180 feet in height, are in general ſound; from the root to the lower branches, there is from 80 to 90 feet of ſound timber, the reſt is too hard and knotty for uſe; it ſometimes happens, that after cutting off twenty feet from the butt, it becomes rotten or ſhakey, for which reaſon no dependance can be put in it for large maſts or yards. The timber of the pine is very uſeful in building, and is very plentiful along the coaſt; its diſperſed ſituation in the interior parts of the iſland, is well calculated for erecting ſuch buildings as may be neceſſary. From what I have ſeen of this wood, I think it is very durable. Two boats have been built of it, and have anſwered the purpoſe fully.

The live oak, yellow wood, black wood, and beech, are all of a cloſe grain, and are a durable wood.

The flax plant of New Zealand grows ſpontaneouſly in many parts of the iſland, but moſtly abounds on the ſea coaſt, where there is a very great quantity of it; the leaves of which the flax is made, are, when full grown, ſix feet long and ſix inches wide; each plant contains ſeven of thoſe leaves; a ſtrong woody ſtalk riſes from the centre, which bears the flowers; it ſeeds annually, and the old leaves are forced out by young ones every year. Every method has been tried to work it, but I much fear that until a native of New Zealand can be carried to Norfolk Iſland, that the method of dreſſing that valuable commodity will not be known; and could that be obtained, I have no doubt but Norfolk Iſland would very ſoon clothe the inhabitants of New South Wales.

There are a great quantity of pigeons, parrots, hawks, and other ſmaller birds, which are now in a wild ſtate.

The ground is much infeſted with different

different kinds of the grub worm, which are very deſtructive to the growth of vegetables; they are moſtly troubleſome about the ſpring. It is to be hoped that when more ground is cleared away, that this evil will ceaſe.

There is no quadrupede on the iſland, except the rat, which is much ſmaller than the Norway rat: theſe vermin were very troubleſome when firſt we landed, but at preſent there are but very few.

The coaſts of the iſland abound with very fine fiſh. No opportunities were ever loſt of ſending the boat out, which enabled us to make a ſaving of two pounds of meat, each man, a week.

The coaſts of the iſland are in general ſteep too, and, excepting at Sydney, Anſon, Ball, and Caſcade Bays, they are inacceſſible, being ſurrounded by ſteep perpendicular clifts riſing from the ſea. Some rocks are ſcattered about cloſe to the ſhore.

Sydney Bay, on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, is where the ſettlement is made. Landing at this place entirely depends on the wind and the weather; I have ſeen as good landing as in the Thames, for a fortnight or three weeks together, and I have often ſeen it impracticable to land for ten or twelve days ſucceſſively; but it is much oftener good landing than bad.

Anſon Bay is a ſmall bay with a ſandy beach, where landing is in general good, with an off-ſhore wind and moderate weather; but as the interior parts of the iſland are ſo difficult of acceſs from thence, no ſhip's boats have ever landed there.

Ball Bay is on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the iſland; the beach is a large looſe ſtone; when landing is bad in Sydney Bay, it is very good here, as it alſo is in Caſcade Bay, on the north ſide of the iſland.

During the winter months, viz. from April to Auguſt, the general winds are the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, with heavy gales at times. In the ſummer, the ſouth-eaſt wind blows almoſt conſtant.

The ſpring is viſible in Auguſt, but the native trees, and many plants in the iſland, are in a conſtant ſtate of flowering: the ſummer is warm, and ſometimes the droughts are very great; all the grain and European plants ſeeded in December: from February to Auguſt may be called the rainy ſeaſon, not that I think there is any ſtated times for rains in theſe months, as it is ſometimes very fine weather for a fortnight together, but when the rain does fall, it is in torrents. I do not remember above three claps of thunder during the time I was on the iſland. The winter is very pleaſant, and it never freezes.

The proper time for ſowing wheat and barley is from May to Auguſt, and is got-in in December; that which has been ſowed has produced twenty-five fold, and I think the increaſe may be greater. Two buſhels of barley, ſowed in 1789, produced twenty-four buſhels of a ſound full grain.

The Indian corn produces well, and is, in my opinion, the beſt grain to cultivate in any quantity, on account of the little trouble attending its growth, and manufacturing for eating.

The Rio Janeiro ſugar-cane grows very well, and is thriving.

Vines and oranges are very thriving; of the former there will be a great quantity in a few years.

Potatoes thrive remarkably well, and yield a very great increaſe; I think two crops a year of that article may be got with great eaſe.

Every kind of garden vegetable thrives well, and comes to great perfection.

The quantity of ground cleared, and in cultivation, belonging to the public, was, on the 13th March, 1790, from twenty-eight to thirty-two acres, and about eighteen cleared by free people and convicts for their gardens.

PHILIP GIDLEY KING.

London,
January 10th, 1791.

Accounts relative to the Settlements in New South Wales.

An Account of the Number of Convicts which have been ſhipped from England for New South Wales, and of the Number intended to be ſent in the Ships now under Orders for that Service: Made out purſuant to an Order of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, dated 9th February, 1791.

	N°
Convicts ſhipped — — — —	2,029
Convicts intended to be ſent in the ſhips now under orders	1,830
	3,859

Treaſury Chambers,
18th March, 1791.

CHARLES LONG.

An Account of the Expence incurred in tranſporting Convicts to New South Wales, as far as the ſame can be made up.

Nature of the Expences.				*Amount.* £.	s.	d.
Freight of the tranſport ſhips, with the expence of fitting them for the ſervice — —				42,271	0	4
Cloathing, ſlops, and bedding — —				4,939	16	8
Victualling and providing for the convicts and the marine guard, prior to ſailing, as alſo on the paſſage, and for a ſtore there, viz.						
	£.	s.	d.			
Prior to ſailing — —	4,324	1	11			
On the paſſage — —	7,310	12	2			
For a ſtore at New South Wales	16,205	3	0			
Wine, eſſence of malt, &c. —	381	15	1			
				28,221	12	2
Handcuffs and irons for ſecuring the convicts —				42	0	1
Stationary for the commiſſary of ſtores and proviſions, and for the commanding officer of marines —				63	19	4
Tools, implements of huſbandry, &c. — —				3,056	8	7
Marquees and camp equipage for marine officers —				389	4	1
Portable houſe for the governor — — —				130	0	0
Medicine, drugs, ſurgeons' inſtruments, and neceſſaries				1,429	15	5
Seed grain — — — —				286	17	4
Old canvas ſupplied from Portſmouth dock-yard, for tents, &c. for the convicts, until huts could be erected — — — —				69	0	9
Hearths, coppers, &c. for the uſe of the ſettlement				118	10	3
Pay and diſburſements of the agent to the tranſports employed on this ſervice — — —				881	6	6
				81,899	11	6

This expence has been incurred upon the firſt expedition, and is all paid.

Charge of cloathing, victualling, and tranſporting Female Convicts in the Lady Juliana, hired in December 1788, viz.

Paid already upon account —	4,269	18	9			
Eſtimate of what more may be due, upon the ſuppoſition that the ſhip may have been diſcharged at Port Jackſon from the pay of this board, at the end of Auguſt laſt	3,454	3	2			
				7,724	1	11
Carried forward			£.	89,623	13	5

Brought forward —				£.	89,623 13 5
Charge of the Juſtinian, hired in Nov. 1789, for a ſtore-ſhip to Port Jackſon, and from thence to proceed to China to bring home teas for the Eaſt-India Company, viz.					
Freight for two years, the time calculated for the performance of thoſe ſervices out and home —	7,389	0	0		
Deduct what may be expected to be received from the company for freight of teas home — —	5,000	0	0		
There remains the ſum of					2,389 0 0
Note.—623l. 2s., part of the ſum of 2,389l., being the amount of the expence incurred on account of this ſhip, according to the above eſtimate, has been already paid; which leaves a balance due of 1,765l. 18s.					
Pay and diſburſements of the two agents who went out in the Lady Juliana and Juſtinian —					1,500 0 0
Charge of victualling, cloathing, and tranſporting convicts, according to agreements with Mr. Whitlock, in Auguſt 1789, and with Meſſrs. Camden, Calvert, and King, in Nov. 1790:					
Paid upon account to Mr. Whitlock	17,463	3	9		
Ditto to Meſſrs. Camden and Co. —	30,100	0	0		
£.	47,563	3	9		
The total expence cannot be known until the ſervice is over, and the accounts are ſettled; but it is eſtimated that what will remain due upon the above two agreements will not probably be leſs than —	20,000	0	0		
					67,563 3 9
				£.	161,075 17 2

The expence incurred on his majeſty's ſhips ſent on ſervice to New South Wales, is eſtimated to be as under, viz.

On the Sirius —	45,183	0	0
Supply tender	17,283	0	0
Guardian	22,924	0	0
Gorgon —	10,211	0	0
£.	95,601	0	0

Whitehall, Treaſury Chambers,
18th March, 1791.

CHARLES LONG.

N. B.—In the preceding account, the charges incurred for the tranſport of 200 convicts from Ireland are included.

An Account of the Quantity and Coſt of the Proviſions and Stores which have been ſent to New South Wales for the Maintenance and Support of the Settlements there, as far as the ſame can be made up.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
600 tons of proviſions ſhipped in June and July 1789 —	12,034	8	6			
300 tons of proviſions ſhipped in December 1789 — —	6,178	4	0			
450 tons ditto, February 1791 —	9,514	10	2			
				27,727	2	8
Cloathing, viz. leather, ſhoes, ſtockings, hats, cloths, Ozenburgs, blankets, rugs, tape, thread, &c.	16,865	2	3¾			
Implements, &c. comprehending implements of huſbandry, iron, ſteel, blackſmith, armourer, carpenter, bricklayer, and maſons tools, nails, hoes, axes, glaſs, iron pots, tin plates, fiſhing tackle, hooks, twine, thread, rope, hawſers, pig and ſheet lead, ſhot, ball, gunpowder, bowls, paints, oil, canvas, bibles, prayer and other books, weights, ſcales, meaſures, waggons, &c.	11,772	10	3¾			
Medicines, hoſpital ſtores, comprehending a moveable hoſpital, ſheets, blankets, rugs, palliaſſes, chirurgical inſtruments and neceſſaries, pewter, tin, and copper ware, kettles, wine, vinegar, groceries, flannel, ſalt, hammocks, ſoup, oatmeal, barley, rice, ſago, &c. —	23,129	8	0			
	£. 51,767	0	7½			
Off diſcounts —	2,011	2	1			
				49,755	18	6½
Amount of bills drawn by Governor Phillip and Commiſſary Miller on the Lords of the Treaſury for proviſions, ſtores, and neceſſaries, for the uſe of the ſettlement —	—		—	7,070	3	6
				£. 84,553	4	8¾

In the aforegoing account is included the coſt of 12 months proviſions, cloathing, ſtores, &c. for 200 convicts from Ireland, after their arrival.

Treaſury Chambers,
18th March, 1791.

CHARLES LONG.

An Account of the Charge and Expence of the Civil and Military Eſtabliſhments in the Settlements of New South Wales.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Civil eſtabliſhment, to 10th Oct. 1790 — — — —	—	—	—	13,190	17	8
Military Eſtabliſhment.						
Pay of marines, to 1ſt Jan. 1791, about — — —	18,784	0	0			
Charge of the New South Wales corps, from 5th June to 24th December, 1789, including levy money, the allowance for cloathing and accoutrements, and contingencies — —	4,751	8	11			
The charge of the ſaid corps for the year 1790, according to the eſtabliſhment — — —	6,134	7	3			
				29,669	16	2
Total expence of the civil and military eſtabliſhment, from the commencement thereof in 1787, to the preſent period — —	—			42,860	13	10
Future annual expence of the civil eſtabliſhment — —	3,856	0	0			
Future annual charge of the military eſtabliſhment — —	6,134	7	3			
	9,990	7	3			

Treaſury Chambers,
18th March, 1791.

CHARLES LONG.

An

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of RUM and MELASSES exported from the *Britiſh Weſt Indies* to all Parts,

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of RUM and MELASSES exported from the *Britiſh Weſt Indies* to all Parts, in the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789; diſtinguiſhing each Year, and the Countries to which exported. Laid before the Houſe of Commons.

	1787.		1788.		1789.	
	RUM.	MELASSES.	RUM.	MELASSES.	RUM.	MELASSES.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
Great Britain - -	2,251,346	—	3,646,667	—	3,396,653	
Ireland - - -	344,150	—	688,050	—	754,700	
Britiſh Colonies - -	885,186	26,380	652,200	24,839	668,470	20,192
States of America - -	1,660,155	4,200	1,541,093	3,923	1,485,461	1,000
Foreign Weſt Indies - -	345,750	—	222,512	—	143,443	
Southern Parts of Europe	9,560					
Africa - - -	—	—	19,810	—	43,450	
	5,496,147	30,580	6,770,332	28,812	6,492,177	21,192

An ACCOUNT of the Total Quantity of SUGAR imported from the *Britiſh Weſt-India* Iſlands into *Great Britain*, in the under-mentioned Years.——Alſo, an Account, for the ſame Periods, of the Quantity of RAW and REFINED SUGARS exported from *Great Britain*; diſtinguiſhing the Quantity exported to *Ireland*, and other Parts of the Empire, from the Quantity exported to Foreign Parts.

	Quantity of Britiſh Plantation Sugar imported.			Raw Sugar exported to Ireland, and other Parts of the Empire.			Refined Sugar exported to Ireland, and other Parts of the Empire.			Raw Sugar exported to Foreign Parts.			Refined Sugar exported to Foreign Parts.		
	Cwt.	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*Cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*Cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*Cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*Cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*
Year 1772 — —	1,786,045	0	1	172,269	2	5	27,623	3	23	2,391	2	26	3,677	0	0
1773 — —	1,762,387	3	15	184,252	2	17	23,771	3	17	2,397	1	2	5,772	9	0
1774 — —	2,015,911	1	15	211,304	1	25	28,139	3	25	11,950	0	2	5,949	0	17
1775 — —	2,002,224	3	8	255,686	2	16	23,034	3	26	89,325	3	12	46,755	3	22
1787 — —	1,926,121	0	3	196,636	3	20	24,261	2	0	2,779	1	16	52,473	3	19
1788 — —	2,065,700	0	12	138,681	3	19	17,150	3	9	6,575	0	20	58,250	2	6
1789 — —	1,935,223	2	21	149,351	2	0	20,506	1	17	4,461	3	15	118,033	1	22
1790 — —	1,882,005	0	17	127,104	4	3	13,968	1	17	15,011	2	15	105,892	2	1

An

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of *Britiſh* and Foreign Plantation SUGARS, imported into *North America*, in the following Years; diſtinguiſhing each Year, and the *Britiſh* from the Foreign Sugars.

		British Plantation Sugar.			Foreign Plantation Sugar.		
		Cwt.	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*Cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*
Years	1769	49,672	0	0	45,437	0	0
	1770	66,417	2	3	35,035	1	1
	1771	47,870	0	0	21,466	0	0
	1772	44,611	0	0	51,333	0	0

An

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of SUGARS, being *Britiſh* Plantation Produce, imported into *Great Britain* in the following Years; diſtinguiſhing each Year, and each Iſland from whence imported.

	1772.	1773.	1774.	1775.	1787.	1788.	1789.	1790.
	Cwt. qr. lb.	*Cwt. qr. lb.*	*Cwt. qr. lb.*	*Cwt. qr. lb.*	*Cwt. qr. lb.*	*Cwt. qr. lb.*	*Cwt. qr. lb.*	*Cwt. qr. lb.*
Antigua — —	115364 1 23	83965 1 20	235815 1 23	255861 1 26	254575 1 18	181813 2 9	144204 0 11	65022 1 26
Anguilla — —	—	—	—	1298 0 0	2129 2 16	3728 1 2	3 2 12	2150 2 18
Barbadoes — —	141341 1 3	110911 2 4	139564 1 3	70181 1 25	130242 0 16	110955 0 19	97389 2 24	113038 3 21
Dominica — —	10370 2 8	20705 1 5	53464 2 12	40683 1 21	58665 1 21	47640 1 24	34709 3 5	50036 0 23
Grenada — —	198362 2 5	202679 0 0	185542 0 10	199824 1 23	172880 0 9	193783 0 25	164338 3 9	191625 1 6
Jamaica — —	874560 1 20	1057958 0 23	947073 1 1	995387 2 18	824706 2 15	1124087 0 4	1236603 1 27	1185519 2 7
St. Kitt's — —	220716 2 14	110657 3 3	212267 0 15	206049 3 17	231397 2 12	187379 1 25	89755 1 23	113379 1 16
Nevis — —	63125 1 26	30369 1 20	68408 0 9	50488 0 10	72475 1 11	30050 1 4	28151 3 0	35467 3 1
Montſerrat — —	58008 2 0	33776 0 21	47590 3 9	39327 2 9	35849 3 10	25113 0 13	25089 2 16	19186 3 24
St. Vincent's — —	55909 1 18	61084 0 18	65177 0 17	54071 2 16	64449 1 27	76735 2 24	81283 0 18	76747 2 1
Tortola — —	34660 0 3	30126 3 24	33962 3 4	38665 2 7	78749 1 6	84513 3 22	33704 0 23	29830 1 14
Tobago — —	13625 2 21	14153 3 17	27045 2 24	50385 2 4				
Total — —	1786045 0 1	1762387 3 15	2015911 1 15	2002224 3 8	1926121 0 3	2065700 0 12	1935223 2 21	1882005 0 17

Average of the annual produce of the firſt period.

Cwt. *qr.* *lb.*
1,891,642 1 0

Average of the annual produce of the laſt period.

Cwt. *qr.* *lb.*
1,952,262 0 0

Increaſe in the laſt period.

Cwt. *qr.* *lb.*
60,620 0 0

Equal to about 4,040 Hogſheads.

A GENE-

A GENERAL BILL

OF

All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 14, 1790, to DECEMBER 13, 1791.

Christened { Males 9394 / Females 9102 } Buried { Males 9577 / Females 9183 } Increased in the Burials this Year 722.

Total Males and Females Christened 18496.—Total Males and Females Buried 18760.

Died under Two Years	6556	—Forty and Fifty	1766	A Hundred and Two	0
Between Two and Five	1878	—Fifty and Sixty	1654	A Hundred and Three	0
—Five and Ten	589	—Sixty and Seventy	1365	A Hundred and Four	2
—Ten and Twenty	636	—Seventy and Eighty	940	A Hundred and Five	0
—Twenty and Thirty	1332	—Eighty and Ninety	351	A Hundred and Seven	0
—Thirty and Forty	1641	—Ninety and a Hundred	50		

DISEASES.						CASUALTIES.	
Abortive and Still-born	631	Dropsy	869	Miscarriage	1	Broken Limbs	3
Abscess	21	Evil	4	Mortification	229	Bruised	2
Aged	1078	Fever, malignant Fever, Scarlet Fever, Spotted Fever, and Purples	2013	Palsy	90	Burnt	29
Ague	1			Pleurisy	14	Cramp	1
Apoplexy & Sudden	55	Fistula	5	Quinsy	6	Drowned	93
Asthma and Phthisic	337	Flux	5	Rash	0	Excessive Drinking	6
Bed-ridden	11	French Pox	33	Rheumatism	13	Executed *	6
Bleeding	14	Gout	53	Rickets	1	Found Dead	7
Bloody Flux	0	Gravel, Strangury, and Stone	40	Rising of the Lights	0	Fractured	2
Burften and Rupture	17	Grief	9	Scald Head	0	Frighted	2
Cancer	46	Head-Ach	1	Scurvy	6	Frozen	0
Canker	0	Headmouldshot, Horshoehead, and Water in the Head	57	Small Pox	1747	Killed by Falls and several other Accidents	53
Chicken Pox	1			Sore Throat	10		
Childbed	160	Jaundice	61	Sores and Ulcers	12	Killed themselves	26
Cholic, Gripes, twisting of the Guts	9	Imposthume	0	St. Anthony's Fire	2	Locked Jaw	1
		Inflammation	220	Stoppage in the Stomach	7	Murdered	8
Cold	3	Itch	0			Overlaid	0
Consumption	5090	Leprosy	0	Suddenly	132	Poisoned	4
Convulsions	4386	Lethargy	1	Surfeit	0	Scalded	3
Cough and Hooping-Cough	279	Livergrown	3	Swelling	1	Smothered	0
		Lunatick	52	Teeth	418	Starved	2
Diabetes	0	Measles	156	Thrush	38	Suffocated	4
				Tympany	1	Total	252
				Vomiting and Looseness	1		
				Worms	8		

* There have been executed in Middlesex and Surry 37; of which number 6 only have been reported as buried within the Bills of Mortality.

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, Receiver of Corn Returns, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ended the 5th of* January 1792.

EXPORTED.

1791. ENGLAND.	British. Quarters.	Foreign. Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid. £. s. d.
Wheat	31,008	15,187	
		cwts. qrs. lbs.	
Dº Flour	19,968	11,834 3 7	
		qrs.	
Rye	2,343	1,185	
Barley	2,390		
Malt	34,409		7,168 19 4½ Bo.
Oats	13,686	957	
Oatmeal	569	69	Drawbacks Nil.
Beans	6,906	1,000	
Peaſe	5,388		
Indian Corn	- -	1,246	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat	- -	2,079	
Dº Flour	345		
Barley	4		
Dº, hulled	145		
Malt	4,787		
Oats	918		
Oatmeal	160	- - -	754 8 10 Bo.
Groats	10		Drawback Nil.
Beans	370		
Peaſe	57		
Bear	473		
Biſcuit	405		

IMPORTED.

ENGLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received. £. s. d.
Wheat	357,999	
	cwt. qrs. lbs.	
Dº Flour	113,258 1 7	
	qrs.	
Rye	56,124	
Barley	43,718	15,561 18 0
Oats	637,717	
Oatmeal	1,251	
Beans	12,615	
Peaſe	1,939	
Indian Corn	1,240	

IMPORTED.

SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
Wheat - - -	72,798	
	cwt. qrs. lbs.	£. s. d.
Do Flour - - -	1,517 3 25	
	qrs.	
Rye - - - -	254	
Barley - - -	17,417	
Oats - - - -	115,530	3,248 3 5
Oatmeal - - -	27,040	
	bolls.	
Oatmeal - - -	9,015	
	qrs.	
Beans - - -	127	
Peaſe - - -	45	

The following is an Account of the Average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the Standard Wincheſter Buſhel, for the Year 1791.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
5 10½	3 11	3 2¾	2 3¼	3 9¾

N. B. The price of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed, and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per buſhel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICES

PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1791.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc	3 pr Ct. Consol.	3½ pr Ct. Consol.	5 pr. Ct.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Ann.	India Bon.	S. Sea Stock	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exch. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
January —	190	82¼	83	103½	123	24¼	13½	175½	77¾	113	93¾	82⅛	81⅛	1 7/8 dis.	16	16 9 0
	186	80½	79⅞	101½	117⅞	23 11/16	13⅛	168	76	100	92¼	80	80	Par.	13	16 1 6
February —	188⅞	81¾	81⅛	102¾	119⅝	24	13 7/16	170	76¼	109	91	81½	80⅝	⅜ dis.	18	16 13 6
	187¼	80⅞	80⅛	101⅜	118¼	23¾	13 5/16	166¾	76	95	90½	80⅞	80¼	⅜ dis.	16	16 6 6
March —	191¼	82¾	82⅛	103⅜	120½	24 5/16	13 11/16	170	77	110	91¾	82¼	82¼	3½ dis.	20	
	178½	78	75¼	98½	113¾	22 13/16	12 11/16	159		38	87½	81½	76⅝	⅜ dis.	19	
April —	188½	80⅜	81¼	101⅛	119⅝	23 9/16	12⅞	167¼	74⅝	91	90½	80⅝	80¾	⅜ dis.	5	
	178½	77½	76⅛	100¼	114	22¾	12¾	159¾	73¾	33	86	79⅞	76½	1¼ dis.	Par.	
May —	187½	81⅜	82¼	101¾	121	23 13/16	12⅞	167¼	75⅜	90	90¼	80⅞	81¾	1½ dis.	8	
	183⅜	79⅛	80⅛	100	118¼	23 3/16	12⅝	163¼	74½	85	89½	79⅜	80¼	1⅛ dis.		
June —	187⅞	82	83⅛	102	121	24	13 1/16	168¼	75¾	96	90¼	81¾	—	1⅛ dis.	10	16 0 6
	185⅞	80¾	81½	101⅛	120	23⅝	12¾	166	75⅛	84	89¾	80⅝	—	1 dis.		16 0 0
July —	190	83¼	83½	104½	120⅝	24⅜	13¼	172	77¾	107	91¾	83¼	82⅛	1⅞ dis.	13	16 1 6
	185⅜	80⅞	81¾	101	119½	23 11/16	12 15/16	165¾	75⅜	87	—	80⅝	81⅞	⅜ dis.	12	16 0 6
August —	204	90	89¼	107	122⅝	26⅜	13 9/16	186½	83¼	116	97¾	89⅜	88¾	¾ dis.	26	16 8 6
	190¾	83¾	83	103⅛	115¼	24⅝	13 5/16	173	78⅝	106	93¾	84¾	83⅞	⅛ dis.	20	16 4 6
September —	204½	90¾	89¾	105	118½	26½	13½	195¾	83½	117	97¾	90⅜	89¼	Par.	28	16 13 0
	200⅝	89⅛	88¾	104	116¾	26⅜	13 5/16	185½	83¼	112	96	89	88⅛	¼ dis.	25	16 7 0
October —	203	89½	89⅛	104⅝	118⅞	26¼	12⅝	194	81⅞	117	96½	87⅛	88½	Par.	23	16 15 0
	194	87⅛	87⅛	100⅝	116	25 5/16	12 9/16	188¾	81	106	95½	85⅝	87	⅛ dis.	6	16 10 6
November —	196¾	87¼	88¼	101⅞	118⅞	25 9/16	12⅝	193½	82½	109	96⅜	87⅛	88	Par.	12	17 3 0
	194¾	85¾	86¾	100¾	117¾	25⅜	12 7/16	181½	81¼	89	96¼	86¼	87	⅛ dis.	7	16 14 6
December —	200⅞	89 3/16	90½	103½	120	26 1/16	12¾	187¼	84¾	94	96¼	88	89½	Par.	16	17 9 0
	196	87⅛	88	101½	118⅝	25½	12 7/16	183	84½	85		87¼	87½		12	17 1 6

STATE of the BAROMETER and THERMOMETER, for the Year 1791.

N. B.—*The higheſt and loweſt Degree at which the Barometer and Thermometer ſtood in each Month is ſet down.*

	Days.	Barometer.		Days.	Thermometer.
January	20	28—13.		3	31.
	24	30—52.		7	51.
February	5	30—48.		4	30.
	18	29—20.		14	54.
March	9	30—65.		16	61.
	26	29—75.		3	27.
April	16	30—07.		3	42.
	21	29—04.		10	58.
May	8	30—30.		4	45.
	13	29—55.		27	62.
June	7	30—20.		11	50.
	16	29—38.		29	74.
July	11	29—42.		12	58.
	15	30—21.		18	70.
Auguſt	20	30—50.		15	73.
	28	29—59.		31	55.
September	4	29—47.		11	72.
	16	30—28.		20	48.
October	21	28—85.		3	60.
	28	30—48.		24	36.
November	7	30—18.		7	28.
	18	28—70.		28	51.
December	4	28—89.		12	24.
	17	30—35.		23	45.

Principal

Principal Public Acts paſſed in the Firſt Seſſion of the Seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.

DEC. 29, 1790.

Land tax act.

Malt duty act.

Act for an additional duty on malt.

MARCH 23, 1791.

Mutiny act.

Marine mutiny act.

APRIL 11.

Act for an additional duty on ſugar.

Militia pay and cloathing bill.

JUNE 6.

Act to ſettle an annuity on the duke of Clarence.

Act for new duties on receipts, bills of exchange, &c.

Act for new duties on game certificates.

Act to grant a compenſation to the officers of the wine licence office, for the loſs of their offices.

Act to prohibit the importation of ſilk crapes and tiffanies of Italy.

Act for new duties on tanned goat and ſheep ſkins.

Act to allow the importation of ſeal ſkins, cured with foreign ſalt, for a limited time, free of duty.

Act to indemnify all perſons concerned in carrying into execution an order of council, reſpecting the importation of ſalt-petre, &c.

Act to amend an act 28 George III. for regulating the trade between the Britiſh colonies and the United States of America.

Act for the better regulation and government of ſeamen employed in the coaſting trade.

Act for eſtabliſhing a court of civil judicature in Newfoundland.

Act for allowing a farther bounty on pilchards.

Act to render perſons guilty of petty-larceny competent witneſſes.

Act reſpecting the powers of the governor-general of Bengal.

JUNE 10.

Act for regulating the importation and exportation of corn.

Act to make farther proviſions for the government of the province of Quebec.

Act to relieve Roman catholics from certain penalties and diſabilities.

Act to amend the act for regulating the ſhipping of ſlaves.

Act to protect the oyſter-fiſheries.

Act for the better regulation of gaols.

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1791.

NAVY.

	£.	s.	d.
DECEMBER 7, 1790.			
FOR 24,000 men, including 4,800 marines —	1,248,000	0	0
DECEMBER 13.			
Expences of the late armament — —	1,565,000	0	0
MAY 16, 1791.			
Ordinary of the navy — — —	689,395	13	4
Extra navy — — —	506,010	0	0
£.	4,008,405	13	4

ARMY.

	£.	s.	d.
DECEMBER 13, 1790.			
Expences of the late armament — —	64,000	0	0
Proviſions for the troops in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, in conſequence thereof — —	41,000	0	0
FEBRUARY 8, 1791.			
For 17,013 men, as guards and garriſons —	570,499	11	2½
Forces in the plantations — — —	329,544	10	0
Difference between the Britiſh and Iriſh eſtabliſhments	8,487	10	7
Troops in the Eaſt Indies — —	11,435	12	10½
Recruiting land forces and contingencies —	64,500	0	0
Full pay to ſupernumerary officers — —	15,551	14	5¾
General and ſtaff officers — —	6,409	8	0
Allowance to the pay-maſter-general, &c. &c. —	63,276	5	8
MARCH 29.			
Reduced officers of land forces and marines —	155,287	5	5
Ditto of independent companies —	10,000	0	0
Ditto horſe guards — — —	212	14	7
Ditto officers of Britiſh American forces — —	55,092	10	0
Allowances to ſeveral reduced officers of ditto —	4,907	10	0
Officers late in the ſervice of the States-general —	3,161	10	10
Widows penſions — — —	9,710	4	3
Chelſea penſioners — — —	174,167	4	3½
Scotch roads and bridges — — —	5,911	4	3

	£.	s.	d.
Heſſian ſubſidy — — —	36,093	15	0
Extraordinaries — — —	335,234	18	0
MAY 16.			
Augmentation of a corps of foot in New South Wales	2,754	5	8½
£.	1,967,237	15	1¼

ORDNANCE.

DEC. 13, 1790.	£.	s.	d.
Expences of the late armament — —	151,000	0	0
FEBRUARY 8, 1791.			
Ordnance, previous to Dec. 31, 1783, not provided for	3,857	5	1
Ditto, land ſervice, not provided for in 1789 —	30,613	19	1
Ditto, ſea ſervice, ditto — — —	25,278	12	0
Ditto, land ſervice, not provided for in 1790 —	2,159	4	5
Ditto, for 1791 — — —	381,769	18	3
£.	594,678	18	10

MILITIA.

	£.	s.	d.
Pay and cloathing of the militia —	95,311	0	0

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

DECEMBER 7, 1790.			
For paying off exchequer bills — —	3,500,000	0	0
APRIL 18, 1791.			
American and Eaſt Florida ſufferers — —	324,124	6	1¼
APRIL 19.			
For paying off exchequer bills — —	3,000,000	0	0
Catwater harbour — — —	2,000	0	0
Civil eſtabliſhment of Nova Scotia — —	6,376	17	6
Ditto of New Brunſwick — — —	4,400	0	0
Ditto of St. John's iſland — —	1,840	0	0
Ditto of Cape Breton — — —	2,100	0	0
Ditto of Newfoundland — — —	1,182	10	0
Ditto of the Bahama iſlands — —	4,180	0	0
Chief juſtice of the Bermuda iſlands —	580	0	0
Ditto of Dominica — — —	600	0	0
Civil eſtabliſhment of New South Wales —	4,758	6	3½
APRIL 21.			
Somerſet houſe — — —	25,000	0	0

MAY

	£.	s.	d.
MAY 12.			
Profecution of offenders againſt the coin laws —	1,565	0	3
Extraordinary expences of the mint — —	12,016	18	7½
African forts — — — —	13,000	0	0
MAY 19.			
To the prince of Wales, to diſcharge a debt for ſtone-maſons work — — —	3,500	0	0
To Mr. Cotton, for American ſufferers — —	31,000	0	0
Ditto, to pay fees for receipts of money for compenſation to the loyaliſts of Georgia — —	1,271	17	0
Ditto, to pay bills of exchange, &c. — —	775	18	8½
Purchaſe of hemp-ſeed for Canada — —	766	16	6
Arrears of contingencies due from the auditors office —	4,237	4	1
Proviſions for New South Wales — —	29,613	1	8
Convicts on the Thames — —	41,716	10	7
Ditto at Plymouth — — —	10,849	1	6
Addreſs money — — —	67,948	12	10
Expences of Mr. Haſtings's proſecution — —	14,153	3	9
Secretary of commiſſioners for regulating the ſhipping of ſlaves — — —	500	0	0
Board of land revenue — — —	4,000	0	0
Secretary of commiſſioners for the American loyaliſts	3,600	0	0
Arrears of the ſalary of Mr. Johnſton, formerly governor of North Carolina — — —	2,018	19	2
Commiſſioners of American loyaliſts — —	24,000	0	0
Ditto of Eaſt Florida ſufferers — —	5,100	0	0
MAY 21.			
For money iſſued out of the civil liſt for the duke of Clarence — — — —	34,210	5	0
To diſcharge the annuity due to the late duke of Cumberland — — —	1,546	7	10
A claim of the ſons of the late Bey of Algiers —	6,762	19	0
	£. 7,191,294	16	4½

DEFICIENCY.

APRIL 19.

Deficiency of grants for 1790 — —	207,728	3	1

Navy — —	4,008,405	13	4
Army — —	1,967,237	15	1¾
Ordnance —	594,678	18	10
Militia — —	95,311	0	0
Miſcellaneous ſervices	7,191,294	16	4¾
Deficiency —	207,728	3	1
	£. 14,064,656	6	9½

WAYS and MEANS for raiſing the above Supplies, granted to his Majeſty for the Year 1791.

DECEMBER 9, 1790.			
Land Tax — — —		2,000,000	0 0
DECEMBER 16.			
Exchequer bills — — —		1,833,000	0 0
Surplus of the conſolidated fund on April 5 —		1,300,000	0 0
Malt duty — — —		750,000	0 0
APRIL 18, 1791.			
Surplus of the conſolidated fund on April 5 —		303,221	9 0½
APRIL 19.			
Part of intereſt on foreign ſecret-ſervice money —		4,026	6 0
MAY 17.			
To be lent, without intereſt, by the bank —		500,000	0 0
MAY 19.			
Surplus of the conſolidated fund — —		2,375,000	0 0
Profit in 50,000 lottery tickets, at 16*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* —		306,250	0 0
Exchequer bills — — —		5,500,000	0 0
Surplus of hemp and flax bounty money — —		10,137	4 0
Total Ways and Means —		14,881,634	19 0½
Total Supplies — —		14,064,656	6 9½
Exceſs of Ways and Means —		£. 816,978	12 3

An

An ACCOUNT of the Net Produce of the Duties of CUSTOMS, EXCISE, STAMPS, and INCIDENTS, between the 6th Day of January 1790, to the 5th Day of January 1791, both Days inclusive.

	£.	s.	d.
CUSTOMS	3,784,974	0	1½
EXCISE	7,154,735	2	9¾
STAMPS	1,332,530	13	3
INCIDENTS.			
Seizures, anno 1760	14,897	5	0¾
Proffers, Do	624	1	2
Alum mine, Do	960	0	0
Compoſitions, Do	5	16	8
Alienation duty, Do	2,767	5	4
Fines and forfeitures, Do	40	0	0
Rent of a light-houſe, Do	6	13	4
Letter money, Do	196,000	0	0
6d. per lib. on penſions, 24th June 1721	44,440	0	0
1s. deduction on ſalaries, 5th April 1758	47,135	15	4
Houſes and windows, 10th October 1766	360,651	17	9½
Houſes, 5th April 1778	123,970	14	4½
Hawkers and Pedlars, 5th July 1710	4,169	1	8½
Hackney coaches, 1ſt Auguſt 1711	12,700	0	0
Do, 1784	15,000	0	0
Firſt fruits of the Clergy	4,587	1	10½
Teſths of the Clergy	10,014	18	5
Male ſervants, anno 1785	88,929	7	0¾
Female Do Do	28,464	5	10¾
Four-wheel carriages, Do	141,055	15	0½
Two-wheel Do Do	29,803	3	1¼
Horſes, Do	98,621	6	0½
Waggons, Do	14,596	11	4
Carts, Do	9,734	16	1¼
Shops, Do	6,142	18	8¾
Male Servants, 1777 (arrears)	4	10	0
Conſol. Letter Money, anno 1787	156,000	0	0
Do, Salt Do	389,417	19	1
Total of Incidents	1,800,739	3	5½
Total of Cuſtoms, Exciſe, Stamps, and Incidents	14,072,978	9	7¾

Exchequer,
21ſt March, 1791.

ROBERT JENNINGS.

STATE PAPERS.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, on the opening of the Seſſion of Parliament, November 26th, 1790.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

IT is a great ſatisfaction to me to inform you, that the differences which had ariſen between me and the court of Spain, have happily been brought to an amicable termination.

I have ordered copies of the declarations exchanged between my ambaſſador and the miniſter of the Catholic King, and of the convention which has ſince been concluded, to be laid before you.

The objects which I have propoſed to myſelf in the whole of this tranſaction, have been to obtain a ſuitable reparation for the act of violence committed at Nootka, and to remove the grounds of ſimilar diſputes in future; as well as to ſecure to my ſubjects the exerciſe of their navigation, commerce, and fiſheries in thoſe parts of the world which were the ſubject of diſcuſſion.

The zeal and public ſpirit manifeſted by all ranks of my ſubjects, and the diſpoſition and conduct of my allies, had left me no room to doubt of the moſt vigorous and effectual ſupport; but no event could have afforded me ſo much ſatisfaction, as the attainment of the objects which I had in view, without any actual interruption of the bleſſings of peace.

Since the laſt ſeſſion of parliament a foundation has been laid for a pacification between Auſtria and the Porte, and I am now employing my mediation, in conjunction with my allies, for the purpoſe of negociating a definitive treaty between thoſe powers, and of endeavouring to put an end to the diſſentions in the Netherlands, in whoſe ſituation I am neceſſarily concerned, from conſiderations of national intereſt, as well as from the engagements of treaties.

A ſeparate peace has taken place between Ruſſia and Sweden, but the war between the former of thoſe powers and the Porte ſtill continues. The principles on which I have hitherto acted, will make me always deſirous of employing the weight and influence of this country in contributing to the reſtoration of general tranquillity.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the accounts of the expences of the late armaments, and the eſtimates for the enſuing year, to be laid before you.

Painful as it is to me, at all times, to ſee any increaſe of the public burthens, I am perſuaded you will agree with me in thinking that the extent

extent of our preparations was dictated by a due regard to the existing circumſtances; and that you will reflect with pleaſure on ſo ſtriking a proof of the advantages derived from the liberal ſupplies granted ſince the laſt peace for the naval ſervice. I rely on your zeal and public ſpirit to make due proviſion for defraying the charges incurred by this armament, and for ſupporting the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice on ſuch a footing as the general ſituation of affairs may appear to require. You will at the ſame time, I am perſuaded, ſhew your determination invariably to perſevere in that ſyſtem which has ſo effectually confirmed and maintained the public credit of the nation.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

You will have obſerved with concern the interruption which has taken place in the tranquillity of our Indian poſſeſſions, in conſequence of the unprovoked attack on an ally of the Britiſh nation. The reſpectable ſtate, however, of the forces under the direction of the government there, and the confidence in the Britiſh name, which the ſyſtem preſcribed by parliament has eſtabliſhed among the native powers in India, afford the moſt favourable proſpect of bringing the conteſt to a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful concluſion.

I think it neceſſary particularly to call your attention to the ſtate of the province of Quebec, and to recommend it to you to conſider of ſuch regulations for its government, as the preſent circumſtances and condition of the province may appear to require.

I am ſatisfied that I ſhall, on every occaſion, receive the fulleſt proofs of your zealous and affectionate attachment, which cannot but afford me peculiar ſatisfaction, after ſo recent an opportunity of collecting the immediate ſenſe of my people.

You may be aſſured that I deſire nothing ſo much on my part, as to cultivate an entire harmony and confidence between me and my parliament, for the purpoſe of preſerving and tranſmitting to poſterity the invaluable bleſſings of our free and excellent conſtitution, and of concurring with you in every meaſure which can maintain the advantages of our preſent ſituation, and promote and augment the proſperity and happineſs of my faithful ſubjects.

The humble Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled. December 1ſt, 1790.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, return your majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

Permit us, Sir, to condole with your majeſty on the loſs your majeſty and your royal family have ſuſtained, by the death of his late royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, whoſe many amiable qualities, as they had endeared him to the nation, cannot but excite univerſal regret for his untimely loſs.

It is with the ſincereſt joy that we receive from your majeſty the information of the differences which had ſubſiſted between your majeſty and the court of Spain, having been happily brought to an amicable termination; and at the ſame time that

we offer to your majeſty our hearty congratulations on ſo happy and important an event, we beg leave to return your majeſty our thanks, for having been graciouſly pleaſed to order copies of the declarations exchanged between your majeſty's ambaſſador and the miniſter of the Catholic King, and of the convention which has ſince been concluded, to be laid before us.

We acknowledge, with the higheſt gratitude, your majeſty's paternal care for the national honour, and for the intereſts of your people, manifeſted by your majeſty, in having, in the whole of this tranſaction, made it your object to obtain a ſuitable reparation for the act of violence committed at Nootka, and to remove the grounds of ſimilar diſputes in future, as well as to ſecure to your majeſty's ſubjects the exerciſe of their navigation, commerce, and fiſheries, in thoſe parts of the world which were the ſubject of diſcuſſion.

We are truly ſenſible of the approbation your majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed to expreſs of the zeal and public ſpirit manifeſted by all ranks of your majeſty's ſubjects; and we learn, with ſincere pleaſure, that the diſpoſition and conduct of your majeſty's allies had left your majeſty no room to doubt of the moſt vigorous and effectual ſupport: but we moſt heartily unite with your majeſty in declaring, that nothing could afford us ſo much ſatisfaction as the attainment of the objects which your majeſty had in view, without any actual interruption of the bleſſings of peace.

We beg leave to aſſure your majeſty of the ſincere pleaſure we feel in learning that a foundation has been laid for a pacification between Auſtria and the Porte, and that your majeſty is now employing your mediation, in conjunction with your allies, for the purpoſe of negotiating a definitive treaty between thoſe powers, and of endeavouring to put an end to the diſſentions in the Netherlands, in whoſe ſituation your majeſty, in your great goodneſs, has been pleaſed to declare you are neceſſarily concerned, from conſiderations of national intereſt, as well as from the engagements of treaties; and we beg leave to aſſure your majeſty of our hearty concurrence in the benevolent principles on which your majeſty has hitherto acted, and in ſuch meaſures as your majeſty, in your wiſdom, ſhall think proper to purſue for employing the weight and influence of this country in contributing to the reſtoration of general tranquillity.

Convinced as we are that the extent of the late preparations was dictated by a due regard to the exiſting circumſtances, we reflect with the higheſt pleaſure on ſo ſtriking a proof of the advantages derived from the liberal ſupplies granted ſince the laſt peace, for the naval ſervice; and we beg leave to aſſure your majeſty of our utmoſt readineſs to concur in making due proviſion for defraying the charges incurred by this armament, and for ſupporting the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice, on ſuch a footing as the general ſituation of affairs may appear to require, as well as for the invariable adherence to that ſyſtem which has ſo effectually confirmed and maintained the public credit of the nation.

The interruption which has taken place in the tranquillity of our Indian poſſeſſions, in conſequence of the unprovoked attack on an ally

of the Britiſh nation, has afforded us much concern; we reflect, however, with ſincere ſatisfaction, on the reſpectable ſtate of the Britiſh force under the direction of the government there, and on the confidence in the Britiſh name, which the ſyſtem preſcribed by parliament has eſtabliſhed among the native powers in India, as affording the moſt favourable proſpect of bringing the conteſt to a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful concluſion.

We beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, that we ſhall beſtow the moſt particular attention to the ſtate of the province of Quebec; and to the conſideration of ſuch regulations for its government as the preſent circumſtances and condition of the province may appear to require.

Conſcious as we are of the ineſtimable bleſſings we enjoy under your majeſty's mild and auſpicious government, we beg leave with grateful hearts to aſſure your majeſty of our moſt zealous and affectionate attachment, and of our firm reliance on your majeſty's moſt gracious aſſurances of your deſire to cultivate an entire harmony and confidence between yourſelf and your parliament, in which we ſhall ever moſt cordially unite, for the purpoſe of preſerving and tranſmitting to poſterity the invaluable bleſſings of our free and excellent conſtitution, and of concurring with your majeſty in every meaſure which can maintain the advantages of our preſent ſituation, can promote and augment the proſperity and happineſs of your majeſty's ſubjects, or can evince the juſt and grateful ſenſe we entertain of your majeſty's paternal regard and watchful care for the rights, intereſts, and welfare of your faithful people.

To which addreſs, his majeſty was pleaſed to return the following moſt gracious anſwer:

My Lords,

I return you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal addreſs. Your condolance on the loſs I have ſuſtained, by the death of my late brother the duke of Cumberland, is an additional proof of your attachment to my perſon and family.

Your congratulations on the amicable termination of the differences which had ſubſiſted between me and the court of Spain, are extremely acceptable to me; and your concurrence with my wiſhes to cultivate the utmoſt harmony between me and my parliament, is an additional ſatisfaction to me, as affording the beſt grounded hopes of preſerving inviolate our excellent conſtitution, and of courſe contributing eſſentially to the general proſperity of my ſubjects.

The humble Addreſs of the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament aſſembled, Dec. 2d, 1790.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble and hearty thanks, for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

We cannot omit taking the firſt opportunity to offer to your majeſty our ſincere condolence on the loſs which your majeſty has ſuſtained, by the untimely death of your royal brother, the late duke of Cumberland.

It affords us the greateſt ſatisfaction that the differences which had ariſen

ariſen between your majeſty and the court of Spain, have happily been brought to an amicable termination; and we are grateful for your majeſty's goodneſs, in having ordered copies of the declaration exchanged between your majeſty's ambaſſador and the miniſter of the Catholic King, and of the convention which has ſince been concluded, to be laid before us.

Nothing can more evince your majeſty's moderation, wiſdom, and juſtice, than your having been pleaſed to direct your attention, in the whole of this tranſaction, to the objects of obtaining a ſuitable reparation for the act of violence committed at Nootka, and of removing the grounds of ſimilar diſputes in future, as well as of ſecuring to your ſubjects the exerciſe of their navigation, commerce, and fiſheries, in thoſe parts of the world which were the ſubject of the diſcuſſion.

It gives us the greateſt pleaſure to be informed, that the diſpoſition and conduct of your majeſty's allies concurred with the zeal and public ſpirit ſo naturally manifeſted by all ranks of your ſubjects, in inſuring to your majeſty the moſt vigorous and effectual ſupport: we are, at the ſame time, fully ſenſible that no event could have been ſo ſatisfactory as the attainment of the objects which your majeſty had in view, without any actual interruption of the bleſſings of peace.

We are happy to learn, that a foundation has been laid for a pacification between Auſtria and the Porte, and that your majeſty has employed your mediation, in conjunction with your allies, for the purpoſe of negociating a definitive treaty between thoſe powers, and of endeavouring to put an end to the diſſentions in the Netherlands; and we ſhall, at all times, rejoice in ſeeing the weight and influence of this country directed to the wiſe and benevolent object of contributing to the reſtoration of general tranquillity.

Your faithful commons are deeply ſenſible of your majeſty's paternal goodneſs to your people, which leads your majeſty to regret any occaſion of increaſing the public burthens: we are fully aware of the policy and prudence of vigorous preparations, under the circumſtances which lately exiſted: and we cannot but reflect, with great ſatisfaction, on the ſtriking proof which has been given of the advantages derived from the liberal ſupplies granted, ſince the laſt peace, for the naval ſervice.

Your majeſty may be aſſured of our readineſs to make due proviſion for defraying the expences of the late armament, and for ſupporting the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice, on ſuch a footing as the general ſituation of affairs may appear to require; and of our being, at the ſame time, peculiarly deſirous of ſhewing, in the ſtrongeſt manner, our determination invariably to perſevere in that ſyſtem which has ſo effectually confirmed and maintained the public credit of the nation.

We have obſerved, with concern, the interruption which has taken place in the tranquillity of our Indian poſſeſſions; but it affords us great ſatisfaction to be informed that your majeſty ſees ſo favourable a proſpect of bringing the conteſt to a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful concluſion.

Our particular attention ſhall be directed to the ſtate of the province of Quebec; and we ſhall carefully conſider of ſuch regulations for its

government

government as the preſent circumſtances and condition of the province may render expedient.

We ſhould not faithfully repreſent the ſentiments of a loyal and grateful people, if we were not to ſeek every opportunity of affording your majeſty the moſt convincing proofs of our zealous and affectionate attachment. If any conſideration could increaſe the warmth of thoſe ſentiments, it would be derived from your majeſty's gracious declaration of your deſire to cultivate an entire harmony and confidence with your parliament, for purpoſes which muſt endear ſtill more your majeſty's name to the preſent age, and to poſterity, as long as there remains a due ſenſe of the invaluable bleſſings of our free and excellent conſtitution, and of the numerous and increaſing advantages which your ſubjects enjoy under your majeſty's mild and auſpicious government,

To this his Majeſty returned the following moſt gracious anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I return you my warmeſt thanks for this very loyal addreſs.

Nothing can afford me more ſatisfaction than the cordial aſſurances which you give me of your affectionate attachment to my perſon and government, and of your zealous regard for the principles of the conſtitution, and the intereſt and proſperity of my people.

Speech of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons on preſenting certain Bills to his Majeſty, December 29th, 1790.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

YOUR faithful commons attend your majeſty with ſundry bills of ſupply, which they have paſſed for the public ſervice.

A large part of this ſupply has been granted for the purpoſe of carrying into execution a meaſure, the principle of which has received the unanimous approbation of your commons. Actuated by a generous and wiſe policy, they have ſacrificed the conſiderations of temporary convenience, to thoſe which ariſe from a juſt regard to the permanent intereſts of theſe kingdoms. They have accordingly provided for the complete and ſpeedy diſcharge of the expences recently incurred in ſupport of the honour and dignity of your majeſty's crown, and the rights of your ſubjects, without any laſting addition to the national debt, or any embarraſſment to that ſyſtem which has ſo effectually ſuſtained and advanced the public credit of the country.

Your commons, Sire, are induced to hope, that their conduct on this occaſion will operate as a ſalutary example to future times; and that its immediate effect will be to eſtabliſh an univerſal conviction of the internal ſtrength and abundant reſources of this country, and conſequently to afford an additional ſecurity for the continuance of the bleſſings of peace. A meaſure, which is the reſult of ſuch motives, and which leads to ſuch conſequences, your commons are perſuaded, cannot fail to receive your majeſty's moſt gracious approbation.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to both Houſes of Parliament, February 25th, 1791, relative

relative to a propoſed Diviſion of Canada, *and to the Eſtabliſhment of a Government in the divided Provinces.*

George R.

HIS majeſty thinks it proper to acquaint parliament, that it appears to his majeſty, that it would be for the benefit of his majeſty's ſubjects in his province of Quebec, that the ſame ſhould be divided into two ſeparate provinces, to be called the province of Upper Canada, and the province of Lower Canada; and that it is accordingly his majeſty's intention ſo to divide the ſame, whenever his majeſty ſhall be enabled, by act of parliament, to eſtabliſh the neceſſary regulations for the government of the ſaid provinces. His majeſty therefore recommends this object to the conſideration of parliament.

His majeſty alſo recommends it to parliament to conſider of ſuch proviſions as may be neceſſary to enable his majeſty to make a permanent appropriation of lands in the ſaid provinces, for the ſupport and maintenance of a proteſtant clergy within the ſame, in proportion to ſuch lands as have already been granted within the ſame by his majeſty; and it is his majeſty's deſire that ſuch proviſion may be made, with reſpect to all future grants of land within the ſaid provinces reſpectively, as may beſt conduce to the ſame object, in proportion to ſuch increaſe as may happen in the population and cultivation of the ſaid provinces; and for this purpoſe his majeſty conſents that ſuch proviſions or regulations may be made by parliament, reſpecting all future grants of lands to be made by his majeſty within the ſaid provinces, as parliament ſhall think fit.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to both Houſes of Parliament, March 28th, 1791, relative to an Augmentation of the Naval Force of the Kingdom.

George R.

HIS majeſty thinks it neceſſary to acquaint parliament, that the endeavours which his majeſty has uſed, in conjunction with his allies, to effect a pacification between Ruſſia and the Porte, having hitherto been unſucceſsful, and the conſequences which may ariſe from the farther progreſs of the war being highly important to the intereſts of his majeſty and his allies, and to thoſe of Europe in general, his majeſty judges it requiſite, in order to add weight to his repreſentations, to make ſome farther augmentation of his naval force; and his majeſty relies on the zeal and affection of parliament that it will be ready to make good ſuch additional expence as may be incurred by theſe preparations, for the purpoſe of ſupporting the intereſts of his majeſty's kingdom, and of contributing to the reſtoration of general tranquillity on a ſecure and laſting foundation.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to both Houſes of Parliament, May 18th, 1791, relative to the Eſtabliſhment of the younger Branches of the Royal Family.

George R.

HIS majeſty, finding that the additional charges incurred on account of the eſtabliſhment of the younger branches of his royal family, cannot be defrayed out of the monies applicable to the purpoſes of his majeſty's civil government, is under the neceſſity of deſiring the

the assistance of parliament for this purpose; and his majesty relies on the affection of parliament, that it will make such provision as the circumstances may appear to them to require.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, at the Close of the Session, June 10th, 1791.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

IN closing the present session of parliament, I cannot omit expressing my satisfaction in that zeal for the public interests with which you have applied yourselves to the consideration of the different objects which I recommended to your attention.

The measures which have been adopted for defraying the extraordinary expences of the last year, in such a manner as not to make any permanent addition to the public burthens, and the provisions which have been made for the good government and prosperity of my subjects in Canada, call for my particular acknowledgments.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my thanks for the readiness with which you have granted the supplies necessary for the public service, and for the proof of your affectionate attachment, in enabling me to provide for a part of the charges of the younger branches of my family, out of the consolidated fund.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I am not yet enabled to inform you of the result of the steps which I have taken with a view to the re-establishment of peace between Russia and the Porte: it is my earnest wish, that this important object may be effectuated in such a manner as may contribute to the preservation and maintenance of the general tranquillity of Europe. I feel, with the greatest satisfaction, the confidence which you have reposed in me; and my constant endeavours will be directed to the pursuit of such measures as may appear to me best calculated to promote the interests and happiness of my people, which are inseparable from my own.

Speech of the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, January 20th, 1791.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I Have some pleasure in acquainting you, by the king's command, that the differences which had arisen between his majesty and the court of Spain have happily been brought to an amicable termination. Copies of the declarations exchanged between his majesty's ambassador and the minister of the Catholic King, and of the convention which has been since concluded, will be laid before you.

Had the honour of his majesty's crown, and the protection of the rights and interest of the empire, involved this kingdom in the calamities of war, the zeal manifested by all his subjects, and by none more than his loyal people of Ireland, had left him no doubt of the most vigorous and effectual support. It is a source of peculiar satisfaction to his majesty, that those objects have been accomplished without any

actual

actual interruption of the bleſſings of peace.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the proper officers to lay the national accounts before you, fully relying upon your accuſtomed zeal to provide for the exigencies of the ſtate, and the honourable ſupport of his majeſty's government.

I have alſo ordered an account of the extraordinary expences of government, which have been incurred during the negociation with Spain, to be laid before you; and I truſt you will find that the confidence you repoſed in me has not been miſplaced.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

Your diſpoſition to facilitate the buſineſs of commerce, and to conſult the eaſe of the merchants, will induce you to conſider, and if poſſible to accompliſh, during this ſeſſion, ſuch regulations as may tend to ſimplify the collection of the various articles of the public revenue.

Speech of the Earl of Weſtmoreland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houſes of Parliament, at the Cloſe of the Seſſion, May 5th, 1791.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

HIS majeſty having directed an augmentation to be made of his naval forces, in order to add weight to his repreſentations for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace between Ruſſia and the Porte, has commanded me to communicate this circumſtance to his parliament of Ireland, on whoſe zealous and affectionate attachment to the intereſts of his majeſty's crown his majeſty places the firmeſt reliance.

The unremitted application you have given to your parliamentary duties, enables me now to cloſe the ſeſſion, and to relieve you from any further attendance. And I have the king's direction to expreſs his perfect ſatisfaction in the zeal and diſpatch with which you have brought the public buſineſs to a concluſion.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

His majeſty directs me to thank you for the ſupplies which you have granted for the maintenance of the eſtabliſhments, and the honourable ſupport of his government. They ſhall be faithfully applied to the purpoſes for which they were granted.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I have obſerved, with peculiar ſatisfaction, the attention you have ſhewn to the intereſts of your country, by facilitating the buſineſs of the merchants in the payment of duties, by providing accommodations for the ſhipping and trade of the metropolis, and by extending the operation of national credit. The ſalutary proviſions you have made to check the immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors, afford the ſtrongeſt proof of your regard for the public welfare. Succeſs in this deſirable meaſure can alone be expected from your continued and well-directed efforts.

I therefore truſt, that in your reſpective counties, you will particularly apply yourſelves to give efficacy to the regulations you have adopted upon this ſubject. On my part, no endeavours ſhall be wanted

to enforce the execution of laws ſo judiciouſly calculated to preſerve the healths and amend the morals of the people, and to advance the induſtry and proſperity of Ireland. To theſe objects my exertions are directed by his majeſty's commands, and by every impulſe of inclination and duty.

Letter of the Emperor of Germany to the King of the French; dated Vienna, December 14th, 1790.

YOUR majeſty knows with what ſincerity we wiſh to be in peace with all the world, but more particularly with our neighbours; and how much we are attached to your majeſty, our ally, and the kingdom of France:—it is that attachment, which, in uniſon with our own inclination to conſolidate the harmony exiſting between the German empire and the French nation, induces us, on our acceſſion to the imperial throne, agreeably to the unanimous requeſt of our electoral college, to lay before your majeſty their prayer relative to your national aſſembly. During the month of Auguſt laſt the French aſſembly iſſued decrees, by which a number of the members of our empire, contrary to the tenor of public treaties, feel themſelves very much injured, and the electoral college now *claim* redreſs for thoſe grievances. It muſt be known to your majeſty what has been ſtipulated by the peace of Munſter, and by other ſubſequent treaties between our empire and the kingdom of France, with reſpect to certain places in Alſatia and Lorraine, ceded under the expreſs and poſitive conditions that the rights of biſhoprieks, and the property of the members of our empire, ſhould be preſerved inviolate and untouched. It would be injurious to the religion of the treaties of peace, which your illuſtrious nation will, no doubt, ever reſpect, to overturn the barriers eſtabliſhed on thoſe conditions: as to the juriſdiction not made over by the emperors our predeceſſors, and by the empire, to the kingdom of France, but appertaining to the ſupremacy of the emperor and the empire—your majeſty knows that nobody has a right to transfer to a foreign nation a ſupreme title over poſſeſſions, which title belongs only to the emperor and the empire. The whole duly weighed and conſidered, according to the rules of law and equity, it appears that, by what the electoral college and the different members of the empire ſet forth, they are injured in their privileges, and their poſſeſſions; and it is in conſequence that we recommend to your majeſty that the decrees of the aſſembly do not extend to the empire and its members.

That all the orders of our empire may know how friendly the diſpoſitions of your majeſty are towards them, and how much the treaties exiſting between France and the German empire are reſpected, it is neceſſary that all the innovations which have taken place in conſequence of the decrees of laſt Auguſt be forthwith done away, and matters put on the ancient footing—The equity of your majeſty, and of the illuſtrious French nation, our very dear friend does not allow us to doubt but that the anſwer we ſolicit will be fully conformable to our deſires; as ſoon as we ſhall have received it, we ſhall eagerly communicate it to all the orders of our empire, as a new evidence of the good under-

understanding between us.——May God preserve your majesty!

Proclamation for the Discovery of the Publishers of a certain seditious Paper, circulated, on the 11th of July, in the Town of Birmingham.

George R.

WHEREAS it hath been represented unto us, that on the 11th day of this instant July, a certain scandalous and seditious paper was printed and published in the town of Birmingham, and published in the parts thereunto adjacent, in our counties of Warwick and Worcester, of the following tenor: "My "countrymen! the second year of "Gallic liberty is nearly expired. "At the commencement of the "third, on the 14th of this month, "it is devoutly to be wished that "every enemy to civil and religious "despotism would give his sanction "to the majestic common cause, by "a public celebration of the anni-"versary. Remember that, on the "14th of July, the Bastile, that "high altar and castle of despotism, "fell. Remember the enthusiasm, "peculiar to the cause of liberty, "with which it was attacked. Re-"member that generous humanity "that taught the oppressed, groan-"ing under the weight of insulted "rights, to save the lives of oppres-"sors. Extinguish the mean pre-"judices of nations, and let your "numbers be collected, and sent "as a free-will offering to the na-"tional assembly. But is it possible "to forget that your own parlia-"ment is venal! Your ministers "hypocritical! your clergy legal "oppressors! the reigning family "extravagant! the crown of a cer-"tain great personage becoming "every day too weighty for the "head that wears it, too weighty "for the people who gave it! Your "taxes partial and excessive—Your "representation a cruel insult upon "the sacred rights of property, re-"ligion, and freedom! But on the "14th of this month prove to the "political sycophants of the day "that you reverence the olive "branch, that you will sacrifice to "public tranquillity, till the ma-"jority shall exclaim, the peace of "slavery is worse than the war of "freedom. Of that moment let "tyrants beware!" We, therefore, in order to bring to a speedy condign punishment the publishers of the paper aforesaid, and that practices so highly dangerous to the public tranquillity and welfare may hereafter be prevented, have thought fit, by and with the advice of our council, to publish this our royal proclamation, hereby requiring and enjoining all justices of the peace, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, constables, and all other our loving subjects, to be aiding and assisting to the utmost of their power, in detecting, apprehending and bringing to justice the publishers of the paper aforesaid: and for the better detection of the said publishers, we are graciously pleased to promise, that if any person shall discover any other person or persons concerned in publishing the printed paper aforesaid, by distributing the same, or otherwise, so as the persons discovered may be brought to justice for the same, such discoverers shall have and receive as a reward, upon conviction of such offender or offenders, the sum of one hundred pounds for each and every such offender, and also our gracious pardon, in case the person making such

ſuch diſcovery ſhall himſelf be liable to be proſecuted for the ſame, except the perſon or perſons ſo diſcovering be the author or authors of the paper aforeſaid: and the commiſſioners for executing the office of treaſurer of our exchequer are hereby required to make payment accordingly of the ſaid rewards.

Given at our court at St. James's, the 27th day of July 1791, in the thirty-firſt year of our reign.

God ſave the King.

Letter of Inſtructions from M. Montmorin, Miniſter of France for Foreign Affairs, ſent by Order of the King to all his Miniſters at Foreign Courts, April 23d, 1791.

Sir,

THE king has charged me to inform you of his earneſt deſire that you make known his ſentiments reſpecting the revolution and the French conſtitution to the court at which you reſide. The ſame orders are tranſmitted to the ambaſſadors and miniſters of France, at all the courts of Europe, to the end that no doubt may remain with regard to his majeſty's intentions, his free acceptation of the new form of government, or his irrevocable oath to maintain it. His majeſty convoked the ſtates-general of his kingdom, and reſolved in his council, that the commons ſhould, in that aſſembly, have a number of deputies equal to thoſe of the two other orders there exiſting. This act of proviſional legiſlation, which the circumſtances of the times did not allow to be more favourable, ſufficiently announced his majeſty's wiſh to reſtore to the nation all its rights.

The ſtates-general met, and took the title of the national aſſembly; and in a ſhort ſpace of time, a conſtitution fit to ſecure the happineſs of France, and of the monarch, took place of the ancient order of things, under which the apparent power of the kingdom only ſerved to conceal the real power of the abuſes of certain ariſtocratic bodies.

The national aſſembly, the form of a repreſentative government, conjoined with an hereditary monarchy, the legiſlative body, was declared to be permanent; the choice of the miniſters of public worſhip, of magiſtrates, and judges, was given to the people; the executive power was conferred on the king, the formation of laws on the legiſlative body, and the power of ſanction on the monarch; the public force, both internal and external, was organized on the principles, and in conformity to the fundamental diſtinction of powers: ſuch is the new conſtitution of the kingdom.

That which is called a revolution, is no more than the abrogation of numerous abuſes, that have been accumulating for ages, through the errors of the people, or the power of the miniſters, which was never the power of the king. Thoſe abuſes were no leſs prejudical to the monarch than to the nation. Thoſe abuſes, authority, under happy reigns, had never ceaſed to attack, but without the power to deſtroy. They exiſt no longer. The nation, now the ſovereign, has no citizens but ſuch as are equal in rights; no deſpot but the law; no miniſters but public miniſters, and of thoſe miniſters, the king is the chief. Such is the French revolution.

This revolution must naturally have for its enemies all those who, in the first moment of error, regret, on account of their private interest, the abuses of the ancient government. Hence the apparent division in the kingdom, which is daily becoming less; hence perhaps some severe laws and circumstances which time will correct: but the king, whose true power can never be distinct from that of the nation, who has no aim but the happiness of the people, and no authority but that which is delegated to him; the king has adopted, without hesitation, a happy constitution, which will at once regenerate his authority, the nation, and the monarchy. All his powers are preserved to him, except the dreadful power of making laws. He remains charged with the power of negociating with foreign powers, with the care of defending the kingdom, and repelling its enemies; but the French nation will in future have no external enemies but its aggressors, no internal enemies but those who, still flattering themselves with vain hopes, believe that the will of twenty-four millions of men, restored to their natural rights, after having organized the kingdom in such a manner as to leave only the memory of ancient forms and abuses, is not an immoveable and irrevocable constitution.

The most dangerous of those enemies are they who affect to disseminate doubts of the intentions of the monarch. They are much to blame, or much deceived. They suppose themselves the only friends of the king, and they are the only enemies of royalty. They would have deprived the king of the love and the confidence of a great nation, if his principles and his probity had been less known. What has the king not done to shew that he considered both the revolution and the French constitution as his titles to glory? After having accepted and sanctioned all the laws, he has neglected no means of causing them to be executed. Since the month of February, of the year preceding, he has promised in the midst of the national assembly to maintain them. He has taken an oath to do so in the midst of the general fœderation of the kingdom. Dignified by the title of the Restorer of French liberty, he will transmit to his son more than a crown—he will transmit a constitutional royalty.

The enemies of the constitution are constantly repeating that the king is not happy; as if it were possible for a king to enjoy any happiness but the happiness of his people. They say that his authority is lessened, as if authority founded on force, were not less powerful, and more precarious, than authority founded on law. They say that the king is not free—a calumny atrocious, if they suppose that his will must be constrained: absurd, if they take for a want of freedom the consent repeatedly expressed by his majesty to remain among the citizens of Paris; a consent that was due to their patriotism, even to their fears, but above all to their love.

Those calumnies, however, have reached foreign courts; they have been repeated there by Frenchmen, who are voluntary exiles from their country, instead of sharing its glory, and who, if they were not enemies, have deserted their station as citizens. The king, sir, charges you to defeat their intrigues and their projects. The same calumnies, while

while they ſpread the falſeſt ideas reſpecting the French revolution, have rendered the intentions of French travellers ſuſpected by ſeveral nations; and the king expreſsly orders you to protect and defend them. Repreſent the French conſtitution in the ſame light as that in which the king views it; and leave no doubt of his intention to maintain it to the utmoſt of his power. By ſecuring the liberty and the equality of the citizens, that conſtitution founds the national proſperity on the moſt immoveable baſis; it confirms the royal authority by the law; it prevents, by a glorious revolution, the revolution which the abuſes of the old government would probably ſoon have effected by a diſſolution of the empire; and finally, it will conſtitute the happineſs of the king. To juſtify it, to defend it, and to conſider it as the rule of your conduct, ought to be your firſt and moſt important duty.

I have frequently before communicated to you his majeſty's ſentiments on this head; but, after the information he has received of the opinion endeavoured to be eſtabliſhed in foreign courts reſpecting what is paſſing in France, he has ordered me to make known the contents of this letter to the court at which you reſide; and that it may be ſtill more public, his majeſty has ordered it to be printed.

MONTMORIN.

April 23, 1791.

Memoir, left by the French King, on his departure from Paris, and preſented to the National Aſſembly of France, on Tueſday, June 21ſt, 1791.

WHILE the king had any hope of ſeeing order and happineſs reſtored, by the means employed by the national aſſembly, and by his reſidence near the aſſembly, no ſacrifice would have appeared to him too great, which might conduce to ſuch an event; he would not even have mentioned his own perſonal deprivation of liberty, from the month of October 1789. But at preſent, when the reſult of every tranſaction is only the deſtruction of royalty, the violation of property, and the endangering of perſons; when there is an entire anarchy through every part of the empire, without the leaſt appearance of any authority ſufficient to controul it; the king, after proteſting againſt all the acts performed by him during his captivity, thinks it his duty to ſubmit to the French nation the following account of his conduct.

In the month of July 1789, the king, he declares it upon his conſcience, had no fear on coming amongſt the Pariſians. In the month of October of the ſame year, being adviſed of the conduct of ſome factious perſons, he apprehended that his departure might afford them a pretence for fomenting a civil war. All the world is informed of the impunity with which crimes were then committed. The king, yielding to the wiſh of the army of the Pariſians, came with his family, and eſtabliſhed his reſidence at the Thuilleries. No preparations had been made for his reception, and the king was ſo far from finding the accommodations to which he had been accuſtomed, that he was even without the comforts common to perſons of any condition.

Notwithſtanding every conſtraint, he thought it his duty, on the morn-

ing after his arrival, to assure the provinces of his intention to remain in Paris. A sacrifice still more difficult was reserved for him; he was compelled to part with his body guards, whose fidelity he had experienced: two had been massacred, and several wounded, while in obedience to the order which they had received not to fire. All the art of the factious was employed in misrepresenting the conduct of a faithful wife, who was then confirming all her former good conduct; it was even evident, that all their machinations were directed against the king himself. It was to the soldiers of the French guard and of the Parisian national guard that the custody of the king was committed, under the orders of the municipality of Paris.

The king thus saw himself a prisoner in his own state; for in what other condition could he be, who was forcibly surrounded by persons whom he suspected? It is not for the purpose of censuring the Parisian national guard, that I recal these circumstances, but for that of giving an exact statement of facts; on the contrary I do justice to their attachment, when they were not acted upon by factious persons.—The king convened the states-general; granted to the Tiers Etat a double representation; the union of the orders, the sacrifices of the 23d of June were all his work, but his cares were not understood. When the states-general gave themselves the name of the national assembly, it may be recollected how much influence the factious had upon several provinces, how many endeavours were used to overcome the principle, that the confirmation of the laws should be given in concert with the king.

The assembly *ejected* the king from the constitution, when they refused him the right of sanctioning the *constitutional* laws, and permitted themselves to arrange in that class those which they pleased, at the same time limiting the extent of his refusal, in any instance, to the third legislature. They voted him 25 millions per annum, a sum which was totally absorbed by the expences necessary to the dignity of his house. They left him the use of some domains under certain restrictions, depriving him of the patrimony of his ancestors; they were careful not to include in the list of his expences those for services done to himself, as if they could be separated from those rendered to the state.

Whoever observes the different traits of the administration, will perceive, that the king was excluded from it. He had no part in the completion of laws; his only privilege was to request the assembly to occupy themselves upon such and such subjects. As to the administration of justice, he could only execute the decrees of the judges, and appoint commissioners, whose power is much less considerable than that of the ancient attorney-general.

There remained one last prerogative, the most acceptable of the whole, that of pardoning criminals, and changing punishments: you took it from the king, and the juries are now authorized to interpret, according to their pleasure, the sense of the law. Thus is the royal majesty diminished, to which the people were accustomed to recur, as to one common centre of goodness and beneficence.

The societies of friends of the constitution are by much the strongest

power,

power, and render void the actions of all others. The king was declared the head of the army; yet the whole conduct of it has been in the committees of the national aſſembly, without any participation: to the king was granted the right of nomination to certain places, but his choice has already met with oppoſition. He has been obliged to alter the duty of the general officers of the army, becauſe his choice was not approved of by the clubs.

It is to theſe that the revolt of ſeveral regiments is to be imputed. When the army no longer reſpects its officers, it is the terror and the ſcourge of the ſtate; the king has always thought that officers ſhould be puniſhed like the ſoldiers, and that theſe latter ſhould have opportunities of promotion according to their merit.

As to foreign affairs, they have granted to the king the nomination of ambaſſadors, and the conduct of negociations; but they have taken from him the right of making war. The right of making peace is entirely of another ſort. What power would enter into a negotiation when they knew that the reſult muſt be ſubject to the reviſion of the national aſſembly? Independent of the neceſſity for a degree of ſecrecy, which it is impoſſible ſhould be preſerved in the deliberations of the aſſembly, no one will treat but with a perſon, who, without any intervention, is able to fulfil the contract that may be agreed upon.

With reſpect to the finances, the king had recognized, before the ſtates-general, the right of the nation to grant ſubſidies; and, on the 23d of June, he granted every thing required from him upon this ſubject. On the 4th of February the king intreated the aſſembly to take the finances into their conſideration, with which they ſomewhat ſlowly complied. But they have not yet formed an exact account of the receipt and expenditure; they have adopted hypothetical calculations; the ordinary contribution is in arrear, and the reſource of twelve hundred millions of aſſignats is nearly perfected. Nothing is left to the king but barren nominations; he knows the difficulty of ſuch a government; and, if it was poſſible that ſuch a machine could go on without his immediate ſuperintendance, his majeſty would only have to regret, that he had not diminiſhed the taxes, which he has always deſired, and, but for the American war, ſhould have effected.

The king was declared the head of the government of the kingdom, and he has been unable to change any thing without the conſent of the aſſembly. The chiefs of the prevailing party have thrown out ſuch a defiance to the agents of the king, and the puniſhment inflicted upon diſobedience has excited ſuch apprehenſions, that theſe agents have remained without power.

The form of government is eſpecially vicious in two reſpects. The aſſembly exceed the bounds of their power, in taking cognizance of the adminiſtration of juſtice, and of the interior parts of the kingdom; and exerciſes, by its committee of reſearches, the moſt barbarous of all deſpotiſms.—Aſſociations are eſtabliſhed under the name of friends of the conſtitution, which are infinitely more dangerous than the ancient corporations. They deliberate upon all the functions of go-

vernment, and exercise a power of such preponderance, that all other bodies, without excepting the national assembly itself, can do nothing but by their order.

The king thinks it impossible to preserve such a government; and as a period approaches to the labours of the assembly, so do they lose their credit. The new regulations, instead of applying a balm to former wounds, on the contrary, increase the pain of them; the thousand journals and pamphlets of calumniation, which are only the echoes of the clubs, perpetuate the disorder; and never has the assembly dared to remedy them—All this tends only to a metaphysical government, which is impossible in the execution.

Frenchmen! was it this that you intended in electing representatives? do you wish that the despotism of clubs should be substituted for the monarchy under which the kingdom has flourished for fourteen centuries? The love of Frenchmen for their king is reckoned amongst their virtues. I have had too affecting proofs of it to be able to forget it. The king would not offer this memoir but for the purpose of representing to his subjects the conduct of the factious. Persons torn away by the triumph of M. Neckar affected not to pronounce the name of the king: they pursued the archbishop of Paris; one of the king's couriers was arrested, and the letters which he carried opened.

During this time the assembly appeared to insult the king; he determined to carry to Paris the words of peace: upon the journey, it was resolved that no cry of *Vive le Roi!* should be permitted. There was even a motion for carrying off the king, and putting the queen in a convent, which was loudly applauded.

In the night of the 4th and 5th, when it was proposed to the assembly to repair to the king, it was replied, that, consistently with its dignity, it could not remove: from this moment the scenes of horror were renewed. On the arrival of the king at Paris, an innocent person was massacred almost within his sight, in the garden of the Thuilleries; all those who had declared against religion and the throne, received the honours of a triumph. At the fœderation, upon the 14th of July, the national assembly declared, that the king was the chief, by which it was implied that they had a right to name another. His family was placed in a situation apart from himself, but that was, notwithstanding, one of the happiest moments they have passed since their stay in Paris.

Afterwards, when, on account of their religion, Mesdames the king's aunts wished to go to Rome, their journey was opposed, in contradiction to the declaration of rights, and both at Bellevue and Arnay le Duc, the orders of the assembly were necessary to release them, those of the king being despised. In the tumult factiously excited at Vincennes, the persons who remained about the king were ill-treated, and they carried their audacity so far, as to break the arms of those persons in the presence of his majesty.

Upon the king's recovery from his illness, he intended to go to St. Cloud, and was detained. In vain did M. de la Fayette endeavour to protect his departure; the faithful servants who surrounded his majesty were torn away from him, and he was taken

taken back to his priſon. Afterwards he was obliged to diſmiſs his confeſſor, to approve the letter of the miniſter to the foreign powers, and to attend maſs performed by the new rector of St. Germain Auxerrois. Thus perceiving the impoſſibility of averting any public evil by his influence, it is natural that he ſhould ſeek a place of ſafety for himſelf.

Frenchmen! and you the good inhabitants of Paris, diſtruſt the ſuggeſtions of the factious; return to your king, who will always be your friend; your holy religion ſhall be reſpected; your government placed upon a permanent footing; and liberty eſtabliſhed upon a ſecure baſis.

LOUIS.

Paris, June 20, 1791.

P. S. The king forbids his miniſters to ſign any order in his name, until they ſhall have received his further directions; and enjoins the keeper of the ſeals to ſend them to him, when required on his behalf.

LOUIS.

Addreſs of the National Aſſembly to the French.

A Great attempt has juſt been made.—The national aſſembly was near the concluſion of its long labours; the conſtitution was almoſt completed; the tumults of the revolution were about to ceaſe; and the enemies of the public welfare were eager, therefore, to ſacrifice the whole nation to their vengeance. The king and the royal family were carried off on the 21ſt inſtant.

[When this part of the addreſs was read in the aſſembly, there was a murmur of diſcontent. The reporter of the committee of conſtitution, in which it had been drawn up, requeſted, that it might be heard with attention, and the members became ſilent.]

But your repreſentatives will triumph over all theſe obſtacles. They eſtimate calmly the extent of the duties impoſed upon them. The public liberty ſhall be maintained; conſpirators and ſlaves ſhall underſtand the intrepidity of the French nation; and we make, in the name of the nation, a ſolemn engagement to revenge the law or die.

France would be free, and ſhe ſhall be ſo. It is intended to make the revolution recede, but it recedes not. It is the effect of your will, and nothing can retard its progreſs. It is neceſſary to accommodate the law to the ſtate of the kingdom. The king, in the conſtitution, exerciſes the power of the royal ſanction over the decrees of the legiſlative body; he is the head of the executive power, and, in that capacity, cauſes the laws to be executed by his miniſter.

If he quits his poſt, although carried off againſt his will, the repreſentatives of the nation have the right to ſupply his place. The national aſſembly has in conſequence decreed, that the ſeal of ſtate, and the ſignature of the miniſters of juſtice, ſhall be added to all its decrees, to give them the character of laws. As no order of the king would have been executed without being counterſigned by the reſponſible miniſter, nothing was neceſſary but a ſimple delegation by the aſſembly to authoriſe him to ſign the orders, and thoſe only iſſued by them. In this circumſtance

cumſtance they have been directed by the conſtitutional law relative to a regency, which authoriſes them to perform the functions of the executive power until the nomination of a regent.

By theſe meaſures your repreſentatives have enſured order in the interior part of the kingdom; and, to repulſe any attack from without, they add to the army a reinforcement of three hundred thouſand national guards.

The citizens then have, on all ſides, the means of ſecurity. Let them not be overcome by their ſurprize; the conſtituent aſſembly is upon its duty; the conſtituted powers are in activity; the citizens of Paris, the national guards, whoſe patriotiſm and fidelity are above all praiſe, watch round your repreſentatives; the active citizens throughout the kingdom are in arms, and France may wait for its enemies.

Are they to fear the conſequences of a writing forced, before his departure, from a ſeduced king? It is difficult to conceive the ignorance and blindneſs that have dictated this writing, which may deſerve to be further diſcuſſed hereafter; at preſent, your repreſentatives content themſelves with examining ſome particular ſentiments.

The national aſſembly has made a ſolemn proclamation of political truths, and of rights, the acknowledgment of which will one day produce the happineſs of the human race: to engage them to renounce this declaration of rights, the theory of ſlavery itſelf has been preſented to them.

Frenchmen! we have no fear in recalling to your memories the famous day of the 23d of July 1789; that day, on which the chief of the executive power, the firſt public functionary of the nation, dared to dictate his abſolute will to your repreſentatives, charged by your orders to form a conſtitution. The national aſſembly lamented the diſorders committed on the 5th of October, and ordered the proſecution of the perſons guilty of them; but, becauſe it was difficult to diſcover ſome rioters amongſt ſuch a multitude of people, they are ſaid to have approved all their crimes. The nation is, however, more juſt. It has not reproached Louis XVI. with the violences that have occurred under his reign and thoſe of his anceſtors.

They are not afraid to call to your recollection the fœderation of July. What are the ſtatements of the perſons who have dictated the letter of the king with reſpect to this auguſt act? That the firſt public functionary was obliged to put himſelf at the head of the repreſentatives of the nation. In the midſt of the deputies of all the kingdom, he took a ſolemn oath to maintain the conſtitution. If the king does not hereafter declare, that his good faith has been ſurprized by ſeditious perſons, he has, of courſe, announced *his own perjury* to the whole world! Is it neceſſary to go through the fatigue of anſwering the other reproaches of this letter?

The king is ſaid to have experienced ſome inconveniences in his reſidence in Paris, and not to have found the ſame pleaſures as formerly; by which it is implied, no doubt, that a nation ought to regenerate itſelf without any agitation, without diſturbing for an inſtant the pleaſures and the indulgencies of courts. As to the addreſſes of congratulation and adherence to your

decrees, theſe, ſay they, are the works of the factious.—Yes—no doubt, of *twenty-ſix millions of the factious!*

It was neceſſary to re-conſtitute all powers, becauſe all the powers were corrupted, and becauſe the alarming debts accumulated by the deſpotiſm and the diſorders of government would have overwhelmed the nation. But does not royalty exiſt for the people? And if a great nation obliges itſelf to maintain it, is it not ſolely becauſe it is believed to be uſeful? The conſtitution has left to the king this glorious prerogative, and has confirmed to him the only authority which he ſhould deſire to exerciſe. Would not your repreſentatives have been culpable, if they had ſacrificed twenty-ſix millions to the intereſt of one man?

The labour of citizens ſupports the power of the ſtate: but the maxim of abſolute power is to conſider the public contributions as a debt paid to deſpotiſm. The national aſſembly has regulated its expences with the ſtricteſt juſtice; they thought themſelves bound, when acting in the name of the nation, to act munificently; and when they were to determine what part of the public contributions ſhould be allowed to the firſt functionary, thirty millions were allotted for him and the royal family; but this is repreſented as a trifling ſum!

The decrees upon the ſubject of peace and war have taken from the king and his miniſters the power of ſacrificing the people to the caprices of courts, and the definitive ratification of treaties is reſerved to the repreſentatives of the nation. The loſs of a prerogative is complained of. What prerogative? That of not being obliged to conſult the national will, when the blood and the fortunes of citizens were to be ſacrificed. Who can know the wiſh and the intereſts of the nation better that the legiſlative body? It is wiſhed to make war with impunity. But have we not had, under the ancient government, ſufficient experience of the terrible effects produced by the ambition of miniſters?

We are accuſed of having deſpoiled the king, in forming the judicial power; as if he, king of a great nation, ought to appear in the adminiſtration of juſtice for any other purpoſe than that of cauſing the law to be obſerved, and its judgments executed. It is wiſhed that he ſhould have the right of granting pardons and changing puniſhments; but does not all the world know, how ſuch a right would be exerciſed, and upon whom the benefit of it would fall? The king could not exerciſe it by himſelf, and after having prohibited royal deſpotiſm, it was very natural to prohibit that of the miniſters.

The neceſſity of circumſtances has ſometimes obliged the national aſſembly to meddle, contrary to its inclination, in the affairs of adminiſtration. But ought it not to act, when the government remained in blameable inertneſs? Is it, therefore, neceſſary to ſay, that neither the king nor the miniſters have the confidence of the nation?

The ſocieties of friends of the conſtitution have ſupported the revolution; they are more neceſſary than ever, and ſome perſons preſume to ſay that they govern the adminiſtrative bodies and the empire, as if they were the deliberating bodies.

Frenchmen! all the powers are organized; all the public functionaries are at their poſts; the national aſſembly

aſſembly watches over the ſafety of the ſtate: may you be firm and tranquil! One danger alone threatens us. You have to guard againſt the ſuſpenſion of your labours; againſt delay in the payment of duties; againſt any inflammatory meaſures which commence in anarchies, and end in civil war. It is to theſe dangers that the national aſſembly calls the attention of citizens. In this criſis, all private animoſities and private intereſts ſhould diſappear.

Thoſe who would preſerve their liberty ſhould ſhew that tranquil firmneſs which appals tyrants. May the factious, who hope to ſee every thing overturned, find order maintained, and the conſtitution confirmed, and rendered more dear to Frenchmen, by the attacks made upon it! The capital may be an example to the reſt of France. The departure of the king excited no diſorders there, but, to the confuſion of the malevolent, the utmoſt tranquillity prevails in it. To reduce the territory of this empire to the yoke, it will be neceſſary to deſtroy the whole nation. Deſpotiſm, if it pleaſes, may make ſuch an attempt. It will either fail, or at the concluſion of its triumphs will find only ruins.

Declaration of Two Hundred and Ninety Members of the National Aſſembly, on the Decrees which ſuſpend the Exerciſe of the Royal Authority, and which infringe the Inviolability of the ſacred Perſon of the King.

THREE months have ſcarcely elapſed ſince we made known to our conſtituents our proteſt againſt a decree which attacked the ſacred principle of the inviolability of the king's perſon. The zeal with which many of us defended it on the 28th of March, the conviction which we entertained that it was impoſſible to violate with impunity this principle eſſential to all monarchy, are too well juſtified by the events now paſſing under our eyes, and by the afflicting ſpectacle of which we have the misfortune to be witneſſes.

The king and royal family conducted as priſoners, by authority of the decrees of the national aſſembly; the monarch guarded in his palace by ſoldiers not ſubject to his command; the royal family entruſted to a guard, over whom the king has no authority; the right of directing the education of the preſumptive heir of the throne taken from him, who, both as king and father, had the moſt undoubted right, and the ſtrongeſt obligation to direct it; in fine, the monarch, whoſe inviolability was declared even by the new conſtitution, ſuſpended by a decree from the exerciſe of his authority; ſuch is the afflicting ſpectacle which we and all good Frenchmen lament, and ſuch are the too obvious and too fatal conſequences of the firſt violation offered to this ſacred and fundamental principle.

And we ought to declare it, ſince we are compelled to refer to the decree itſelf againſt which we have proteſted, and againſt which we ſtill proteſt, there is none of thoſe meaſures which was not before proſcribed by the conſtitution, in the name of which they are taken. The ſacred perſon of the king was declared inviolable; one only caſe was provided for, in which, contrary

trary to all the principles eſſential to monarchy, it was ſuppoſed that that inviolability might ceaſe. This caſe has not yet occurred; nevertheleſs the king is dragged as a criminal into his own capital, and made a priſoner in his own palace, and deſpoiled of his prerogative. Thus, after having infringed the inviolability of the king by decrees, they annul them in order completely to deſtroy it.

Amidſt theſe outrages offered to the monarch, to his auguſt family, and in their perſons to the whole nation, what has become of the monarchy? The decrees of the national aſſembly have centered in themſelves all the royal power; the ſeal of the ſtate has been depoſited on their table; their decrees are rendered executory without requiring ſanction; they give direct orders to all the agents of the executive power; they impoſe, in their own name, oaths, in which Frenchmen do not even find the name of their king; commiſſioners, who have received their miſſion from them alone, traverſe the provinces, in order to receive oaths which they exact, and give directions to the army: thus, at the moment at which the inviolability of the king was annulled, monarchy was deſtroyed; the appearance of royalty no longer exiſts; a republican interim has ſucceeded.

Far from all thoſe who are acquainted with the rules of our conduct (and, we believe, there are very few Frenchmen who do not rightly appreciate them), be the idea that we could concur in ſuch decrees. They are not leſs unpleaſant to our feelings, than repugnant to our principles. Never have we more ſeverely felt the rigour of our duty, never have we more lamented the fatal conſequences reſulting from the miſſion with which we were charged, than when forced to remain witneſſes of acts, which we regarded as culpable attempts; while thoſe who are moſt frequently our organ, became timid, for the firſt time condemned themſelves to ſilence, that they might not involve the ſacred cauſe in that unpopularity which had ſo ingeniouſly been contrived to be thrown upon our party. Without doubt, if we were guided by common rules; if we yielded to the horror with which we are inſpired by the idea of being thought to approve, by our preſence, decrees, to which we were ſo averſe, we would fly without delay, we would without heſitation ſeparate from an aſſembly, who have been able to break through principles which they had been forced to preſerve. But in circumſtances ſo ſingular, we can neither aſſume common rules nor our own ſentiments as the baſis of our own conduct. When our principles, our honour, may perhaps, in the opinion of a great number, command us to fly, motives more imperious ſtill exact of us a painful ſacrifice, that of remaining in a ſituation where we preſerve the hope of preventing greater evils.

Before the calamitous epoch at which we are arrived, we could at leaſt graſp the ſhadow of monarchy; we fought upon the wreck; the hope of preſerving it juſtified our conduct. Now, the laſt blow has been given to monarchy. But, in addition to that great motive, we were bound by other duties. The monarch exiſts; he is captive; it is for the king's ſake that we ought to rally our ſtrength; it is for him, it is for his family, it is for the precious

blood

blood of the Bourbons, that we ought to remain at the poſt, where we can watch over a depoſit ſo valuable.

We will diſcharge then this ſacred duty, which alone ought to be our excuſe, and we will prove, that in our hearts the monarch and the monarchy can never be ſeparated.

But whilſt we comply with this urgent duty, let not our conſtituents expect to hear us come forward upon any other ſubject. While one intereſt alone can force us to ſit along with thoſe who have raiſed a miſhapen republic upon the ruins of monarchy, it is to that intereſt alone that we are wholly devoted. From this moment the moſt profound ſilence, on whatever ſhall not relate to this ſubject, ſhall expreſs our deep regret, and at the ſame time our invariable oppoſition to every decree that may be paſſed.

In fine, let our conſtituents turn their attention to the circumſtances in which we are placed; if, in the preſent moment, we have not gloried in marching foremoſt in the path of honour, our ſituation now impoſes, both with regard to them and to ourſelves, duties which do not go beyond ourſelves alone. For us, honour lies no longer in the common track; our ſole object is the triumph of the ſacred cauſe with which we are entruſted; but let them be beforehand aſſured, that whatever may happen, to whatever extremities we may be reduced, nothing will efface from our hearts the unalterable oath which irrevocably binds us to the monarch and to monarchy.

After theſe conſiderations, which appear to us founded upon the true intereſt of the nation, and the eternal advantage of the people, eſſentially dependant on monarchy, we declare to all Frenchmen—

That after having conſtantly oppoſed all thoſe decrees, which in attacking royalty, either in its eſſence, or in its privileges, have prepared the people to receive without indignation, as without examination, the anti-monarchical principles to which theſe days of anarchy have given birth;

That after having defended till the laſt moment, monarchy undermined in its foundations;

That after having ſeen its ruin compleated by the deliberations of the national aſſembly; for to attack the perſon of the monarch, is to annul monarchy; to ſuſpend monarchy, is in fine to deſtroy it;

Nothing can authoriſe us any longer to take part in deliberations, which become in our eyes guilty of a crime which we do not wiſh to participate;

But that monarchy exiſting always in the perſon of the monarch, from whom it is inſeparable; that his misfortunes and thoſe of his auguſt family impoſing upon us a ſtronger obligation always to ſurround his auguſt perſon, and defend it from the application of principles which we condemn; we place our ſole honour, our moſt ſacred duty in defending, with all our might—with all our zeal for the blood of the Bourbons—with all our attachment to the principles which our conſtituents have tranſmitted to us, the intereſts of the king and the royal family, and their indefeaſible rights.

That in conſequence we ſhall continue, from the ſole motive of not abandoning the intereſts of the perſon of the king and the royal family, to aſſiſt at the deliberations of the national aſſembly; but being neither

neither able to avow their principles, or recognize the legality of their decrees, we will henceforth take no part in deliberations which have not for their object the only intereſt which it now remains for us to defend.

Paris, June 29, 1791.

Letter from the King of France to the National Aſſembly, announcing his Reſolution to accept the Conſtitution, Sept. 13th, 1791.

Gentlemen,

I Have attentively examined the conſtitutional act, which you have preſented for my acceptance. I accept it, and I will cauſe it to be executed. At another time this declaration might have been ſufficient; at preſent, I owe to the intereſts of the nation, I owe to myſelf, to make known my motives.

I have always, ſince the commencement of my reign, deſired the reform of abuſes, and in all acts of government wiſhed to be regulated by the public opinion. Different cauſes, among the number of which may be placed the ſituation of the finances at my acceſſion to the throne, and the immenſe expences of an honourable war, long ſupported without increaſe of impoſts, had eſtabliſhed a conſiderable diſproportion between the revenues and the expences of the ſtate.

Impreſſed with the extent of the evil, I not only ſought the means of remedying it; I felt the neceſſity of preventing its return. I had formed the project of ſecuring the happineſs of the people upon a fixed baſis, and of ſubjecting to invariable rules, even that authority of which I was the depoſitary. I called on the nation to execute it.

In the courſe of the events of the revolution, my intentions never varied. When, after having reformed the ancient inſtitutions, you began to ſubſtitute in their ſtead the firſt eſſays of your work, I did not delay the expreſſion of my ſentiments till the whole conſtitution ſhould be known to me; I favoured the eſtabliſhment of its parts, even before I could judge of the whole: and if the diſorders which have attended almoſt all the periods of the revolution have too frequently afflicted my heart, I hoped that the law would reſume force in the hands of new authority; and that, in approaching the term of your labours, every day would reſtore to it that reſpect, without which the people can neither enjoy liberty nor happineſs. I long perſevered in this hope, and my reſolution only changed at the moment when it abandoned me. Let every one recollect the moment at which I quitted Paris; the conſtitution was almoſt completed; and, nevertheleſs, the authority of the laws ſeemed to diminiſh every day; opinion, far from concentring in any point, was divided into a number of parts. The moſt violent counſels alone ſeemed to be received with any degree of favour; the licentiouſneſs of the preſs was at its height; no power was reſpected.

I could no longer perceive the expreſſion of the general will in the laws which I every where ſaw without force, and without effect. Then, I am bound to declare, if you had preſented to me the conſtitution, I ſhould have been of opinion that the intereſt of the people (the conſtant and uniform rule of my conduct) did not permit me to accept it. I had only one ſentiment; I formed only one project; I wiſhed to get at a diſtance from all

parties.

parties, and learn what was the real wiſh of the nation.

The motives by which I was then influenced no longer ſubſiſt; ſince that time, the inconveniences and the evils of which I complained have ſtruck you in the ſame light as me; you have teſtified an inclination to re-eſtabliſh order; you have directed your attention to the want of diſcipline in the army; you have perceived the neceſſity of reſtraining the abuſes of the preſs. The reviſion of your labour has placed among the number of laws of regulation, ſeveral articles which had been preſented to me as conſtitutional. You have eſtabliſhed legal forms, for the reviſion of thoſe which you have placed in the conſtitution. In fine, the ſentiments of the people appear to me no longer doubtful: I have ſeen them at once diſplayed, both by their adherence to your work, and by their attachment to the ſupport of monarchical government.

I accept then the conſtitution; I engage to maintain it at home, to defend it againſt attacks from abroad, and to cauſe it to be executed by all the means which it puts in my power.

I declare that, informed of the adherence of the great body of the people to the conſtitution, I renounce the right of concurring, which I had claimed in this work; and being reſponſible only to the nation, no other, while I renounce it, can have a right to complain.

I ſhould, however, deviate from truth, if I affirmed that I perceived in the means of execution and adminiſtration, all the energy neceſſary to give motion and preſerve the unity in all the parts of ſo vaſt an empire; but ſince opinions are divided upon theſe ſubjects, I conſent that the deciſion ſhould be left to the teſt of experience alone. While I ſhall have faithfully employed all the means which are entruſted to me, no reproach can be laid on me; and the nation, whoſe intereſt alone ought to be the ſupreme rule, will explain itſelf by thoſe means which the conſtitution has reſerved to it.

But, gentlemen, for the ſecurity of liberty, for the ſtability of the conſtitution, for the individual happineſs of all Frenchmen, there are intereſts in which an imperious duty preſcribes to us to combine all our efforts: theſe intereſts are, reſpect for the laws, the re-eſtabliſhment of order, and the re-union of all citizens. Now that the conſtitution is definitively ſettled, Frenchmen living under the ſame laws ought to know no enemies but thoſe who infringe them.—Diſcord and anarchy; theſe are our common enemies.

I will oppoſe them with all my power: it is neceſſary that you and your ſucceſſors ſecond me with energy; that the law, without attempting to eſtabliſh its dominion over the mind, may equally protect all thoſe who ſubmit their conduct to it; that thoſe, whom the fears of perſecution and of trouble have driven from their country, be aſſured of finding at their return ſafety and tranquillity. And, in order to extinguiſh the animoſities, to ſoften the evils which a great revolution always brings in its train; that law may, from this day, begin to receive a full execution, let us conſent to an oblivion of the paſt. Let thoſe accuſations, and proſecutions which originate ſolely from the events of the revolution, be for ever extinguiſhed in a general reconciliation. I ſpeak not of thoſe who have been

ſolely

ſolely influenced by their attachment to me—can you regard them as criminals? As to thoſe who by exceſſes, in which I can perceive perſonal injuries have brought upon them the proſecution of the laws, I ſhall prove in my conduct to them, that I am the king of all the French.

LOUIS.

P. S.—I was of opinion, gentlemen, that I ought to pronounce my ſolemn acceptance of the conſtitution in the very place in which it was formed—of conſequence I ſhall come in perſon to-morrow at noon to the national aſſembly.

The French King's Speech to the National Aſſembly on accepting the Conſtitution, Sept. 14*th*, 1791.

Gentlemen,

I Come to conſecrate, in this place, ſolemnly, the acceptance which I have given to the conſtitutional act: in conſequence of which I ſwear to be faithful to the nation and the law; and to employ all the power that is delegated to me, to maintain the conſtitution decreed by the conſtituting national aſſembly. May this great and memorable epoch be that of the re-eſtabliſhment of peace and union, and become the ſurety of the happineſs of the people, and the proſperity of the empire!

The Preſident's Anſwer.

Abuſes of long ſtanding, which had triumphed over the good intentions of the beſt of kings, and had inceſſantly braved the authority of the throne, oppreſſed France. Depoſitary of the wiſhes, rights, and power of the people, the national aſſembly has eſtabliſhed, by the deſtruction of all abuſes, the ſolid baſis of public proſperity. Sire, what this aſſembly has decreed, the national concurrence has ratified. The moſt complete execution of its decrees, in all parts of the empire, atteſts the general ſentiment. It deranges the weak plans of thoſe whom diſcontent has too long kept blind to their own intereſts. It promiſes to your majeſty, that your wiſhes for the welfare of the French will no longer be vain.

The national aſſembly has nothing more to deſire, on this ever-memorable day, in which you complete, in its boſom, by the moſt ſolemn engagement, the acceptation of conſtitutional royalty. It is the attachment of the French, it is their confidence, which confers upon you that pure and reſpectable title to the moſt deſirable crown in the univerſe; and what ſecures it to you, Sire, is the unperiſhable authority of a conſtitution freely decreed. It is the invincible force of a people who feel themſelves worthy of liberty. *It is the neceſſity which ſo great a nation will ever have for an hereditary monarchy.*

When your majeſty, waiting from experience the lights which are about to be ſpread by the practical reſult of the conſtitution, promiſes to maintain it at home, and to defend it from external attack, the nation, truſting to the juſtice of its rights, and the conſciouſneſs of its force and courage, as well as to the loyalty of your co-operation, can entertain no apprehenſion of alarms from without, and is about to contribute, by its tranquil confidence, to the ſpeedy ſucceſs of its internal government.

What ought to be great in your eyes,

eyes, Sire, dear to our hearts, and what will appear with luſtre in our hiſtory, is, the epoch of this regeneration; which gives to France, citizens—to the French, a country—to you, as king, a new title of grandeur and of glory—and to you again, as a man, a new ſource of enjoyment, and new ſenſations of happineſs.

The French King's Speech to the National Aſſembly, the laſt Day of their Meeting, Sept. 30, 1791.

Gentlemen,

YOU have terminated your labours: the conſtitution is finiſhed. I have promiſed to maintain it, to cauſe it to be executed: it is proclaimed by my orders. This conſtitution, from which France expects proſperity, this fruit of your cares and watchings will be your recompence. France, made happy by your labours, will communicate her happineſs to you.

Return to your homes, and tell your fellow-citizens, that the happineſs of the French ever has been, and ever will be, the object of my wiſhes; that I neither have, nor can have, any intereſt but the general intereſt; that my proſperity conſiſts only in the public proſperity; that I ſhall exert all the powers entruſted to me to give efficacy to the new ſyſtem; that I ſhall communicate it to foreign courts; and ſhall, in every thing, prove that I can be happy only in the happineſs of the people of France.

Tell them alſo, that the revolution has reached its period, and that the firmeſt ſupport of the conſtitution is now the re-eſtabliſhment of order. You, gentlemen, in your ſeveral departments, will undoubtedly ſecond my vigilance and care with all your power; you will give the firſt example of ſubmiſſion to the laws which you have framed; in the capacity of private citizens you will diſplay the ſame character as in the capacity of public men; and the people, ſeeing their legiſlators exerciſe, in private life, thoſe virtues which they have proclaimed in the national aſſembly, will imitate them, diſcharge with pleaſure the obligations which the public intereſt impoſes on them, and cheerfully pay the taxes decreed by their repreſentatives. It is by this happy union of ſentiments, of wiſhes, and exertions, that the conſtitution will be confirmed, and that the nation will enjoy all the advantages which it guarantees.

The Preſident's Anſwer.

Sire,

The adherence of the nation ratifies the conſtitution decreed by the aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the nation. Your majeſty has accepted it, and the public joy is a ſufficient teſtimony of the general aſſent. It promiſes that your majeſty will no longer deſire in vain the happineſs of the French. On this memorable day, the national aſſembly has nothing more to wiſh; and the nation, by its tranquil confidence, is ready to co-operate for the prompt ſucceſs of its internal government.

Proclamation of the French King, Sept. 30, 1791.

Louis,

By the grace of God, and by the conſtitutional law of the ſtate, king

king of the French. To all citizens—greeting:

I Have accepted the conſtitution: I will uſe all my endeavours to maintain it, and cauſe it to be executed.

The revolution is completed. It is time that the re-eſtabliſhment of order ſhould give to the conſtitution the ſupport which is ſtill moſt neceſſary; it is time to fix the opinion of Europe on the deſtiny of France, and to ſhew that the French are worthy to be free.

But my vigilance and my cares ought ſtill to be ſeconded by the concurrence of all the friends of their country, and of liberty. It is by ſubmiſſion to the laws; it is by abjuring the ſpirit of party, and all the paſſions which accompany it; it is by a happy union of ſentiments, of wiſhes, and of endeavours, that the conſtitution will be confirmed, and that the nation will enjoy all the advantages which it ſecures.

Let every idea of intolerance then be abandoned for ever; let the raſh deſire of independence no longer be confounded with the love of liberty; let thoſe pernicious terms of reproach, with which it has been attempted to inflame the people, be irrevocably baniſhed; let religious opinions no longer be a ſource of perſecution and animoſity; let all who obſerve the laws be at liberty to adopt that form of worſhip to which they are attached; and let no party give offence to thoſe who may follow opinions different from their own from motives of conſcience. But it is not ſufficient to ſhun thoſe exceſſes to which you might be carried by a ſpirit of violence; you muſt likewiſe fulfil the obligations which are impoſed by the public intereſt. One of the firſt, one of the moſt eſſential, is the payment of the contributions eſtabliſhed by your repreſentatives. It is for the obſervance of engagements, which national honour has rendered ſacred, for the internal tranquillity of the ſtate, for its external ſecurity; it is for the ſtability of the conſtitution itſelf that I remind you of this indiſpenſable duty.

Citizens, armed for the maintenance of the law; national guards never forget that it is to protect the ſafety of perſons and of property, the collection of public contributions, the circulation of grain and proviſions, that the arms which you bear have been delivered into your hands. It belongs to you to feel that juſtice and mutual utility demand, that, between the inhabitants of the ſame empire, abundance ſhould be applied to the aid of indigence; and that it is the duty of public force to promote the advancement of commerce, as the means of remedying the intemperance of ſeaſons, correcting the inequality of harveſt, uniting together all the parts of the kingdom, and eſtabliſhing a community of the various productions of their ſoil and induſtry.

And you, whom the people have choſen to watch over their intereſts: you alſo, on whom they have conferred the formidable power of determining on the property, the honour, and the life of citizens; you too, whom they have inſtituted to adjuſt their differences, members of the different adminiſtrative bodies, judges of tribunals, juſtices of peace, I recommend to you to be impreſſed with the importance and dignity of your functions. Fulfil them with

zeal, with courage, with impartiality. Labour with me to reſtore peace, and the government of laws; and, by thus ſecuring the happineſs of the nation, prepare for the return of thoſe whoſe abſence has only proceeded from the fear of diſorder and violence.

And all you, who from different motives have quitted your country, your king invites you to return to your fellow-citizens; he invites you to yield to the public wiſh and the national intereſt. Return with confidence under the ſecurity of law; and this honourable return, at the moment when the conſtitution is definitively ſettled, will render more eaſy, and more expeditious, the re-eſtabliſhment of order and of tranquillity.

And you, French people, a nation illuſtrious for ſo many ages, ſhow yourſelves magnanimous and generous at the moment when your liberty is confirmed; reſume your happy character; let your moderation and wiſdom revive among you the ſecurity which the diſturbances of the revolution had baniſhed; and let your king henceforth enjoy without inquietude, and without moleſtation, thoſe teſtimonies of attachment and fidelity which can alone ſecure his happineſs.

Done at Paris,
28th Sept. 1791.

(Signed) LOUIS.
(and underneath) DE LESSART.

The French King's Speech to the new National Aſſembly, Oct. 7th, 1791.

Gentlemen,

ASSEMBLED by virtue of the conſtitution to exerciſe the powers which it delegates to you, you will undoubtedly conſider as among your firſt duties, to facilitate the operations of government; to confirm public credit; to add, if poſſible, to the ſecurity of the engagements of the nation; to ſhew that liberty and peace are compatible; and, finally, to attach the people to their new laws, by convincing them that thoſe laws are for their good.

Your experience of the effects of the new order of things, in the ſeveral departments from which you come, will enable you to judge of what may be yet wanting to bring it to perfection, and make it eaſy for you to deviſe the moſt proper means of giving the neceſſary force and activity to the adminiſtration.

For my own part, called by the conſtitution to examine, as firſt repreſentative of the people, and for their intereſt, the laws preſented for my ſanction, and charged with cauſing them to be executed, it is alſo my duty to propoſe to you ſuch objects as I think ought to be taken into conſideration in the courſe of your ſeſſion.

You will ſee the propriety of fixing your immediate attention on the ſtate of the finances, and you will feel the importance of eſtabliſhing an equilibrium between the receipt and the expenditure, of accelerating the aſſeſſment and the collection of taxes, of introducing an invariable order into all parts of this vaſt adminiſtration, and thus providing at once for the ſupport of the ſtate, and the relief of the people.

The civil laws will alſo demand your care, which you will have to render conformable to the principles of the conſtitution. You will alſo have to ſimplify the mode of proceeding in the courts of law, and render

render the attainment of juſtice more eaſy and more prompt.

You will perceive the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of national education, and of giving a ſolid baſis to public ſpirit. You will encourage commerce and induſtry, the progreſs of which has ſo great an influence on the agriculture and the wealth of the kingdom; and you will endeavour to make permanent diſpoſitions for affording work and relief to the indigent.

I ſhall make known my firm deſire for the re-eſtabliſhment of order and diſcipline in the army; and I ſhall neglect no means that may contribute to reſtore confidence among all who compoſe it, and to put it into a condition to ſecure the defence of the realm. If the laws in this reſpect are inſufficient, I ſhall make known to you the meaſures that ſeem to me to be proper, and you will decide upon them.

I ſhall in the ſame manner communicate my ſentiments reſpecting the navy, that important part of the public force deſtined to protect trade and the colonies.

We ſhall not, I hope, be troubled with any attack from abroad. I have taken, from the moment that I accepted the conſtitution, and I ſtill continue to take, the ſteps that appear to me the moſt proper to fix the opinion of foreign powers in our favour, and to maintain with them the good intelligence and harmony that ought to ſecure to us the continuance of peace. I expect the beſt effects from them; but this expectation does not prevent me from purſuing, with activity, thoſe meaſures of precaution, which prudence ought to dictate.

Gentlemen, in order that your important labours and your zeal may produce the effects expected from them, it is neceſſary that conſtant harmony and unalterable confidence ſhould reign between the legiſlative body and the king. The enemies of our repoſe are but too ſtudious to diſunite us: the love of our country muſt therefore rally us, and the public intereſt render us inſeparable. Thus the public force will be exerted without obſtruction, the adminiſtration will not be haraſſed by vain alarms, the property and the religion of every man will be equally protected, and no pretext will be left for any perſon to live at a diſtance from a country where the laws are in vigour, and men's rights reſpected.

It is on this great baſis of order that the ſtability of the conſtitution, the ſucceſs of your labours, the ſafety of the empire, the ſource of all kinds of proſperity, muſt depend. It is to this, gentlemen, that we all ought to turn our thoughts in this moment with the utmoſt poſſible vigour; and this is the object that I recommend the moſt particularly to your zeal, and to your patriotiſm.

The Preſident's Anſwer.

Sire,

Your preſence in the midſt of us is a new engagement which you take to the country. A conſtitution is eſtabliſhed, and with it the liberty of Frenchmen. You are to cheriſh it as a citizen; as king you are to maintain and to defend it. Inſtead of violating, it aſcertains your power; it has given you, as friends, all thoſe who formerly called themſelves only your ſubjects. [*Here a burſt of applauſe.*] You have reaſon to be beloved by Frenchmen. You

ſaid ſo, ſire, ſome days ago, in this temple of the country, *and we alſo have reaſon to love you.* [*The plaudits are reiterated.*] The conſtitution has made you the firſt monarch in the world. Your love for it places your majeſty in the rank of the moſt favoured kings, and the welfare of the people will make you the moſt happy. May our mutual union make us ſpeedily feel its happy influence, purify legiſlation, re-confirm public credit, overthrow anarchy! Such is our duty, ſuch are our wiſhes, ſuch are your's, ſire. Such are our hopes, and the benediction of Frenchmen will be our reward.

Meſſage from the National Aſſembly to the French King, Nov. 29, 1791.

Sire,

SCARCE had the national aſſembly caſt their eyes on the ſituation of the kingdom, when they perceived that the troubles which ſtill agitate it have their ſource in the criminal preparations of the French emigrants.

Their audacity is ſupported by German princes, who miſunderſtand the treaties ſigned between them and France, and who affect to forget, that to the empire of France they are indebted for the treaty of Weſtphalia, which guarantees their rights and their ſafety.

Their hoſtile preparations—their menaces of invaſion call for armaments that abſorb immenſe ſums, which the nation would have joyfully paid to its creditors.

To you, ſire, it belongs to put a ſtop to them; to hold to foreign powers the language that becomes the king of the French. Tell them that wherever preparations againſt France are permitted, France can ſee only enemies; that we will religiouſly obſerve the oath to make no conqueſts; that we offer them the good neighbourhood, the inviolable amity of a free and powerful people; that we will reſpect their laws, their cuſtoms, and their conſtitutions; but that we inſiſt upon our own being reſpected. Tell them, that if the German princes continue to favour preparations directed againſt the French, we will carry among them not fire and ſword, but liberty. It is for them to calculate what may be the conſequences of the alarm of nations.

For two years that French patriots have been perſecuted on the frontiers, and that rebels have there found ſuccour, what ambaſſador has ſpoken in your name as he ought? Not one.

If the French who were driven from the country by the revocation of the edict of Nantes had aſſembled in arms on the frontiers, if they had been protected by the princes of Germany, ſire, we appeal to you, what would have been the conduct of Louis the Fourteenth? Would he have ſuffered ſuch aſſemblings? Would he have permitted ſuccours given by princes who, under the name of allies, act like enemies? What he would have done for his authority, let your majeſty do for the ſafety of the empire, and the maintaining of the conſtitution.

Sire, your intereſt, your dignity, the inſulted greatneſs of the nation, all dictate a language very different from that of your ambaſſadors. The nation expects from you energetic declarations to the circles of the Upper and the Lower Rhine, the electors of Treves and Mentz, and the biſhop of Spire.

Let

Let them be ſuch as that the hordes of the emigrants may be inſtantly diſperſed. Preſcribe an early period, beyond which no dilatory anſwer ſhall be received. Let your declaration be ſupported by movements of the forces entruſted to you, and let the nation know who are its friends and its enemies. In this ſplendid meaſure we ſhall recognize the defender of the conſtitution.

You will thus aſſure the tranquillity of the empire inſeparable from your own; and you will haſten thoſe days of national proſperity, in which peace ſhall reſtore order and the reign of the laws, in which your happineſs ſhall be united with that of all the French.

Anſwer.

I will take the meſſage of the national aſſembly into the moſt ſerious conſideration. You know that I have omitted nothing to ſecure the public tranquillity at home, to maintain the conſtitution, and to make it reſpected abroad.

The French King's Speech to the National Aſſembly, December 14th, 1791.

Gentlemen,

I Have taken your meſſage of the 29th of laſt month into deep conſideration. In a caſe that involves the honour of the French people, and the ſafety of the empire, I thought it my duty to be myſelf the bearer of my anſwer. The nation cannot but applaud theſe communications between its elected and its hereditary repreſentative.

You have invited me to take deciſive meaſures to effect a ceſſation of thoſe external aſſemblages which keep up a hateful diſquiet and fermentation in the boſom of France, render neceſſary an oppreſſive augmentation of expence, and expoſe liberty to greater danger than an open and declared war. You deſire me to cauſe declarations to be made to the neighbouring princes, who, contrary to the rules of good neighbourhood, and the principles of the law of nations, protect theſe aſſemblages, that the nation can no longer ſuffer this want of reſpect and theſe ſources of hoſtility. Finally, you have given me to underſtand, that one general ſenſation is felt by the nation, and that the cry of all the French is for war, in preference to a ruinous and degrading patience.

Gentlemen, I have long thought that our circumſtances required great circumſpection in our meaſures; that having ſcarcely yet weathered the agitations and ſtorms of a revolution, and in the firſt eſſays of an infant conſtitution no means ought to be neglected that could preſerve France from the incalculable evils of war. Theſe means I have always employed. On the one hand, I have done every thing to recal the French emigrants to the boſom of their country, and induce them to ſubmit to the new laws which a great majority of the nation has adopted; on the other, I have employed amicable intimations; I have cauſed formal and preciſe requiſitions to be made, to divert the neighbouring princes from giving them a ſupport calculated to flatter their hopes, and encourage them in their raſh deſigns.

The emperor has done all that was to be expected from a faithful ally, by forbidding and diſ-

perſing all aſſemblages within his ſtates.

My meaſures at the courts of other princes, have not been equally ſucceſsful. Unaccommodating anſwers have been given to my requiſitions.

Theſe unjuſt refuſals call for reſolutions of another kind. The nation has manifeſted its wiſhes. You have collected them, you have weighed the conſequences, you have expreſſed them to me by your meſſage. Gentlemen, you have not anticipated me. As the repreſentative of the people, I felt the people's injuries; and I am now to inform you of the reſolution I have taken to purſue—demand [*Repeated applauſes, and ſhouts of Vive le Roi!*]

I have cauſed a declaration to be made to the elector of Treves, that if, before the 15th of January, he do not put a ſtop, within his ſtates, to all collecting of troops, and all hoſtile diſpoſitions on the part of the French, who have taken refuge in them, I ſhall no longer conſider him but as the enemy of France. [*Shouts of applauſe, and Vive le Roi!*] —I ſhall cauſe ſimilar declarations to be made to all who favour aſſemblages contrary to the tranquillity of the kingdom; and, by ſecuring to foreigners all the protection which they ought to expect from our laws, I ſhall have a right to demand a ſpeedy and complete reparation of all the injuries which Frenchmen may have received.

I have written to the emperor, to engage him to continue his good offices, and, if neceſſary, to exert his authority, as head of the empire, to avert the evils which the obſtinacy of certain members of the Germanic body, if longer perſiſted in, cannot fail to occaſion. Much may undoubtedly be expected from his interpoſition, ſupported by the powerful influence of his example; but I am, at the ſame time, making the moſt proper military arrangements to render theſe declarations reſpected.

And if they ſhall not be attended to, then, gentlemen, it will only remain for me to propoſe war; war, which a people, who have ſolemnly renounced conqueſt, never make without neceſſity; but which a nation, happy and free, know how to undertake when their ſafety—when honour commands.

But in courageouſly abandoning ourſelves to this reſolution, let us haſten to employ the only means that can aſſure its ſucceſs. Turn your attention, gentlemen, to the ſtate of the finances; confirm the national credit; watch over the public fortune. Let your deliberations, ever governed by conſtitutional principles, take a grand, high-ſpirited, and authoritative courſe, the only one that befits the legiſlators of a great empire. Let the conſtituted powers reſpect themſelves to be reſpected; let them give mutual aid inſtead of mutual impediment; and finally, let it appear that they are diſtinct, but not enemies [*applauded*]. It is time to ſhew to foreign nations that the French people, their repreſentatives, and their king, are but one [*applauded*].

It is to this union, and alſo, let us never forget it, to the reſpect we pay to the government of other ſtates, that the ſafety, conſequence, and glory of the empire are attached.

For my part, gentlemen, it would be in vain to endeavour to ſurround with diſguſts the exerciſe of the authority

thority which is confided to me. In the face of all France I declare, that nothing ſhall weary my perſeverance, or relax my efforts. It ſhall not be owing to me that the law does not become the protection of the citizen and the terror of the diſturber [*ſhouts of Vive le Roi!*] I ſhall faithfully preſerve the depoſit of the conſtitution, and no conſideration ſhall determine me to ſuffer it to be infringed [*applauded*]. If men, who only wiſh for diſcord, and trouble, take occaſion from this firmneſs, to calumniate my intentions, I will not ſtoop to repel by words the injurious ſuſpicions they may chooſe to circulate. Thoſe who watch the progreſs of government with an attentive, but unprejudiced eye, muſt ſee that I never depart from the conſtitutional line, and that I feel profoundly how glorious it is to be the king of a free people.

The Preſident's Anſwer.

The aſſembly will take the propoſitions you have made into conſideration, and communicate their determination by a meſſage.

Addreſs from the National Aſſembly to the French King, December 16th, 1791.

Sire,

IN the language which your majeſty held to them, the national aſſembly recognize the king of the French. They feel more than ever how truly valuable is harmony between the two branches of power, and a frank communication, which is the deſire, and will be the welfare of the empire.

Sire, the aſſembly will fix all their attention on the deciſive meaſures which you announce; and if the order of events ſhall make theſe meaſures neceſſary, they promiſe to your majeſty more true glory than was ever obtained by any of your anceſtors.

They promiſe to Europe the new ſpectacle of a great people, outraged in its immutable love of liberty, arming the hand in union with the heart.

Every where the French people will oppoſe themſelves with vigour to their enemies, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, from the Alps to the Ocean. All French ſhall be covered by the regards of a good king, and by ſoldiers intrepid and faithful.

Behold, ſire, the family that deſerve your heart—theſe are your friends—theſe will never abandon you.

All the repreſentatives of the French people—*all true Frenchmen guarantee, on their heads, the defence of a conſtitution to which they have ſworn, and of a beloved king whoſe throne they have eſtabliſhed.*

Authentic Copy of the French *Conſtitution, as reviſed and amended by the National Aſſembly, and preſented to the King on the 3d of* September, 1791.

N. B. Alterations and additions are marked with turned commas.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF A MAN AND A CITIZEN.

THE repreſentatives of the people of France formed into a national aſſembly, conſidering that

ignorance, forgetfulneſs, or contempt of the rights of men, are the ſole cauſes of public grievances, and of the corruption of government, have reſolved to exhibit, in a ſolemn declaration, the natural, unalienable, and ſacred rights of man, in order that this declaration, ever preſent to all the members of the SOCIAL BODY, may inceſſantly remind them of their rights and of their duties; to the end that the acts of the legiſlative power, and thoſe of the executive power, being every moment compared with the end of all political inſtitutions, may acquire the more reſpect; in order alſo that the remonſtrances of the citizens, founded henceforward on ſimple and inconteſtible principles, may ever tend to maintain the conſtitution, and to promote the general good.

For this reaſon the national aſſembly recognizes and declares, in the preſence, and under the auſpices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of a man and a citizen:

I. All men are born, and remain, free and equal in rights: ſocial diſtinctions cannot be founded but on common utility.

II. The end of all political aſſociations is the preſervation of the natural and impreſcriptible rights of man: theſe rights are liberty, property, ſecurity, and reſiſtance againſt oppreſſion.

III. The principle of *ſovereignty* reſides eſſentially in the nation: *no body* of *men*, no *individual*, can exerciſe an authority that does not emanate expreſsly from that ſource.

IV. *Liberty* conſiſts in the power of doing every thing, except that which is hurtful to another: hence, the exerciſe of the natural rights of every man has no other bounds than thoſe that are neceſſary to enſure to the other members of ſociety the enjoyment of the ſame rights: thoſe bounds can be determined by the law only.

V. The law has a right to forbid thoſe actions alone, that are hurtful to ſociety. Whatever is not forbidden by the law, cannot be hindered; and no perſon can be conſtrained to do that which the law ordaineth not.

VI. The law is the expreſſion of the general will: all the citizens have a right to concur perſonally, or by their repreſentatives, to the formation of the law: it ought to be the ſame for all, whether it protect, or whether it puniſh. All citizens being equal in the eye of the law, are equally admiſſible to dignities, places, and public offices, according to their capacity, and without any other diſtinction but that of their virtue, and their talents.

VII. No man can be accuſed, arreſted, or detained, except in caſes determined by the law, and according to the forms which the law hath preſcribed. Thoſe who ſolicit, diſpatch, execute, or cauſe to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be puniſhed; but every citizen that is ſummoned or ſeized in virtue of the law, ought to obey inſtantly—he becomes culpable by reſiſtance.

VIII. The law ought to eſtabliſh ſuch puniſhments only as are ſtrictly and evidently neceſſary; and no perſon can be puniſhed, but in virtue of a law eſtabliſhed and promulgated prior to the offence, and legally applied.

IX. Every man being preſumed innocent till ſuch time as he has been declared guilty, if it ſhall be deemed abſolutely neceſſary to arreſt a man, every kind of rigour em-

ployed, not neceſſary to ſecure his perſon, ought to be ſeverely repreſſed by the law.

X. No perſon ſhall be moleſted for his opinions, even ſuch as are religious, provided that the manifeſtation of thoſe opinions does not diſturb the public order eſtabliſhed by the law.

XI. The free communication of thought, and of opinion, is one of the moſt precious rights of man. Every citizen, therefore, may freely ſpeak, write, and publiſh his ſentiments; ſubject, however, to anſwer for the abuſe of that liberty, in caſes determined by the law.

XII. The guarantee of the rights of man and citizens involves a neceſſity of *public force*: this force is then inſtituted for the advantage of all, and not for the particular utility of thoſe to whom it is confided.

XIII. For the maintenance of the public force, and for the expences of adminiſtration, a common contribution is indiſpenſably neceſſary: this contribution ſhould be equally divided amongſt all the citizens, in proportion to their abilities.

XIV. Every citizen has a right, by himſelf, or by his repreſentatives, to decide concerning the neceſſity of the public contribution; to conſent to it freely, to look after the employment of it; to determine the quantity, the diſtribution, the collection, and duration.

XV. The ſociety has a right to demand from every public agent, an account of his adminiſtration.

XVI. Every ſociety, in which the guarantee of rights is not aſſured, nor the ſeparation of powers determined, has *no conſtitution*.

XVII. Property being a right inviolable and ſacred, no perſon can be deprived of it, except when the public neceſſity, legally aſcertained, ſhall evidently require it, and on condition of a juſt and previous indemnification.

The national aſſembly, meaning to eſtabliſh the French conſtitution on the principles recognized and declared above, aboliſhes irrevocably, the inſtitutions that injure liberty and equality of rights.

There is no longer nobility, or peerage, or hereditary diſtinctions, or diſtinction of orders, or feudal ſyſtem, or patrimonial juriſdictions, or any of the titles, denominations, and prerogatives derived from them, or any orders of chivalry, corporations, or decorations, for which proofs of nobility were required, "or which ſuppoſed diſtinctions of "birth," or any other ſuperiority, but that of public officers in the exerciſe of their functions.

No public office is any longer ſaleable or hereditary.

There is no longer, for any part of the nation, or for any individual, any privilege or exception to the common right of all Frenchmen.

There is no longer wardenſhips, or corporations of profeſſions, arts, and crafts.

The law no longer recognizes religious vows, or any other engagements contrary to natural rights, or to the conſtitution.

PART I.

FUNDAMENTAL DISPOSITIONS GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION.

The conſtitution guarantees, as natural and civil rights,

1. That

1. That all citizens are admiſſible to places and employments without any diſtinction, but that of ability and virtue.

2. That all contributions ſhall be divided equally among all the citizens, in proportion to their means.

3. That the ſame crimes ſhall be ſubject to the ſame puniſhments, without any diſtinction of perſons.

The conſtitution in like manner guarantees, as natural and civil rights,

Liberty to all men of going, ſtaying, or departing, without being arreſted, or detained, but according to the forms preſcribed by the conſtitution;

Liberty to all men of ſpeaking, writing, printing, and "publiſhing "their thoughts, without having "their writings ſubjected to any ex-"amination or inſpection before "publication;" and of exerciſing the religious worſhip to which they are attached;

Liberty to all citizens of aſſembling peaceably, and without arms, complying with the laws of police;

Liberty of addreſſing to all conſtitutional authorities petitions individually ſigned;

"The legiſlative power cannot "make laws that infringe or im-"pede the exerciſe of the natural "and civil rights recorded in this "part, and guaranteed by the con-"ſtitution;" but as liberty conſiſts only in the power of doing whatever neither injures the rights of another, nor the public ſafety, the law may eſtabliſh penalties againſt acts, which, attacking either the public ſafety, or the rights of others, would be injurious to ſociety.

The conſtitution guarantees the inviolability of property, or a juſt and previous indemnity for that of which public neceſſity, legally proved, ſhall require the ſacrifice.

The effects deſtined to the expences of worſhip, and ſervices of public utility, belong to the nation, and are at all times at its diſpoſal.

"The nation preſerves and aſ-"ſures the alienations which have "been, and which ſhall be made, "according to the forms eſtabliſhed "by the law.

"The citizens have a right to "elect or chuſe the miniſters of "their worſhip."

A general eſtabliſhment of *public ſuccours* ſhall be created and organized, "for bringing up deſerted "children, relieving the infirm "poor, and providing work for the "poor not infirm, who cannot pro-"cure it for themſelves."

A public inſtruction ſhall be created and organized, common to all citizens, gratuitous with regard to thoſe parts of tuition indiſpenſable for all men, and of which the eſtabliſhment ſhall be gradually diſtributed in a proportion combined with the diviſion of the kingdom.

"National feſtivals ſhall be eſ-"tabliſhed to preſerve the memory "of the French revolution, main-"tain fraternity among the citi-"zens, and attach them to their "country and the laws."

"A code of civil law ſhall be "framed for the common uſe of the "whole kingdom."

PART II.

OF THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM, AND THE STATE OF CITIZENS.

1. "The kingdom is one and "indi-

" indiviſible;" its territory, for adminiſtration, is diſtributed into eighty-three departments, each department into diſtricts, each diſtrict into cantons.

II. Thoſe are French citizens,

Who are born in France, of a French father;

Who having been born in France of a foreign father, have fixed their reſidence in the kingdom;

Who having been born in a foreign country, of a French father, have returned to ſettle in France, and have taken the civic oath;

In fine, who having been born in a foreign country, being deſcended in whatever degree from a Frenchman or Frenchwoman, who have left their country from religious motives, come to reſide in France, and take the civic oath.

III. Thoſe who being born out of the kingdom, of foreign parents, reſide in France, become French citizens after five years of continued reſidence in the kingdom; if, beſides, they have acquired real property, or married a Frenchwoman, or formed " an agricultural or" commercial eſtabliſhment, and if they have taken the civic oath.

IV. The legiſlative power may, for important conſiderations, naturalize a foreigner, upon no other condition, than that of reſiding in France, and taking the civic oath.

V. The civic oath is:—*I ſwear to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king; and to maintain, with all my power, the conſtitution of the kingdom, decreed by the conſtituting national aſſembly, during the years* 1789, 1790, *and* 1791.

VI. The right of French citizenſhip is loſt,

1ſt, By naturalization in a foreign country;

2dly, By being condemned to penalties which involve the civic degradation, provided the perſon condemned be not reinſtated;

3dly, By a ſentence of contumacy, provided the ſentence be not annulled;

4thly. By initiation into any foreign order or body, which ſuppoſes either proofs of nobility, " or diſ-" tinctions of birth, or requires re-" ligious vows."

VII. " The law conſiders mar-" riage only as a civil contract. " The legiſlative power will eſtabliſh " for all inhabitants, without diſ-" tinction, the mode by which " births, marriages, and deaths ſhall " be proved; and it will point out " the public officers who ſhall re-" ceive and preſerve the authenti-" cations of them."

VIII. French citizens regarded in the light of thoſe local relations which ariſe out of their aſſociation in cities, and in certain diviſions of territory, in the country, form the *communities*.

The legiſlative power may fix the extent of boundary of each community.

IX. The citizens who compoſe each community, have the right of chooſing, from time to time, according to the forms preſcribed by the law, thoſe among them who, under the name of *municipal officers*, are charged with the management of the particular affairs of the community.

To the municipal officers may be delegated certain functions relative to the general intereſt of the ſtate.

X. The rules which the municipal officers ſhall be bound to follow in the exerciſe, both of the municipal functions, and of thoſe which ſhall

ſhall be delegated to them for the general intereſt, ſhall be fixed by the laws.

PART III.

OF THE PUBLIC POWERS.

I. The ſovereignty is one, indiviſible, "inalienable, and impre-"ſcriptible," and it belongs to the nation: no ſection of the people, or individual, can arrogate the exerciſe of it.

II. The nation, from which alone flow all powers, cannot exerciſe them but by delegation.

The French conſtitution is repreſentative: the repreſentatives are the legiſlative body and the king.

III. The legiſlative power is delegated to a national aſſembly, compoſed of temporary repreſentatives, freely choſen by the people, to be exerciſed by this aſſembly, with the ſanction of the king, in manner afterwards determined.

IV. The government is monarchical: the executive power is delegated to the king, to be exerciſed under his authority, by miniſters and other reſponſible agents, in manner afterwards determined.

V. The judicial power is delegated to judges choſen from time to time by the people.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Legiſlative National Aſſembly.

I. The national aſſembly, forming the legiſlative body, is permanent, and conſiſts of one chamber only.

II. It ſhall be formed by new elections, every two years.

Each period of two years ſhall form one legiſlature.

III. "The diſpoſitions of the "preceding article ſhall not take "place, with reſpect to the next le-"giſlative body, whoſe powers ſhall "ceaſe on the laſt day of April, "1793."

IV. The renewal of the legiſlative body ſhall be matter of full right.

V. The legiſlative body cannot be diſſolved by the king.

SECT. I. *Number of Repreſentatives.—Baſis of Repreſentation.*

I. The number of repreſentatives to the legiſlative body ſhall be ſeven hundred and forty-five, on account of the eighty-three departments of which the kingdom is compoſed; and independent of thoſe that may be granted to the colonies.

II. The repreſentatives ſhall be diſtributed among the eighty-three departments, according to the three proportions of land, of population, and the contribution direct.

III. Of the ſeven hundred and forty-five repreſentatives two hundred and forty-ſeven are attached to the land.—Of theſe each department ſhall nominate three, except the department of Paris, which ſhall nominate only one.

IV. Two hundred and forty-nine repreſentatives are attributed to the population. The total maſs of the active population of the kingdom is divided into two hundred and forty-nine parts, and each department nominates as many of the deputies as it contains parts of the population.

Two hundred and forty-nine repreſentatives are attached to the contribution direct. The ſum total of the direct contribution of the kingdom,

kingdom, is likewiſe divided into two hundred and forty-nine parts; and each department nominates as many deputies as it pays parts of the contribution.

SECT. II. *Primary Aſſemblies—Nomination of Electors.*

I. In order to form a legiſlative national aſſembly, the active citizens ſhall convene, in primary aſſemblies, every two years, in the cities and cantons.

" The primary aſſemblies ſhall " meet of full right on the " firſt Sunday of March, if not " convoked ſooner by the " public officers appointed to " do ſo by the law."

II. To be an active citizen, it is neceſſary,

To be a Frenchman, or to have become a Frenchman;

To have attained twenty-five years complete;

To have reſided in the city or the canton from the time determined by the law;

To pay in any part of the kingdom a direct contribution, at leaſt equal to the value of three days labour, and to produce the acquittance;

Not to be in a menial capacity, namely, that of a ſervant receiving wages;

To be inſcribed in the municipality of the place of his reſidence in the liſt of the national guards;

To have taken the civic oath.

III. Every ſix years the legiſlative body ſhall fix the *minimum* and the *maximum* of the value of a day's labour; and the adminiſtrators of the departments ſhall determine the rate for each diſtrict.

IV. None ſhall exerciſe the rights of an active citizen in more than one place, or employ another as his ſubſtitute.

V. Thoſe ſhall be excluded from the rights of an active citizen who are in a ſtate of accuſation.—Thoſe who, after having been in a ſtate of failure, or bankruptcy, proved by authentic documents, ſhall not produce a general diſcharge from their creditors.

VI. The primary aſſemblies ſhall name electors in the proportion of the number of active citizens reſiding in the city or canton;

There ſhall be named one elector to the aſſembly, or not, according as there ſhall happen to be preſent a hundred active citizens;

There ſhall be named two, when there ſhall be preſent from one hundred fifty-one to two hundred and fifty, and ſo on in this proportion.

No man can be nominated an elector, if, to the qualifications of an active citizen, he do not join the following; *viz.* " In towns of " above ſix thouſand ſouls, that of " having property, or the uſufruct " of property, valued on the rolls of " contribution at a rent equal to the " local value of two hundred days " labour; or of being the renter of " a habitation valued on the ſame " rolls at a rent equal to the value " of one hundred and fifty days la- " bour;

" In towns of leſs than ſix thou- " ſand ſouls, that of having pro- " perty, or the uſufruct of property, " valued on the rolls of contribu- " tion at a rent equal to the value " of a hundred and fifty days la- " bour; or being the renter of a " habitation valued on the ſame " rolls at a rent equal to the value " of a hundred days labour;

" And in the country, that of " having property, or the uſufruct

" of

" of property, valued on the rolls of " contribution at a rent equal to " the local value of a hundred and " fifty days labour; or of being *fermier* or *metayer* of property, valued on the ſame rolls at a rent " equal to the value of four hundred " days labour. With reſpect to " thoſe, who may rent and have the " uſufruct of one part, and be renters, *fermiers*, or *metayers* of another, their means and their contribution ſhall be eſtimated in the " groſs, to the proportion neceſſary for eſtabliſhing their eligibility."

SECT. III. *Electoral Aſſemblies.—Nomination of Repreſentatives.*

I. The electors named in each department ſhall convene, in order to chuſe the number of repreſentatives, whoſe nomination ſhall belong to their department, and a number of ſubſtitutes equal to the third of the repreſentatives.

" The aſſemblies ſhall be held of " full right, on the laſt Sunday of " March, if they have not been before convoked by the public officers appointed to do ſo by the " law."

II. The repreſentatives and ſubſtitutes ſhall be choſen by an abſolute majority of votes;—" and cannot be choſen but from among " the active citizens of the department."

III. All active citizens, whatever be their ſtate, profeſſion, or contribution, may be choſen repreſentatives of the nation.

IV. Excepting, nevertheleſs, the miniſters and other agents of the executive power, holding their places at pleaſure; the commiſſioners of the national treaſury; the collectors and receivers of the direct contributions; thoſe who ſuperintend the collection and management of the indirect contributions, " and national " domains;" and thoſe who, under whatever denomination, hold any employment in the civil or military houſehold of the king.

" Excepting alſo the adminiſtrators, ſub-adminiſtrators, municipal officers, and commanders of " the national guards."

V. The exerciſe of the judicial functions, ſhall be incompatible with the functions of a repreſentative of the nation during the whole duration of the legiſlature.

" The judges ſhall be replaced " by their ſubſtitutes, and the king " ſhall provide by brevets of commiſſion for replacing his commiſſioners in the courts of juſtice."

VI. The members of the legiſlative body may be re-elected to a ſubſequent legiſlature, but not till after an interval of one legiſlature.

VII. The repreſentatives named in the departments, ſhall not be repreſentatives of a particular department, but of the whole nation; and no inſtructions can be given them.

SECT. IV. *Holding and Regulation of the primary and electoral Aſſemblies.*

I. The functions of the primary and electoral aſſemblies, are limited merely to the right of electing; as ſoon as the election is over, they ſhall ſeparate, and ſhall not meet again till they ſhall have been ſummoned, " unleſs in caſe of the firſt " article of the ſecond ſection, and " the firſt article of the third ſection above."

II. No active citizen can enter or vote in an aſſembly, if he is armed.

III. No armed force can be introduced in the meeting, except at the expreſs deſire of the aſſembly, unleſs in the caſe of actual violence, when the order of the preſident ſhall be ſufficient to call in the aid of the public force.

IV. Every two years there ſhall be drawn up in each diſtrict, liſts, by cantons, of the active citizens, and the liſt of each canton ſhall be publiſhed, and poſted up two months before the meeting of the primary aſſembly.

The proteſts which may be made either againſt the right of citizens, named in the liſt, or on the part of thoſe who ſhall affirm that they are unjuſtly omitted, ſhall be carried to the tribunals, in order to be there decided upon ſummarily.

The liſt ſhall ſerve to regulate the admiſſion of citizens in the next primary aſſembly, in every point that ſhall not have been rectified by a ſentence pronounced before the ſitting of the aſſembly.

V. The electoral aſſemblies have the right of verifying the quality and powers of thoſe who ſhall preſent themſelves, and their deciſions ſhall be proviſionally executed, with a reſerve for the ſentence of the legiſlative body, at the time of the verification of the powers of the deputies.

VI. In no caſe, and under no pretence whatever, ſhall the king, or any agents named by him, interfere in queſtions relative to the regularity of the convocation, the ſitting of the aſſemblies, the form of elections, or the political rights of citizens; "without prejudice, however, to the functions of the king's "commiſſioners in caſes determined "by the law, in which queſtions relative to the civil rights of citizens are to be brought before the "tribunals."

SECT. V. *Meeting of the Repreſentatives in the Legiſlative National Aſſembly.*

I. The repreſentatives ſhall meet on the firſt Monday of May, in the place of the ſittings of the laſt legiſlature.

II. They ſhall form themſelves proviſionally into an aſſembly, under the preſidence of the eldeſt of their number, in order to verify the powers of the repreſentatives preſent.

III. As ſoon as theſe ſhall be verified, to the number of three hundred and ſeventy-three members, they ſhall conſtitute themſelves under the title of Legiſlative National Aſſembly; they ſhall name a preſident, vice-preſident, and ſecretaries, and enter upon the exerciſe of their functions.

IV. During the whole of the month of May, if the number of repreſentatives preſent fall ſhort of three hundred and ſeventy-three, the aſſembly cannot perform any legiſlative act.

They may iſſue an arret, enjoining abſent members to attend their functions, within fifteen days at fartheſt, under a penalty of 3,000 livres, if they do not produce an excuſe which ſhall be deemed lawful by the aſſembly.

V. On the laſt day of May, whatever be the number of members preſent, they ſhall conſtitute themſelves a legiſlative national aſſembly.

VI. The repreſentatives ſhall pronounce in a body, in the name of the French people, the oath, "to "*live* FREE, *or* DIE!"

They ſhall then individually take the oath, *to maintain, with all their power,*

power, the conſtitution of the kingdom, decreed by the conſtituting national aſſembly, during the years 1789, 1790, *and* 1791; *to propoſe or aſſent to nothing in the courſe of the legiſlature, which may at all tend to infringe it; and to be in every reſpect faithful to the nation, the law, and the king,*

VII. The repreſentatives of the nation are inviolable. They cannot be examined, criminated, or judged, at any time, with reſpect to what they may have ſaid, written, or performed, in the exerciſe of their functions of repreſentatives.

VIII. They may, for a criminal act, be ſeized as guilty of a flagrant crime, or in virtue of an order of arreſt, but notice ſhall be given of it, without delay, to the legiſlative body, and the proſecution cannot be continued, till after the legiſlative body ſhall have decided that there is ground of accuſation.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Royalty, the Regency, and the Miniſters.

SECT. I. *Of the Royalty and the King.*

I. The royalty is indiviſible, and delegated hereditarily to the race on the throne from male to male, by order of primogeniture, to the perpetual excluſion of women and their deſcendants.

Nothing is prejudged on the effect of renunciations in the race on the throne.

II. The perſon of the king is inviolable and ſacred; his only title is 'King of the French.'

III. There is no authority in France ſuperior to that of the law. The king reigns only by it; and it is only in the name of the law that he can require obedience.

IV. The king, on his acceſſion to the throne, or at the period of his majority, ſhall take to the nation, in the preſence of the legiſlative body, the oath—"*To be faithful to* "*the nation and the law;*" *to employ all the power delegated to him; to maintain the conſtitution decreed by the conſtituting national aſſembly, in the years* 1789, 1790, *and* 1791, *and to cauſe the laws to be executed.*

If the legiſlative body be not aſſembled, the king ſhall cauſe a proclamation to be iſſued, in which ſhall be expreſſed this oath, and a promiſe to repeat it, as ſoon as the legiſlative body ſhall be met.

V. If, a month after the invitation of the legiſlative body, the king has not taken the oath; or if, after taking it, he retracts, he ſhall be held to have abdicated the royalty.

VI. If the king put himſelf at the head of an army, and direct the forces of it againſt the nation, or if he do not oppoſe, by a formal act, any ſuch enterprize undertaken in his name, he ſhall be held to have abdicated.

VII. If the king, having gone out of the kingdom, do not return to it, after an invitation by the legiſlative body, within the ſpace which ſhall be fixed by the proclamation, "and which cannot be leſs "than two months," he ſhall be held to have abdicated the royalty.

"This ſpace of time ſhall be "counted from the day in which "the proclamation ſhall have been "publiſhed, in the place of the ſit-"tings of the legiſlative body. The "miniſters ſhall be charged, under "their reſponſibility, to do all the

"acts

" acts of the executive power, the " exercise of which shall be suspend- " ed in the hands of the absent " king."

VIII. After abdication, express or legal, the king shall be in the class of citizens, and may be accused and tried like them, for acts posterior to his abdication.

IX. The particular effects which the king possesses at his accession to the throne are irrevocably united to the domain of the nation; he has the disposition of those which he acquires on his own private account; if he has not disposed of them, they are in like manner united, at the end of his reign.

X. The nation makes provision for the splendour of the throne by a civil list, of which the legislative body shall fix the sum at the commencement of each reign, for the whole duration of that reign.

XI. The king shall appoint an administrator of the civil list, who shall institute civil suits in the name of the king, and against whom shall all prosecutions for debts, due by the civil list, be brought, and judgments given.

" Judgments obtained by the cre- " ditors of the civil list, shall be ex- " ecutable against the administrator " personally, and his property."

XII. " The king, independent " of the guard of honour provided " for him by the citizens, national " guards of the place of his resi- " dence, shall have a guard paid " from the funds of the civil list — " It cannot exceed the number of " twelve hundred infantry, and six " hundred cavalry; the ranks and " the rules of promotion in it shall " be the same as in the troops of the " line.

" Those who shall compose the " guard of the king shall go through " all the ranks exclusively in their " own corps, and cannot obtain any " rank in the troops of the line: " the king cannot choose the men " of his guard but from among those " who are actually in service in the " troops of the line, or from among " the citizens who have served a " year in the national guard, pro- " vided they be resident in the " kingdom, and have previously " taken the civic oath. The guard " of the king cannot be commanded " or called out on any other public " service."

SECT. II. *Of the Regency.*

I. The king is a minor till the age of eighteen complete; and during his minority there shall be a regent of the kingdom.

II. The regency belongs to the relation of the king, next in degree according to the order of succession to the throne, who has attained the age of twenty-five; provided he be a Frenchman, resident in the kingdom, and not presumptive heir to any other crown, and have previously taken the civic oath.

Women are excluded from the regency.

III. " If a minor king have no " relations uniting the qualities " above expressed, the regent of the " kingdom shall be chosen in the " manner prescribed in the follow- " ing articles."

IV. " The legislative body can- " not elect the regent."

V. " The electors of each dis- " trict shall meet in the chief town " of the district, after a proclama- " tion which shall be made in the " first week of the new reign by the

" legiſlative body, if it is ſitting; " and if it is not ſitting, the miniſ- " ter of juſtice ſhall be bound to " make this proclamation in the " ſame week."

VI. " The electors ſhall nomi- " nate in each diſtrict, by individual " ſcrutiny, and the abſolute plura- " lity of ſuffrages, a citizen eli- " gible and reſident in the diſtrict, " to whom they ſhall give, by the " minute of election, a ſpecial man- " date, limited to the ſole function " of electing a citizen, whom he " ſhall judge in his ſoul and in his " conſcience the moſt worthy to be " regent of the kingdom."

VII. " The mandatary citizens " nominated in the diſtricts ſhall be " bound to aſſemble in the city " where the legiſlative body ſhall " hold its ſitting, on the fortieth " day at the lateſt from the minor " king's acceſſion to the throne, and " they ſhall there form an electoral " aſſembly, which ſhall proceed to " the nomination of the regent."

VIII. " The election of the re- " gent ſhall be made by individual " ſcrutiny, and the abſolute plura- " lity of ſuffrages."

IX. " The electoral aſſembly " can attend to no buſineſs but that " of the election, and ſhall ſeparate " as ſoon as it is terminated. " Every other act which it ſhall at- " tempt to perform is declared un- " conſtitutional and null."

X. " The electoral aſſembly " ſhall preſent by its preſident the " minute of election to the legiſla- " tive body, who, after verifying " the regularity of the election, " ſhall cauſe it to be publiſhed " throughout the kingdom by a " proclamation."

XI. The regent exerciſes, till the king's majority, all the function of royalty, and is not perſonally reſponſible for the acts of his adminiſtration.

XII. The regent cannot begin the exerciſe of his functions till after taking to the nation, in the preſence of the legiſlative body, an oath, " *To be faithful to the nation, the* " *law, and the king*;" *to employ all the power delegated to the king, and of which the exerciſe is confined to him during the minority of the king; to maintain the conſtitution decreed by the conſtituting national aſſembly in the years* 1789, 1790, *and* 1791; *and to cauſe the laws to be executed.*

If the legiſlative body is not aſſembled, the regent ſhall cauſe a proclamation to be iſſued, in which ſhall be expreſſed this oath, and a promiſe to repeat it as ſoon as the legiſlative body ſhall be aſſembled.

XIII. As long as the regent is not entered on the exerciſe of his functions, the ſanction of laws remains ſuſpended; the miniſters continue to perform, under their reſponſibility, all the acts of the executive power.

XIV. As ſoon as the regent ſhall take the oath, the legiſlative body ſhall fix his allowance, which ſhall not be altered during his regency.

XV. " If, on account of the mi- " nority of the relation called to " the regency, it ſhall be given by " election, or devolved to a relation " more diſtant, the regent, who ſhall " have entered on the exerciſe of " his functions, ſhall continue them " till the king's majority."

XVI. The regency of the kingdom confers no right over the perſon of the minor king.

XVII. The care of the minor king ſhall be confided to his mother; and if he has no mother, or if ſhe be married

married again, at the time of her ſon's acceſſion to the throne, or if ſhe marry again during the minority, the care of him ſhall be delegated by the legiſlative body.

For the care of the minor king, neither the regent, nor his deſcendants, nor a woman can be choſen.

XVIII. In caſe of the king's mental incapacity, notoriouſly admitted, legally proved, and declared by the legiſlative body, after three ſucceſſive deliberations held monthly, there ſhall be a regency, as long as ſuch incapacity continues.

SECT. III. *Of the Royal Family.*

I. The preſumptive heir ſhall bear the name of prince royal.

He cannot go out of the kingdom, without a decree of the legiſlative body, and the king's conſent;

If he is gone out of it, and, "after "attaining the age of eighteen," he do not return to the kingdom, on being required to do ſo by a proclamation of the legiſlative body, he is held to have abdicated the right of ſucceſſion to the throne.

II. If the preſumptive heir is a minor, the relation, of full age, and next in order to the regency, is bound to reſide within the kingdom:

In caſe of his going out of it, and not returning on the requiſition of the legiſlative body, he ſhall be held to have abdicated his right to the regency.

III. The mother of the minor king, having the care of him, or the guardian elect, if they go out of the kingdom, forfeit their charge:

If the mother of the preſumptive heir, a minor, go out of the kingdom, ſhe cannot, even after her return, have the care of her minor ſon become king, but by a decree of the legiſlative body.

IV. A law ſhall be made to regulate the education of the minor king, and that of the minor heir preſumptive.

V. "The members of the family of the king, called to the "eventual ſucceſſion to the throne, "enjoy the rights of active citizens, "but they are eligible to no places, "employments, or functions which "are in the nomination of the people;

"Excepting the departments of "the miniſtry, they may obtain the "places which are in the nomination of the king; nevertheleſs, "they cannot be commanders in "chief of any army by land or ſea, "or execute the functions of ambaſſadors, but with the conſent of "the legiſlative body, granted on "the propoſition of the king."

VI. "The members of the "king's family, called to the eventual ſucceſſion of the throne, ſhall "add the denomination of French "prince to the name which ſhall be "given them in the civil act proving their birth; and this name "can neither be patronymic, nor "formed of any of the qualifications "aboliſhed by the preſent conſtitution."

VII. "The denomination of "prince cannot be given to any individual, and ſhall not carry with "it any privilege or exception to "the common right of all French "citizens."

VIII. "The acts by which ſhall "be legally aſcertained the births, "marriages, and deaths of French "princes, ſhall be preſented to the "legiſlative body, which ſhall order "them to be depoſited in its archives."

IX. No *real* apanage (in land) ſhall be granted to the members of the royal family.

The younger ſons of the king ſhall receive, at the age of twenty-five, or on their marriage, an annuity, the amount of which ſhall be fixed by the legiſlative body, and which ſhall terminate with the extinction of their male heirs.

SECT. IV. *Of Miniſters.*

I. To the king alone belongs the choice and diſmiſſion of miniſters.

II. "The members of the preſent national aſſembly, and of the "ſubſequent legiſlatures; the members of the tribunal of appeal, and "thoſe who ſhall be of the high "jury, cannot be advanced to the "miniſtry, cannot receive any "place, gift, penſion, allowance, or "commiſſion of the executive pow-"er, or its agents, during the con-"tinuance of their functions, or "during two years after ceaſing to "exerciſe them; the ſame ſhall be "obſerved reſpecting thoſe, who "ſhall only be inſcribed on the liſt "of high jurors, as long as their "inſcription ſhall continue."

III. "No man can enter upon "the exerciſe of any employment, "either in the offices of the miniſ-"try, or in thoſe of the adminiſtra-"tions of public revenues, and in "general of any employment in the "nomination of the executive pow-"er, without taking the civic oath, "or proving that he has taken "it."

IV. No order of the king can be executed, if it be not ſigned by him, and counterſigned by the miniſter, or comptroller of the department.

V. The miniſters are reſponſible for all the offences committed by them againſt the national ſafety and the conſtitution;

For every attack on individual property and liberty;

For every abuſe of the money allotted for the expences of their department.

VI. In no caſe can the written or verbal order of a king ſhelter a miniſter from reſponſibility.

VII. The miniſters are bound to preſent every year to the legiſlative body, at the opening of the ſeſſion, the amount of the expences of their department; to give an account of the employment of the ſums deſtined for that purpoſe; and to point out the abuſes which may have crept into the different parts of the government.

VIII. No miniſter, in or out of place, can be criminally proſecuted for any tranſaction of his adminiſtration, without a decree of the legiſlative body.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Exerciſe of the Legiſlative Power.

SECT. I. *Powers and Functions of the Legiſlative National Aſſembly.*

I. The conſtitution delegates excluſively to the legiſlative body, the powers and functions following:

1. To propoſe and decree laws —The king can only invite the legiſlative body to take an object into conſideration;

2. To fix the public expences;

3. To eſtabliſh the public contributions, to determine the nature of them, the amount of each ſort, the duration, and the mode of collection;

4. To

4. To make the diſtribution of them among the ſeveral departments of the kingdom, to watch over the application of all the public revenues, and to demand an account of them;

5. To decree the creation or ſuppreſſion of public offices;

6. To determine the quality, the impreſſion, and the denomination of money;

7. To permit or prohibit the introduction of foreign troops into the French territories, and of foreign naval forces into the ports of the kingdom;

8. To vote annually, on the king's propoſition, the number of men and ſhips of which the ſea and land forces ſhall be compoſed; the pay and the number of each rank; the rules of admiſſion and promotion; the forms of enrollment and diſcharge; the formation of naval equipments; the admiſſion of foreign troops or naval forces into the French ſervice, and the penſions to troops on being diſbanded;

9. To regulate the adminiſtration and the alienation of the national domains;

10. To proſecute, before the high national court, the miniſters and principal agents of the executive power, on their reſponſibility;

To accuſe and proſecute, before the ſame court, thoſe who ſhall be charged with any offence or conſpiracy againſt the general ſafety of the ſtate or the conſtitution;

11. To eſtabliſh the rules according to which marks of honour or decorations, merely perſonal, ſhall be granted to thoſe who have done ſervice to the ſtate.

12. The legiſlative body has the ſole right of decreeing poſthumous honours to the memory of great men.

II. War cannot be reſolved on but by a decree of the national aſſembly, paſſed on the formal and neceſſary propoſition of the king, and ſanctioned by him.

In caſe of hoſtilities, imminent or commenced, of an ally to be ſupported, or a right to be maintained by force of arms, the king ſhall give notification without delay to the legiſlative body, with an explanation of the reaſons.

If the legiſlative body be not ſitting, the king ſhall immediately convoke it.

If the legiſlative body decide that war ought not to be made, the king ſhall inſtantly take meaſures to prevent, or put a ſtop to hoſtilities, the miniſters being reſponſible for all delays.

If the legiſlative body find that the hoſtilities commenced are a culpable aggreſſion on the part of miniſters, or any other agent of the executive power, the author of the aggreſſion ſhall be proſecuted criminally.

During the whole courſe of war the legiſlative body may require the king to negociate peace; and the king is bound to yield to this requiſition.

On the immediate concluſion of war, the legiſlative body ſhall fix the time within which the troops, levied above the peace eſtabliſhment, ſhall be diſcharged, and the army reduced to its ordinary eſtabliſhment.

III. It belongs to the legiſlative body to ratify treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce; and no treaty ſhall have effect, but by this ratification.

IV. The legiſlative body has

the right of determining the place of its ſittings; of continuing them as long as it ſhall think neceſſary, and of adjourning: at the commencement of each reign, if it is not ſitting, it ſhall be bound to meet without delay:

It has the right of police in the place of its ſitting, and to ſuch extent around it as ſhall be determined:

It has the right of diſcipline over its members; but it can pronounce no heavier puniſhment than cenſure, arreſt for eight days, or impriſonment for three:

It has the right of diſpoſing, for its ſecurity and the maintaining of the reſpect that is due to it, of the forces which ſhall be eſtabliſhed by its conſent, in the city where it ſhall hold its ſittings.

V. The executive power cannot march, or quarter, or ſtation, any troops of the line, within thirty thouſand toiſes of the legiſlative body, except on the requiſition, or by the authority of that body.

SECT. II. *Holding of the Sittings, and Form of deliberating.*

I. The deliberations of the legiſlative body ſhall be public, and the minutes of the ſittings ſhall be printed.

II. The legiſlative body may, however, on any occaſion, form itſelf into a general committee:

Fifty members ſhall have a right to demand it:

During the continuance of the general committee, the aſſiſtants ſhall retire, the chair of the preſident ſhall be vacant; order ſhall be maintained by the vice-preſident.

A decree cannot be paſſed except in a public ſitting.

III. No legiſlative act can be debated and decreed, but in the following form:

IV. The plan of a decree ſhall be read thrice, at three intervals, the ſhorteſt of which cannot be leſs than eight days;

V. The diſcuſſion ſhall be open after every reading; nevertheleſs, after the firſt or ſecond reading, the legiſlative body may declare that there is reaſon for adjournment, or that there is no room for deliberation—in this laſt caſe the plan of the decree may be introduced again in the ſame ſeſſion.

VI. After the third reading, the preſident ſhall be bound to propoſe to their deliberation, and the legiſlative body ſhall decide, whether they are qualified to paſs a definitive decree, or would rather chuſe to poſtpone their deciſion to another time, to collect more ample information on the ſubject.

VII. The legiſlative body cannot deliberate, if the ſitting do not conſiſt of at leaſt two hundred members; and no decree ſhall be made, except by the abſolute majority of votes.

VIII. No plan of a law which, after having been ſubmitted to diſcuſſion, ſhall have been rejected after the third reading, can again be introduced the ſame ſeſſion.

IX. The preamble of every definitive decree, ſhall announce, 1ſt, The dates of thoſe three ſittings, at which the plan of the decree was read; 2d, The decree by which it ſhall have been appointed after the third reading to decide definitively.

X. The king ſhall refuſe his ſanction to decrees, whoſe preamble ſhall not atteſt the obſervance of the above forms; if any of thoſe decrees

crees be ſanctioned, the miniſters can neither put to it the ſeal, nor promulgate it, and their reſponſibility in this reſpect ſhall continue ſix years.

XI. Excepting from theſe regulations, decrees recognized, and declared urgent by a previous deliberation of the legiſlative body; but they may be modified, or revoked, in the courſe of the ſame ſeſſion.

XII. "The decree by which "the matter ſhall be declared ur- "gent, ſhall ſtate the reaſons; and "mention ſhall be made of this "previous decree in the preamble "of the definitive decree."

SECT. III. *Of the Royal Sanction.*

I. The decrees of the legiſlative body are preſented to the king, who may refuſe them his conſent.

II. In caſe of a refuſal of the royal conſent, that refuſal is only ſuſpenſive.—When the two following legiſlatures ſhall ſucceſſively preſent the ſame decree in the ſame terms on which it was originally conceived, the king ſhall be deemed to have given his ſanction.

III. The aſſent of the king is expreſſed to each decree, by the following *formula*, ſigned by the king —*The king conſents, and will cauſe it to be executed.*

The ſuſpenſive refuſal of the king is thus expreſſed—*The king will examine.*

IV. The king is bound to expreſs his conſent or refuſal to each decree, within two months after its preſentation.

V. No decree, to which the king has refuſed his conſent, can be again preſented to him by the ſame legiſlature.

VI. The decrees ſanctioned by the king, and thoſe which have been preſented to him by three ſucceſſive legiſlatures, bear the name and title of laws.

VII. Thoſe acts of the legiſlative body ſhall nevertheleſs be executed as laws, without being ſubject to ſanction, which relate to its conſtitution, as a deliberating aſſembly;

Its interior police; "and what it "may exerciſe in the external cir- "cuit which ſhall be determined;"

The verification of the powers of the members preſent;

The injunctions to abſent members;

The convocation of the primary aſſemblies in delay;

The exerciſe of the conſtitutional police on the adminiſtrators "and "municipal officers."

Queſtions of eligibility, or the validity of elections;

Acts relative to the reſponſibility of miniſters; and all decrees importing that there is ground of accuſation, are alſo exempted from ſanction.

VIII. "The decrees of the le- "giſlative body, reſpecting the "promulgation, and the collection "of the public contributions, ſhall "bear the name and title of law; "they ſhall be promulgated and ex- "ecuted without being ſubject to "ſanction, except with regard to "thoſe regulations which ſhall eſ- "tabliſh any penalties but fines; "theſe decrees cannot be paſſed, "without obſerving the formalities "preſcribed by articles V. VI. VII. "VIII. and IX. of Sect. II. of this "chapter; and the legiſlative body "cannot inſert any diſpoſition fo- "reign to the ſubject of them."

SECT. IV. *Connection of the Legiſlative Body with the King.*

I. When the legiſlative body is definitively conſtituted, it ſhall ſend a

deputation to inform the king. The king may every year open the ſeſſion, and propoſe the objects, which during its continuance he thinks ought to be taken into conſideration: this form, however, is not to be conſidered as neceſſary to the activity of the legiſlative body.

II. When the legiſlative body wiſhes to adjourn longer than fifteen days, it is bound to inform the king, by a deputation, at leaſt eight days previous to the adjournment.

III. Eight days, at leaſt, before the end of each ſeſſion, the legiſlative body ſhall ſend a deputation to the king, to announce to him the day on which it propoſes to terminate its ſittings; the king may come to cloſe the ſeſſion.

IV. If the king find it of importance to the welfare of the ſtate, that the ſeſſion be continued, or that the adjournment be put off, or take place for a ſhorter time, he may ſend a meſſage to this effect, on which the legiſlative body is bound to deliberate.

V. The king ſhall convoke the legiſlative body during the interval of its ſeſſions, as often as the intereſt of the ſtate ſhall appear to him to require it, as well as in thoſe caſes which the legiſlative body ſhall have foreſeen and determined previous to their adjournment.

VI. Whenever the king ſhall viſit the place of meeting of the legiſlative body, he ſhall be received and conducted back by a deputation; he cannot be accompanied into the inner part of the hall by any, except "the prince royal," and his miniſters.

VII. The preſident can in no caſe form part of a deputation.

VIII. The legiſlative body ſhall ceaſe to be a deliberating body, whilſt the king ſhall be preſent.

IX. The acts of correſpondence of the king with the legiſlative body, ſhall be always counterſigned by a miniſter.

X. The miniſters of the king ſhall have admiſſion into the legiſlative national aſſembly—they ſhall have a particular place; they ſhall be heard as often as they ſhall demand a hearing on all ſubjects which relate to their adminiſtration, and as often as they ſhall be required to give explanations. "They ſhall "likewiſe be heard on ſubjects "which do not relate to their ad- "miniſtration, when the national "aſſembly ſhall grant them leave to "ſpeak."

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Exerciſe of the Executive Power.

I. The ſupreme executive power reſides excluſively in the hands of the king:

The king is the ſupreme head of the general adminiſtration of the kingdom; the care of watching over the maintenance of public order and tranquillity is entruſted to him:

The king is the ſupreme head of the land and ſea forces:

To the king is delegated the care of watching over the external ſecurity of the kingdom, and of maintaining its rights and poſſeſſions.

II. The king names ambaſſadors, and the other agents of political negociations:

He beſtows the command of armies and fleets, and the ranks of marſhal of France and admiral:

He

He names two-thirds of the rear-admirals, one half of the lieutenant-generals, camp-marſhals, captains of ſhips, and colonels of the national gendarmerie:

He names a third of the colonels and lieutenant-colonels, and a ſixth of the lientenants of ſhips:

The whole in conformity to the laws with reſpect to promotion:

He appoints, in the civil adminiſtration of the marine, the directors, the comptrollers, the treaſurers of the arſenals, the maſters of the works, the under maſters of civil buildings, half of the maſters of adminiſtration, and of the under maſters of conſtruction.

He appoints the commiſſaries of the tribunals:

He appoints the ſuperintendants in chief of the management of contributions indirect, "and the "adminiſtration of national do-"mains:"

He ſuperintends the coinage of money, and appoints the officers entruſted with this ſuperintendance in the general commiſſion and the mints:

The effigy of the king is ſtruck on all the coinage of the kingdom:

III. The king orders letters patent, brevets, and commiſſions to be delivered to all the public officers that ought to receive them.

IV. The king orders a liſt of penſions and gratifications to be made out for the purpoſe of being preſented to the legiſlative body each ſeſſion, "and decreed, if there "is reaſon."

SECT. I. *Of the Promulgation of Laws.*

I. The executive power is entruſted with ordering the ſeal of ſtate to be put to laws. and cauſing them to be promulgated. It is alſo charged with cauſing thoſe laws of the legiſlative body which are exempted from the royal ſanction, to be publiſhed and executed.

II. Two copies of each law ſhall be made, both ſigned by the king, counterſigned by the miniſter of juſtice, and ſealed with the ſeal of ſtate:

The one ſhall be depoſited in the archives of the ſeal, and the other ſhall be ſent to the archives of the legiſlative body.

III. The promulgation of laws ſhall be in theſe terms:

N. (the king's name) *by the grace of God, and the conſtitutional law of the ſtate, king of the French, to all preſent and to come, greeting, The national aſſembly has decreed, and we will and ordain as follows:*

[Here a literal copy of the decree ſhall be inſerted without any variation]

We command and ordain all adminiſtrative bodies, and courts of juſtice, to cauſe theſe preſents to be tranſcribed on their regiſters, read, publiſhed, and poſted up in their departments, and reſpective places of reſort, and executed as a law of the realm; in witneſs of which we have ſigned theſe preſents, to which we have cauſed the ſeal of the ſtate to be put.

IV. If the king is a minor, laws, proclamations, and other acts proceeding from the royal authority during the regency, ſhall be conceived in theſe terms:

N. (the name of the regent) *Regent of the kingdom in the name of N.* (the king's name) *by the grace of God, and the conſtitutional law of the ſtate, king of the French,* &c. &c.

V. The executive power is bound to ſend the laws to the adminiſtrative

miniſtrative bodies and courts of juſtice, to ſee that they are ſo ſent, and to anſwer for it to the legiſlative body.

VI. The executive power cannot make any law, not even proviſional, but merely proclamations, conformable to the laws, to ordain or recal the execution of them.

SECT. II. *Of the internal Adminiſtration.*

I. There is in each department a ſuperior adminiſtration, and in each diſtrict a ſubordinate adminiſtration.

II. The adminiſtrators have no character of repreſentation.

They are agents choſen for a time by the people, to exerciſe, under their ſuperintendance and the authority of the law, the adminiſtrative functions.

III. They can aſſume no authority in legiſlative or judicial proceedings, or over military diſpoſitions and operations.

IV. "The adminiſtrators are "ſpecially charged with diſtributing the contributions direct, and "with ſuperintending the money "ariſing from the contributions, "and the public revenues in their "territory."

It belongs to the legiſlative power to determine the extent and the rules and the mode of their functions, "both with reſpect to the "objects above expreſſed, and with "reſpect to all the other parts of "internal adminiſtration."

V. The king has the right of annulling ſuch acts of the adminiſtrators of department, as are contrary to the law, or the orders tranſmitted to them.

He may, in caſe of obſtinate diſobedience, or of their endangering, by their acts, the ſafety or peace of the public, ſuſpend them from their functions.

VI. The adminiſtrators of department have alſo the right of annulling the acts of ſub-adminiſtrators of diſtrict, contrary to the laws or the reſolution of adminiſtrators of department, or to the orders which the latter ſhall have given or tranſmitted. They may likewiſe, in caſe of obſtinate diſobedience on the part of the ſub-adminiſtrators, or if the latter endanger, by their acts, the public ſafety or tranquillity, ſuſpend them from their functions, with the reſerve of informing the king, who may remove or confirm the ſuſpenſion.

VII. The king, if the adminiſtrators of department ſhall not uſe the power which is delegated to them in the article above, may directly annul the acts of ſub-adminiſtrators, and ſuſpend them in the ſame caſes.

VIII. Whenever the king ſhall pronounce or confirm the ſuſpenſion of adminiſtrators, or ſub-adminiſtrators, he ſhall inform the legiſlative body.

This body may either remove or confirm the ſuſpenſion, or even diſſolve the culpable adminiſtration; and, if there is ground, remit all the adminiſtrators, or ſome of them, to the criminal tribunals, or enforce againſt them the decree of accuſation.

SECT. III. *Of external Connections.*

I. The king alone can interfere in foreign political connections, conduct negotiations, make preparations of war proportioned to thoſe of the neighbouring ſtates, diſtribute

bute the land and ſea forces as he ſhall judge moſt ſuitable, and regulate their direction in caſe of war.

II. Every declaration of war ſhall be made in theſe terms: *By the king of the French, in the name of the nation.*

III. It belongs to the king to reſolve and ſign with all foreign powers all treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce, and other conventions, which he ſhall judge neceſſary for the welfare of the ſtate, with a reſerve for the ratification of the legiſlative body.

Chapter V.

Of the Judicial Power.

I. The judicial power can in no caſe be exerciſed either by the legiſlative body or the king.

II. Juſtice ſhall be gratuitouſly rendered by judges choſen from time to time by the people, and inſtituted by letters patent of the king, who cannot refuſe them. They cannot be depoſed, except from a forfeiture duly judged; or ſuſpended, except from an accuſation admitted.

" The public accuſer ſhall be no-
" minated by the people."

III. The tribunals cannot either interfere in the exerciſe of the legiſlative power, or ſuſpend the execution of the laws, or undertake the adminiſtrative functions, or cite before them the adminiſtrators on account of their functions.

IV. The citizens cannot be withdrawn from the judges whom the law aſſigns to them by any commiſſion, or by any other attributions or evocations than thoſe which are determined by the laws.

V. " The right of citizens to
" terminate diſputes definitively by
" arbitration, cannot receive any
" infringement from the acts of the
" legiſlative power."

VI. " The ordinary tribunals
" cannot receive any civil action
" without its being proved to them
" that the parties have appeared,
" or that the plaintiff had cited the
" adverſe party before the media-
" tors to obtain a conciliation."

VII. There ſhall be one or more judges of the peace in the cantons and in the cities. The number ſhall be determined by the legiſlative power.

VIII. It belongs to the legiſlative power to regulate the number and juriſdiction of tribunals, and the number of judges, of which each tribunal ſhall be compoſed.

IX. In criminal matters, no citizen can be judged, except on an accuſation received by jurors, or decreed by the legiſlative body in the caſes in which it belongs to it to proſecute the accuſation:

After the accuſation ſhall be admitted, the fact ſhall be examined, and declared by the jurors:

The perſon accuſed ſhall have the privilege of challenging twenty, " without aſſigning any rea-
" ſon."

The jurors who declare the fact ſhall not be fewer than twelve:

The application of the law ſhall be made by the judges:

The proceſs ſhall be public, " and
" the perſon accuſed cannot be de-
" nied the aid of counſel."

No man acquitted by a legal jury can be apprehended or accuſed on account of the ſame fact.

X. " No man can be apprehend-
" ed, but to be conducted before the
" officer of police; and no man can
" be arreſted or detained, but

" virtue

" virtue of an order of the officers " of police, a warrant of arreſt " from a tribunal, a decree of ac- " cuſation by the legiſlative body, " in caſes in which it belongs to it " to pronounce, or of a ſentence " of impriſonment or correctional " detention."

XI. " Every perſon arreſted, " and taken before the officer of " police, ſhall be immediately ex- " amined, or at fartheſt within 24 " hours.

" If it appear from the exami- " nation that there is no ground of " accuſation againſt him, he ſhall " immediately be liberated; or if " there is ground for ſending him " to the houſe of arreſt, he ſhall be " ſent to it with the leaſt poſſible " delay, which can in no caſe ex- " ceed three days."

XII. " No perſon arreſted, can " be detained if he give ſufficient " bail, in all thoſe inſtances in " which the law allows to remain " free under bail."

XIII. " No perſon, in caſes " where confinement is authorized " by law, can be conveyed or de- " tained, except in ſuch places as " are legally and publicly appoint- " ed houſes of arreſt, of juſtice, or " impriſonment."

XIV. " No keeper or gaoler " can receive or detain any perſon, " but by virtue of the warrants, " orders of arreſt, or ſentences, " enumerated in the tenth article, " and except they ſhall have been " tranſcribed upon his regiſter."

XV. " Every keeper or gaoler " is bound, without a ſpecial or- " der to the contrary, to produce " the priſoner to the civil officers " entruſted with the care of the po- " lice of the houſe of confinement " as often as he ſhall make the de- " mand."

" The ſight of the priſoner can- " not be denied to his relations, " friends, and neighbours, bearing " an order of the civil officer, which " he ſhall always be bound to grant, " except the keeper or gaoler pro- " duce an order of the judge, " tranſcribed upon his regiſter, " for keeping his priſoner ſecret."

XVI. " Every perſon, what- " ever be his place or employment, " except thoſe to whom the law " gives the power of arreſt, who " ſhall give, ſign, execute, or cauſe " to be executed, an order for ar- " reſting a citizen; or whoever, " even in caſes of arreſt authoriſed " by law, ſhall conduct, receive, or " detain a citizen in a place of con- " finement not publicly and legally " appointed; and every keeper or " gaoler, who ſhall tranſgreſs the " regulations of articles XIV. and " XV. above, ſhall be guilty of the " crime of arbitrary impriſon- " ment."

XVII. " No perſon can be en- " quired after, or proſecuted, on " account of writings which he ſhall " have printed or publiſhed, if he " has not inculcated diſobedience " to the law, contempt of the con- " ſtitutional powers, and reſiſtance " to their acts, or ſome of thoſe ac- " tions declared crimes or offences " by law.

" Cenſure on the acts of the con- " ſtituted powers is permitted: but " voluntary ſlanders againſt the " probity of public officers, and the " rectitude of their intentions in the " exerciſe of their offices, may be " proſecuted by thoſe againſt whom " they are directed.

" Slanders, or injurious reports " againſt

" againſt any perſon whatſoever, " relative to the actions of their " private life, ſhall be puniſhed " upon their proſecution."

XVIII. " No perſon can be " tried either by a civil or criminal " action on account of any writ- " ings printed or publiſhed, except " it ſhall have been examined and " declared by a jury, 1ſt, whether " there is any thing criminal in " the writing complained of? 2dly, " whether the perſon proſecuted " has been guilty of it?"

XIX. For the whole kingdom there ſhall be one tribunal of appeal, eſtabliſhed near the legiſlative body. Its functions ſhall be to pronounce

On appeals from the judgment of the tribunals;

On appeals from the judgment of one tribunal to another, on lawful cauſe of ſuſpicion;

On the regulations of judges, and exceptions to a whole tribunal.

XX. The tribunal of appeal can never enter into an original examination of a caſe; but after annulling a judgment in a proceſs, in which the forms have been violated, or which ſhall contain an expreſs contravention of law, it ſhall refer the merits of the caſe to the tribunal that ought to take cognizance of them.

XXI. When after two appeals, the judgment of the third tribunal ſhall be queſtioned in the ſame way as that of the former two, the caſe ſhall not be carried again to the tribunal of appeal, without being firſt ſubmitted to the legiſlative body, which ſhall paſs a decree declaratory of the law, to which the tribunal of appeal ſhall be bound to conform.

XXII. The tribunal of appeal ſhall be bound to ſend every year to the bar of the legiſlative body a deputation of eight of its members, to preſent a ſtatement of the judgments given, with an abſtract of the caſe annexed to each, and the text of the law, which was the ground of the deciſion.

XXIII. A high national court, compoſed of members of the tribunal of appeal and high jurors, ſhall take cognizance of the crimes of miniſters, and the principal agents of the executive power; and of crimes which attack the general ſafety of the ſtate, when the legiſlative body ſhall paſs a decree of accuſation:

It ſhall not aſſemble but on the proclamation of the legiſlative body; " and at the diſtance of 30,000 toiſes, " at leaſt, from the place of meet- " ing of the legiſlative body."

XXIV. The orders iſſued for executing the judgments of the tribunals, ſhall be conceived in theſe terms:

N. (the name of the king), *by the grace of God, and by the conſtitutional law of the ſtate, king of the French, to all preſent and to come, greeting: the tribunal of ——— has paſſed the following judgment:*

[Here ſhall follow a copy of the judgment, in which ſhall be mentioned the names of the judges].

We charge and enjoin all officers, upon the preſent demand, to put the ſame judgment into execution, our commiſſioners of the tribunals to enforce the ſame, and all the commanders and officers of the public force to be aſſiſting with their force, when it ſhall be legally required: In witneſs of which the preſent judgment has been ſealed and ſigned by the preſident of the tribunal, and by the regiſter.

XXV. The functions of the king's

king's commiſſioners in the tribunals, ſhall be to require the obſervance of the laws in the judgments to be given, and to cauſe them to be executed after they are paſſed:

They ſhall not be public accuſers; but they ſhall be heard on all accuſations, and ſhall require, during proceſs, regularity of forms, and before judgment, the application of the law.

XXVI. The king's commiſſioners in the tribunals ſhall repreſent to the director of the jury, either officially or according to orders given them by the king,

Offences againſt the individual liberty of citizens, againſt the free circulation of proviſions, "and other "articles of commerce," and the collection of contributions;

Offences by which the execution of orders given by the king, in the exerciſe of the functions delegated to him, ſhall be diſturbed or impeded;

Offences againſt the rights of perſons, and oppoſition to the execution of judgments, and all executive acts proceeding from the conſtituted powers.

XXVII. The miniſter of juſtice ſhall repreſent to the tribunal of appeal, by means of the king's commiſſioner, "and without prejudice "to the rights of the parties inte-"reſted," the acts by which the judges ſhall have exceeded the limits of their power.

The tribunal ſhall annul theſe acts, and if they give ground for forfeiture, the fact ſhall be repreſented to the legiſlative body, which ſhall paſs the decree of accuſation, and refer the parties informed againſt to the high national court.

PART IV.

OF THE PUBLIC FORCE.

I. The public force is inſtituted to defend the ſtate againſt external enemies; and to maintain internal order, and the execution of the laws.

II. It is compoſed,

Of the land and ſea force;

Of the troop ſpecially deſtined for home ſervice;

And, ſubſidiarly, of the active citizens and their children of age to bear arms, regiſtered in the roll of national guards.

III. The national guards do not form a military body, or an inſtitution in the ſtate; they are the citizens themſelves called to aſſiſt the public force.

IV. The citizens can never embody themſelves, or act as national guards, but by virtue of a requiſition, or a legal authority.

V. They are ſubject in this quality to an organization, determined by the law:

They ſhall be diſtinguiſhed in the whole kingdom by only one form of diſcipline, and one uniform:

Diſtinctions of rank and ſubordination ſubſiſt only relatively to the ſervice, and during its continuance.

VI. Officers are choſen for a time, and cannot again be choſen, till after a certain interval of ſervice as privates.

None ſhall command the national guard of more than one diſtrict.

VII. All the parts of the public force employed for the ſafety of the ſtate from foreign enemies, are under the command of the king.

VIII. No body or detachment of

of troops of the line can act in the internal part of the kingdom without a legal order.

IX. No agent of the public force can enter the houſe of a citizen, if it is not in order to execute the inſtructions of police and of juſtice, or in caſes formally provided for by the law.

X. The requiſition of the public force in the internal part of the kingdom belongs to the civil officers, according to the regulations provided by the legiſlative power.

XI. When any department is in a ſtate of commotion, the king ſhall iſſue, ſubject to the reſponſibility of miniſters, the neceſſary orders for the execution of the laws, and the re-eſtabliſhment of order; but with the reſerve of informing the legiſlative body, if it is aſſembled, and of convoking it if it be not ſitting.

XII. The public force is eſſentially obedient; no armed body can deliberate.

XIII. "The land and ſea force, "and the troops deſtined for the "internal ſecurity, are ſubject to "particular laws, both with reſpect "to the maintenance of diſcipline, "and the form of trial, as well as "the nature of puniſhment in caſe "of military offences."

PART V.

OF PUBLIC CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. Public contributions ſhall be debated and fixed every year by the legiſlative body, and cannot continue in force longer than the laſt day of the following ſeſſion, if they are not expreſsly renewed.

II. The funds neceſſary to the diſcharge of the national debt, and the payment of the civil liſt, can under no pretext be refuſed or ſuſpended.

"The allowances to the miniſters "of the catholic religion penſioned, "retained, elected or nominated, in "virtue of the decrees of the con-"ſtituting national aſſembly, forms "part of the national debt.

"The legiſlative body can in no "caſe charge the nation with the "payment of the debts of an indi-"vidual."

III. "Detailed accounts of the "expence of the miniſterial depart-"ments, ſigned and certified by the "miniſters or comptrollers general, "ſhall be printed and publiſhed at "the commencement of the ſeſſions "of each legiſlature.

"The ſame ſhall be done with the "ſtatements of the receipt of the "different taxes, and all the public "revenues.

"The ſtatements of the expen-"diture and receipts ſhall be diſtin-"guiſhed according to their nature, "and ſhall expreſs the ſums receiv-"ed and expended year by year in "each diſtrict.

"The particular expences for "each department, and thoſe that "relate to the tribunals, the admi-"niſtrative bodies, and other eſtab-"liſhments, ſhall alſo be publiſh-"ed."

IV. The adminiſtrators of department and ſub-adminiſtrators can neither eſtabliſh any public contribution, or make any diſtribution beyond the time and the ſums fixed by the legiſlative body, nor deliberate, or permit, without being authorized by it, any local loan to be charged to the citizens of the department.

V. The executive power directs and ſuperintends the collection and paying

paying in of contributions, and gives the neceſſary orders to this effect.

PART VI.

OF THE CONNECTION OF THE FRENCH NATION WITH FOREIGN NATIONS.

The French nation renounces the undertaking of any war with a view of making conqueſts, and will never employ its forces againſt the liberty of any people.

The conſtitution no longer admits the *droit d'aubaine*.

Foreigners, whether ſettled in France or not, inherit the property of their relations, whether foreigners or Frenchmen. They can contract, acquire, and receive property ſituated in France, and diſpoſe of it, as well as any French citizen, in every mode authoriſed by the laws.

Foreigners in France are ſubject to the ſame criminal laws and regulations of police as French citizens, "with a reſerve for conven-" tions made with foreign powers." Their perſons, effects, induſtry, and religion, are equally protected by the law.

PART VII.

OF THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL DECREES.

I. "The conſtituting national " aſſembly declares, that the nation " has the impreſcriptible right of " changing its conſtitution; and " nevertheleſs, conſidering that it " is more conformable to the nation-" al intereſt to employ only by " means provided in the conſtitution " itſelf the right of reforming thoſe " articles of it, of which experience " ſhall have ſhewn the inconvenien-" ces, decrees, that the proceeding " by an aſſembly of reviſion ſhall " be regulated in the form follow-" ing:

II. "When three ſucceſſive le-" giſlatures ſhall have expreſſed an " uniform wiſh for the change of " any conſtitutional article, the " reviſion demanded ſhall take " place."

III. "The next legiſlature, and " the following, cannot propoſe the " reform of any conſtitutional ar-" ticle."

IV. "Of the three legiſlatures, " who may afterwards propoſe any " changes, the two firſt ſhall only " occupy themſelves on this object " the two laſt months of their laſt " ſeſſion; and the third, at the end " of its firſt annual ſeſſion, or at the " commencement of the ſecond.

"Their deliberations on this ſub-" ject ſhall be conducted with the " ſame forms as their legiſlative " acts; but the decrees by which " they ſhall expreſs their wiſh ſhall " not require the king's ſanction."

V. "The fourth legiſlature, " augmented with two hundred " forty-nine members, choſen in " each department, by doubling the " ordinary number which it furniſh-" es in proportion to its popula-" tion, ſhall form the aſſembly of " reviſion.

"Theſe two hundred forty-nine " members ſhall be choſen after the " nomination of the repreſentatives " to the legiſlative body ſhall be " terminated, and ſeparate minutes " ſhall be made of it.

"The aſſembly of reviſion ſhall " be

" be compoſed only of one cham-
" ber."

VI. " The members of the third legiſlature, which ſhall have " demanded the change, cannot be " choſen to the aſſembly of re-" viſion."

VII. " The members of the aſ-" ſembly of reviſion, after having " all pronounced in a body, the " oath — 'TO LIVE FREE OR " DIE'—*ſhall take individually an* " *oath to confine themſelves to deter-* " *mine on the objects which ſhall have* " *been ſubmitted to them by the uniform* " *wiſh of three preceding legiſlatures*; " *to maintain, beſides, with all their* " *power, the conſtitution of the king-* " *dom, decreed by the conſtituting na-* " *tional aſſembly, during the years* " 1789, 1790, *and* 1791, *and to be* " *in all reſpects faithful to the na-* " *tion, the law, and the king*."

VIII. " The aſſembly of revi-" ſion ſhall be bound then, without " delay, to enter upon the objects " which ſhall have been ſubmitted " to their conſideration. As ſoon " as their labour ſhall be finiſhed, " the two hundred forty-nine mem-" bers named in addition ſhall re-" tire, without being able, in any " caſe, to take part in the legiſla-" tive acts."

The French colonies and poſſeſſions in Aſia, Africa, and America, " though they form part of the " French empire," are not included in the preſent conſtitution.

None of the powers inſtituted by the conſtitution have a right to change it in its form, or in its part; excepting the reforms which may be made by the mode of reviſion, conformable to the regulation of Part VII.

The conſtituting national aſſembly commits the depoſit to the fidelity of the legiſlative body, of the king, and of the judges; to the vigilance of fathers of families, to wives, and to mothers; to the attachment of young citizens; to the courage of all Frenchmen.

With reſpect to the laws made by the national aſſembly, which are not included in the act of conſtitution, thoſe anterior laws, which it has not altered, they ſhall be obſerved, ſo long as they ſhall not be revoked or modified by the legiſlative power.

(Signed) VERNIER, Preſident;

POUGEARD, COUPPE, MAILLY-CHATEAURENAUD, CHAILLON, AUBRY (Biſhop of the department of the Meuſe), DARCHE, Secretaries.

Authentic Copy of the new CONSTITUTION *of* POLAND, *eſtabliſhed on the 3d of* May 1791.

In the Name of God, one in the Holy Trinity!

Staniſlaus Auguſtus, by the grace of God, and the will of the nation, King of Poland, grand duke of Lithuania, Ruſſia, Pruſſia, Maſovia, Samogitia, &c. &c. &c. together with the confederate ſtates aſſembled in double number to repreſent the Poliſh nation.

PERSUADED that our common fate depends entirely upon the eſtabliſhing and rendering perfect a national conſtitution; convinced by a long train of experience of many defects in our government, and willing to profit by the preſent circumſtances of Europe, and by the favourable

vourable moment which has reſtored us to ourſelves; free from the diſgraceful ſhackles of foreign influence; prizing more than life, and every perſonal conſideration, the political exiſtence, external independence, and internal liberty of the nation, whoſe care is entruſted to us; deſirous, moreover, to deſerve the bleſſing and gratitude, not only of our cotemporaries, but alſo of future generations; for the ſake of the public good, for ſecuring our liberty, and maintaining our kingdom and our poſſeſſions; in order to exert our natural rights with zeal and firmneſs, we *do ſolemnly eſtabliſh the preſent conſtitution*, which we declare wholly inviolable in every part, till ſuch period as ſhall be preſcribed by law, when the nation, if it ſhould think fit, and deem it neceſſary, may alter by its expreſs will ſuch articles therein as ſhall be found inadequate. And this preſent conſtitution ſhall be the ſtandard of all laws and ſtatutes for the future diets.

Article I. *The Dominant National Religion.*

The holy Roman-catholic faith, with all its privileges and immunities, ſhall be the dominant national religion. The changing of it for any other perſuaſion is forbidden under the penalties of apoſtacy: but as the ſame holy religion commands us to love our neighbours, we therefore owe to all people of whatever perſuaſion, peace in matters of faith, and the protection of government; conſequently we aſſure, to all perſuaſions and religions, freedom and liberty, according to the laws of the country, and in all dominions of the republic.

Article II. *Nobility, or the Equeſtrian Order.*

Revering the memory of our anceſtors with gratitude, as the firſt founders of our liberties, it is but juſt to acknowledge, in a moſt ſolemn manner, that all the pre-eminence and prerogatives of liberty, both in public and private life, ſhould be inſured to this order; eſpecially laws, ſtatutes, and privileges, granted to this order by Caſimir the Great, Lewis of Hungary, Ladiſlaus Jagellon, and his brother Wittoldus, grand duke of Lithuania; alſo by Ladiſlaus and Caſimirus, both Jagellons; by John Albertus, Alexander, Sigiſmundus the firſt, and Sigiſmundus Auguſtus, (the laſt of the Jagellonic race) are by the preſent act renewed, confirmed, and declared to be inviolable. We acknowledge the rank of the noble Equeſtrian order in Poland to be equal to all degrees of nobility—all perſons of that order to be equal among themſelves, not only in the eligibility to all poſts of honour, truſt, or emolument, but in the enjoyment of all privileges and prerogatives appertaining to the ſaid order: and in particular, we preſerve and guarantee to every individual thereof perſonal liberty and ſecurity of territorial and moveable property, as they were formerly enjoyed; nor ſhall we even ſuffer the leaſt encroachment on either by the ſupreme national power (on which the preſent form of government is eſtabliſhed), under any pretext whatſoever, contrary to private rights, either in part, or in the whole; conſequently we regard the preſervation of perſonal ſecurity and property, as by law aſcertained, to be a tie of ſociety, and the very eſſence of

of civil liberty, which ought to be conſidered and reſpected for ever. It is in this order that we repoſe the defence of our liberties, and the preſent conſtitution: it is to their virtue, valour, honour, and patriotiſm, we recommend its dignity to venerate, and its ſtability to defend, as the only bulwark of our liberty and exiſtence.

Article III. *Towns and Citizens.*

The law made by the preſent diet, entitled, *our royal free towns within the dominions of the republic*, we mean to conſider as a part of the preſent conſtitution; and promiſe to maintain it as a new, additional, true, and effectual ſupport, of our common liberties, and our mutual defence.

Article IV. *Peaſants and Villagers.*

This agricultural claſs of people, the moſt numerous in the nation, conſequently forming the moſt conſiderable part of its force, from whoſe hands flows the ſource of our riches, we receive under the protection of national law and government, from the motives of juſtice, humanity, chriſtianity, and our own intereſt well underſtood: enacting, that whatever liberties, grants, and conventions, between the proprietors and villagers, either individually or collectively, may be allowed in future, and entered authentically into; ſuch agreements, according to their true meaning, ſhall import mutual and reciprocal obligations, binding not only the preſent contracting parties, but even their ſucceſſors by inheritance or acquiſition—ſo far that it ſhall not be in the power of either party to alter at pleaſure ſuch contracts, importing grants on one ſide, and voluntary promiſe of duties, labour, or payments on the other, according to the manner and conditions therein expreſſed, whether they are to laſt perpetually, or for a fixed period. Thus having inſured to the proprietors every advantage they have a right to from their villagers, and willing to encourage moſt effectually the population of our country, *we publiſh and proclaim a perfect and entire liberty to all people*, either who may be newly coming to ſettle, or thoſe who, having emigrated, would return to their native country; and we declare moſt ſolemnly, that any perſon coming into Poland, from whatever part of the world, or returning from abroad, as ſoon as he ſets his foot on the territory of the republic, becomes free and at liberty to exerciſe his induſtry, wherever and in whatever manner he pleaſes, to ſettle either in towns or villages, to farm and rent lands and houſes, on tenures and contracts, for as long a term as may be agreed on; with liberty to remain, or to remove, after having fulfilled the obligations he may have voluntarily entered into.

Article V. *Form of Government, or the Definition of Public Powers.*

All power in civil ſociety ſhould be derived from the will of the people; its end and object being the preſervation and integrity of the ſtate, the civil liberty, and the good order of ſociety, on an equal ſcale, and on a laſting foundation. Three diſtinct powers ſhall compoſe the government of the Poliſh nation, according to the preſent conſtitution; viz.

1ſt. *Legiſlative* power in the ſtates aſſembled.

2d. *Executive* power in the king and the council of inſpection.

3d. *Judicial* power in juriſ-

dictions existing, or to be established.

Article VI. *The Diet, or the Legislative Power.*

The diet, or the assembly of states, shall be divided into two houses; viz. *the house of nuncios*, or deputies, and *the house of senate*, where the king is to preside. The *former*, being the representative and central point of supreme national authority, shall possess the pre-eminence in the legislature; therefore all bills are to be decided first in this house.

1st. *All general laws*, viz. constitutional, civil, criminal, and perpetual taxes; concerning which matters the king is to issue his propositions by the circular letters sent before the dietines to every palatinate and to every district for deliberation, which coming before the house, with the opinion expressed in the instructions given to their representatives, shall be taken the first for decision.

2d. *Particular laws*, viz. temporal taxes; regulations of the mint; contracting public debts; creating nobles, and other casual recompences; reparation of public expences, both ordinary and extraordinary; concerning war; peace; ratification of treaties, both political and commercial; all diplomatic acts and conventions relative to the laws of nations; examining and acquitting different executive departments, and similar subjects arising from the accidental exigencies and circumstances of the state; in which the propositions, coming directly from the throne into the house of nuncios, are to have preference in discussion before the private bills.

In regard to the house of *senate*, it is to consist of bishops, palatines, castellans, and ministers, under the presidency of the king, who shall have but one vote, and the casting voice in case of parity, which he may give either personally, or by a message to the house. Its power and duty shall be,

1st. *Every general law* that passes formally through the house of nuncios is to be sent immediately to this, which is either accepted, or suspended till farther national deliberation, by a majority of votes, as prescribed by law. If accepted, it becomes a law in all its force; if suspended, it shall be resumed at the next diet; and if it is then agreed to again by the house of nuncios, the senate must submit to it.

2d. *Every particular law* or statute of the diet in matters above specified, as soon as it has been determined by the house of nuncios, and sent up to the senate, the votes of both houses shall be jointly computed, and the majority, as described by law, shall be considered as a decree and the will of the nation.

Those senators and ministers who, from their share in executive power, are accountable to the republic, cannot have an active voice in the diet, but may be present in order to give necessary explanations to the states.

These ordinary legislative diets shall have their uninterrupted existence, and be always *ready* to meet; renewable every two years. The length of sessions shall be determined by the law concerning diets. If convened out of ordinary session, upon some urgent occasion, they shall only deliberate on the subject which occasioned such a call, or on circumstances which may arise out of it.

No

No law or ſtatute enacted by ſuch ordinary diet can be altered or annulled by the ſame.

The compliment of the diet ſhall be compoſed of the number of perſons in both houſes, to be determined hereafter.

The law concerning the dietines, or primary elections, as eſtabliſhed by the preſent diet, ſhall be regarded as a moſt eſſential foundation of civil liberty.

The majority of votes ſhall decide every thing, and every where; therefore we aboliſh, and utterly annihilate, *liberum veto*, all ſorts of confederacies and confederate diets, as contrary to the ſpirit of the preſent conſtitution, as undermining the government, and as being ruinous to ſociety.

Willing to prevent, on one hand, violent and frequent changes in the national conſtitution, yet conſidering, on the other, the neceſſity of perfecting it, after experiencing its effects on public proſperity, we determine the period of every twenty-five years for an *extraordinary conſtitutional diet*, to be held purpoſely for the reviſion and ſuch alterations of the conſtitution as may be found requiſite; which diet ſhall be circumſcribed by a ſeparate law hereafter.

Article VII. *The King, or Executive Power.*

The moſt perfect government cannot exiſt or laſt without an effectual executive power. The happineſs of the nation depends on juſt laws, but the good effects of laws flow only from their execution. Experience has taught us that the neglecting this eſſential part of government has overwhelmed Poland with diſaſters.

Having, therefore, ſecured to the free Poliſh nation the right of enacting laws for themſelves, the ſupreme inſpection over the executive power, and the choice of their magiſtrates, *we entruſt to the king, and his council, the higheſt power of executing the laws.*

This council ſhall be called *Straz*, or the council of inſpection.

The duty of ſuch *executive power* ſhall be to watch over the laws, and to ſee them ſtrictly executed according to their import, even by the means of public force, ſhould it be neceſſary.

All departments and magiſtracies are bound to obey its directions. To this power we leave the right of controlling ſuch as are refractory, or of puniſhing ſuch as are negligent in the execution of their reſpective offices.

This executive power cannot aſſume the right of making laws, or of their interpretation. It is expreſsly forbidden to contract public debts; to alter the repartition of the national income, as fixed by the diet; to declare war; to conclude definitively any treaty, or any diplomatic act; it is only allowed to carry on negociations with foreign courts, and facilitate temporary occurrences, always with reference to the diet.

The crown of Poland we declare to be *elective* in regard to families, and it is ſettled ſo for ever.

Having experienced the fatal effects of interregna, periodically ſubverting government; and being deſirous of preventing for ever all foreign influence, as well as of inſuring to every citizen a perfect tranquillity, we have, from prudent motives, *reſolved* to adopt *hereditary ſucceſſion* to our throne: therefore we enact and declare, that, after the expira-

tion of our life, according to the gracious will of the Almighty, the preſent elector of Saxony ſhall reign over Poland.

The dynaſty of future kings of Poland ſhall begin in the perſon of Frederic Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, with the right of inheritance to the crown to his male deſcendants. The eldeſt ſon of the reigning king is to ſucceed his father; and in caſe the preſent elector of Saxony has no male iſſue, a huſband choſen by him (with the conſent and approbation of the republic) for his daughter, ſhall begin the ſaid dynaſty. Hence we declare the princeſs Mary-Auguſta Nepomucena, only daughter of the elector of Saxony, to be *Infanta* of Poland.

We reſerve to the nation, however, the right of electing to the throne any other houſe or family, after the extinction of the firſt.

Every king, on his acceſſion to the throne, ſhall take a ſolemn oath to God and the nation, to ſupport the preſent conſtitution, to fulfil the *pacta conventa*, which will be ſettled with the preſent elector of Saxony, as appointed to the crown, and which ſhall bind him in the ſame manner as former ones.

The king's perſon is ſacred and inviolable; as no act can proceed immediately from him, he cannot be in any manner reſponſible to the nation; he is not an abſolute monarch, but the father and the head of the people; his revenues, as fixed by the *pacta conventa*, ſhall be ſacredly preſerved. All public acts, the acts of magiſtracies, and the coin of the kingdom, ſhall bear his name.

The king, who ought to poſſeſs every power of doing good, ſhall have the right of pardoning thoſe that are condemned to death, except the crimes be againſt the ſtate.

In time of war he ſhall have the ſupreme command of the national forces—he may appoint the commanders of the army, however, by the will of the ſtates. It ſhall be his province to patentee officers in the army, and other dignitaries, conſonant to the regulations hereafter to be expreſſed, to appoint biſhops, ſenators, and miniſters, as members of the executive power.

The king's council of inſpection is to conſiſt,

1ſt. Of the primate, as the head of the clergy, and the preſident of the commiſſion of education, or the firſt biſhop in ordine.

2d. Of five miniſters, viz. the miniſter of police, miniſter of juſtice, miniſter of war, miniſter of finances, and miniſter for the foreign affairs.

3d. Of two ſecretaries to keep the protocols, one for the council, another for the foreign department; both, however, without deciſive vote.

The hereditary prince coming of age, and having taken the oath to preſerve the conſtitution, may aſſiſt at all ſeſſions of the council, but ſhall have no vote therein.

The marſhal of the diet, being choſen for two years, has alſo a right to ſit in this council, without taking any ſhare in its reſolves; for the end only to call together the diet, always exiſting, in the following caſe: ſhould he deem, from the emergencies hereunder ſpecified, the convocation of the diet abſolutely neceſſary, and the king refuſing to do it, the marſhal is bound to iſſue his circular

cular letters to all nuncios and ſenators, adducing real motives for ſuch meeting.

The caſes demanding ſuch convocation of the diet are the following:

1ſt. In a preſſing neceſſity concerning the law of nations, and particularly in caſe of a neighbouring war.

2d. In caſe of an internal commotion, menacing with the revolution of the country, or of a colliſion between magiſtratures.

3d. In an evident danger of general famine.

4th. In the orphan ſtate of the country by demiſe of the king, or in caſe of the king's dangerous illneſs.

All the reſolutions of the council of inſpection are to be examined by the rules above mentioned.

The king's opinion, after that of every member in the council has been heard, ſhall deciſively prevail.

Every reſolution of this council ſhall be iſſued under the king's ſignature, counterſigned by one of the miniſters ſitting therein; and, thus ſigned, ſhall be obeyed by all executive departments, except in caſes expreſsly exempted by the preſent conſtitution.

Should all the members refuſe their counterſign to any reſolution, the king is obliged to forego his opinion; but if he ſhould perſiſt in it, the marſhal of the diet may demand the convocation of the diet; and if the king will not, the marſhal himſelf ſhall ſend his circular letters as above.

Miniſters compoſing this council cannot be employed at the ſame time in any other commiſſion or department.

If it ſhould happen that two-thirds of ſecret votes in both houſes demand the changing of any perſon, either in the council, or any executive department, the king is bound to nominate another.

Willing that the council of inſpection ſhould be reſponſible to the nation for their actions, we decree that, when theſe miniſters are denounced and accuſed before the diet (by the ſpecial committee appointed for examining their proceedings) of any tranſgreſſion of poſitive law, they are anſwerable with their perſons and fortunes.

Such impeachments, being determined by a ſimple majority of votes, collected jointly from both houſes, ſhall be tried immediately by the comitial tribunal, where the accuſed are to receive their final judgment and puniſhment, if found guilty; or to be honourably acquitted, on ſufficient proof of innocence.

In order to form a neceſſary organization of the executive power, we eſtabliſh hereby ſeparate commiſſions, connected with the above council, and ſubjected to obey its ordinations.

Theſe commiſſions are, 1ſt, of education; 2d, of police; 3d, of war; 4th, of treaſury.

It is through the medium of theſe four departments that all the particular *orderly* commiſſions, as eſtabliſhed by the preſent diet, in every palatinate and diſtrict, ſhall depend on, and receive all orders from, the council of inſpection, in their reſpective duties and occurrences.

Article VIII. *Judicial Power.*

As judicial power is incompatible with the legiſlative, nor can be adminiſtered by the king, therefore tribunals and magiſtratures ought to

be eſtabliſhed and elected. It ought to have local exiſtence, that every citizen ſhould know where to ſeek juſtice, and every tranſgreſſor can diſcern the hand of national government. We eſtabliſh, therefore,

1ſt. Primary courts of juſtice for each palatinate and diſtrict, compoſed of judges choſen at the dietine, which are always to be ready to adminiſter juſtice. From theſe courts appeals are allowed to the high tribunals, erected one for each of three provinces, into which the kingdom is divided. Thoſe courts, both primary and final, ſhall be for the claſs of nobles, or equeſtrian order, and all the proprietors of landed property.

2dly. We determine ſeparate courts and juriſdictions for the free royal towns, according to the law fixed by the preſent diet.

3dly. Each province ſhall have a court of referendaries for the trial of cauſes relating to the peaſantry, who are all hereby declared *free*, and in the ſame manner as thoſe who were ſo before.

4thly. Courts, curial and aſſeſſorial, tribunals for Courland, and relational, are hereby confirmed.

5thly. Executive commiſſions ſhall have judicial power in the matters relative to their adminiſtration.

6thly. Beſides all theſe civil and criminal courts, there ſhall be one ſupreme general tribunal for all the claſſes, called a comitial tribunal, or court compoſed of perſons choſen at the opening of every diet. This tribunal is to try all the perſons accuſed of crimes againſt the ſtate.

Laſtly, we ſhall appoint a committee for the forming a civil and criminal code of laws, by perſons whom the diet ſhall elect for that purpoſe.

Article IX. *Regency.*

The ſame council of inſpection is to compoſe the regency, with the queen at their head, or, in her abſence, with the primate of the kingdom. The regency may take place only,

1ſt. During the king's minority.

2d. In caſe of the king's ſettled alienation of reaſon.

3d. In caſe of the king's being made a priſoner of war.

Minority is to be conſidered till eighteen years are completed; and the malady muſt be declared in the exiſting diet by the plurality of three-fourths of votes of both combined houſes againſt one-fourth.

When the king comes of age, or recovers his health, or returns from captivity, the regency ſhall ceaſe, and ſhall be accountable to him, and reſponſible to the nation in their perſons and fortunes, for their actions during their office.

Article X. *Education of Kings Children.*

The king's ſons being deſigned ſucceſſors to the crown, are the firſt children of the country. Thence the care of their proper education, without encroaching, however, on the right of their parents, devolves naturally upon the nation.

During the king's life, the king himſelf, with the council, and a tutor, appointed by the ſtates, ſhall ſuperintend the education of the princes.

In time of a regency, it ſhall be intruſted with this direction, jointly with the above-mentioned tutor.

§ In

In both cases this tutor, named by the states, is to make his report before each ordinary diet of the education and progress of the princes. The commission, or board of education, is obliged to bring before the diet, for their approbation, an instruction or plan for the education of the princes, founded on religion, love of virtue, of country, of liberty, and the constitution.

Article XI. *National Force, or the Army.*

The nation is bound to preserve its possessions against invasion; therefore all inhabitants are natural defenders of their country and its liberties.

The army is only an extract of defensive regular force, from the general mass of national strength.

The nation owes to the army reward and respect, because of its devoting itself wholly for the defence of the country.

The army owes to the nation, to guard the frontiers against enemies, and to maintain public tranquillity within: in a word, it ought to be the strongest shield in the nation.

That these ends may be fully answered, the army should ever remain under the subordination and obedience to the executive power; it shall therefore take an oath, according to law, of fidelity to the nation, and to the king, and to maintain the national constitution. This national force, therefore, shall be employed for the general defence of the country, for garrisoning fortresses, guarding frontiers, and assisting the civil power in the execution of the law against those that are refractory.

DECLARATION OF THE STATES ASSEMBLED.

All laws and statutes, old and new, contrary to the present constitution, or to any part thereof, are hereby abolished; and every paragraph in the foregoing articles, to be a competent part of the present constitution is acknowledged. We recommend to the executive power to see the council of inspection immediately begin its office under the eye of the diet, and continue its duties without the least interruption.

We swear before God and the country to maintain and defend, with all possible human power, the present constitution; and considering this oath as a proof of real love of our country, we command all magistrates and troops here present to take it immediately. The commission of war shall issue orders to the rest of the army, quartered in the kingdom, and in the grand dutchy of Lithuania, to do the same within one month at farthest from the date of the present law.

We recommend to our bishops to appoint one and the same day of public thanksgiving to God Almighty, in all churches over the kingdom; also, we appoint a day, *N. N.* for the solemn celebrating, by us and our posterity, of a commemoration anniversary for the mercies of the Supreme Being shewn to us after so many public calamities.

And that future ages may know and feel that it is by the assistance of the Supreme Disposer of nations we have surmounted the greatest difficulties and obstacles, and effected this happy Revolution, we decree, that a church shall be erected and consecrated to Divine Providence in memory of this event, and at the expence of the states.

Having

Having thus ſatisfied our general feelings on this event, we turn our attention towards ſecuring the ſame conſtitution, by declaring and enacting, that *whoever* ſhould dare to oppoſe it, or to diſturb the public tranquillity, either by exciting miſtruſt, or by perverſe interpretation of this conſtitution, and much more by forming inſurrections and confederacies, either openly or ſecretly, ſuch perſon or perſons are declared to be *enemies and traitors to their country*, and ſhall be puniſhed as ſuch with the utmoſt rigour by the comitial tribunal. For this purpoſe we order this tribunal to ſit uninterruptedly at Warſaw, proroguing their ſeſſions from day to day, and to try all perſons ſo accuſed by any citizen of property, with the aſſiſtance of the attornies general of Poland and Lithuania, ſeizing all indicted perſons, with the aid of the national troops, which ſhall be ready to act on the firſt order from the executive power as they ſhall be directed, and occaſion may require.

Law concerning Dietines, or primary Aſſemblies of Poland.

Section I. *Place for Dietines.*

1ſt. FOR each dietine, a *certain town*; and in ſuch town, a *fixed place* for the meeting of the aſſembly, ſhall be for ever aſcertained.

2d. Theſe conſtitutional towns and places for holding dietines ſhall be ſpecified at the end of this law.

3d. In caſe of any ſuch town or place being deſtroyed by fire, or other accident, the *orderly commiſſion* *, within whoſe juriſdiction it ſhould lay, ſhall give notice of it to the *council of inſpection*, propoſing at the ſame time the moſt convenient place in lieu thereof; and the council is to appoint it, and to make it public by iſſuing *royal circular letters*.

4th. Such ſubſtitute places are only to ſerve for a time, till the original ones are rebuilt and repaired; and as ſoon as they are put in good order, the orderly commiſſion ſhall acquaint the council of inſpection therewith, which is to direct, by the like circular letters, the return of dietines to their primitive conſtitutional ſpot.

5th. There ſhall be placed in the middle of the hall, or room, deſigned for the aſſembly, a table, around which is to be formed a circle of principal men of the palatinate, or diſtrict, whom we may call a *committee of the county*, or *grand committee*.

6th. It belongs to orderly commiſſions to prepare every accommodation for the aſſembly, viz. balloting-box, balls, &c.; for which neceſſary, but moderate, expences ſhall be either proportionably aſſeſſed, or paid by the voluntary contribution of inhabitants.

* *Orderly commiſſions* are newly inſtituted: each palatinate and diſtrict chuſes a certain number of commiſſaries; their office laſts two years; their principal duty is to maintain police and good order in their diſtrict; to put into execution decrees and regulations of ſupreme departments; to collect taxes; to keep caſh; to make ſuch payments as aſſigned by the commiſſion of finances; to protect citizens from the military oppreſſion; to furniſh recruits; beſides many other duties of internal management.

Section

Section II. *Time of Dietines.*

1ſt. Every two years dietines are to meet for the *election of nuncios*, or repreſentatives of the diet, and of the commiſſaries of orderly commiſſions.

2d. Every one year they ſhall be held for *electing deputies* to the high tribunal, and for regulating internal *economical concerns* of the diſtrict.

3d. As the repreſentatives are accountable to their conſtituents, dietines for receiving their reports, after every *ordinary diet*, are fixed on the following day, after the election of deputies and the economical affairs are ſettled.

4th. After every *extraordinary ſeſſion* of the already-exiſting diet, convened by the council of inſpection, or, in certain caſes, by the marſhal of the diet, theſe *dietines of report* ſhall be held at the end of eight weeks, unleſs the ordinary dietine happens ſooner. If, however, the ordinary period of the dietines of report falls in with the extraordinary ſeſſion of the diet, the nuncios are to make their report at the firſt dietine on their return.

5th. Whenever any vacancy happens in the elective office, it is to be filled up at the firſt meeting of the dietine.

6th. Dietines are to meet always on the day fixed by law, even if no writ or circular letters are iſſued for that purpoſe.

Section III. *Concerning the Time of Seſſions of Dietines.*

1ſt. Seſſions ſhall begin every day at nine o'clock in the morning.

2d. On the day of opening of the dietine the preſident ſhall order all the bells of the town to be rung at half paſt eight, and to continue till nine; during which time a maſs ſhall be celebrated before the aſſembly.

3d. The ſeſſion is to laſt till three o'clock in the afternoon, unleſs it be unanimouſly agreed on to prorogue it ſooner: it may, however, continue longer, if the polling be not ended at three.

4th. Seſſion can only be prorogued till next day. In caſe of a holiday, it ſhall be reſumed after the church ſervice.

Section IV. *Concerning Perſons having Right to vote.*

All nobles of the equeſtrian order are entitled to vote in their reſpective palatinates and diſtricts:

1ſt. All hereditary proprietors of landed property, or poſſeſſed of eſtates by adjudication for a debt, paying territorial tax to government: ſons alſo of ſuch proprietors, during the life of their parents, before the ex-diviſion of patrimony.

2d. Brothers, inheriting eſtates, before they have ſhared their ſucceſſion.

3d. All mortgagees who pay one hundred florins (fifty ſhillings) of territorial tax per year from their poſſeſſions.

4th. All life-holders of lands paying territorial tax to the ſame amount.

5th. All nobles in the army, poſſeſſed of ſuch qualifying eſtates, have a vote in their reſpective diſtricts in time of peace, and properly furloughed by their commanders.

6th. Legal poſſeſſion is underſtood to be qualifying, when it has been formerly acquired and actually enjoyed for twelve calendar months previouſly.

Section

Section V. *Concerning those that have no Right to vote.*

1ſt. Thoſe of the equeſtrian order that are not actually poſſeſſed of a property, as deſcribed in the foregoing article.

2d. Such as hold royal, eccleſiaſtical, or noble lands, even with right of inheritance, but on condition of ſome duty or payment to their principals, conſequently dependent thereon.

3d. Gentry poſſeſſing eſtates on feudal tenure, called *Ordynackie*, as being bound to certain perſonal ſervice thereby.

4th. All renters of eſtates that have no other qualifying property.

5th. Thoſe that have not accompliſhed eighteen years of age.

6th. *Crimine notati*, and thoſe that are under a decree paſſed in default, even in the firſt inſtance, for having diſobeyed any judicial court.

Section VI. *Of thoſe that are eligible.*

1ſt. Every perſon of the equeſtrian order that pays territorial tax to government for his freehold, let it be ever ſo ſmall, is eligible to all elective offices in his reſpective diſtrict.

2d. Gentlemen actually ſerving in the army, even poſſeſſed of landed hereditary eſtate, muſt have ſerved ſix complete years before they are eligible to the office of a nuncio only. But this condition is diſpenſed with in favour of thoſe that have filled before ſome public function.

Section VII. *Of thoſe that are* NOT *eligible.*

1ſt. Whoever is not perſonally preſent at the dietine.

2d. Whoever has not completed twenty-three years of age.

3d. Whoever has not been in any public function, nor paſſed the biennial office of a commiſſary in the orderly commiſſion.

4th. Thoſe that are not exempted by law from obligations of *ſcarta bellatus*, which ſubjects all newly-nobilitated perſons to certain civil reſtrictions until the next generation.

5th. And, laſtly, all thoſe againſt whom may be objected a decree *in contumaciam* in a civil cauſe.

Section VIII. *The Manner of offering oneſelf for a Candidate.*

Any perſon deſirous of being choſen for any public function, is allowed either to declare his intention before the chancery of the county before the dietine, or at the dietine to tender the ſame to the preſident in writing. Electors, however, are at liberty to propoſe and chuſe even thoſe that have not offered themſelves, by either of the above modes, for candidates.

Section IX. *Regulations for beginning Dietines.*

1ſt. A day before the time fixed by law for the dietines, the troops of the republic, quartered in the town where they are to be held, ſhall withdraw, and not return there till they are over. This rule, however, does not extend to the royal reſidence, fortreſſes of the republic, or detachments aſſigned to wait on high tribunals.

2d. The circle that ſurrounds the table placed in the middle of the aſſembly room, or the *committee of the county*, ſhall be compoſed of ſenators, dignitaries, ſtate and local civil officers, commiſſaries of orderly commiſſion,

miſſion, nuncios, and tribunal deputies that have already ended their functions, and military ſtaff officers, to the major incluſively.

3d. Either firſt ſenator in rank, or, in his abſence, firſt dignitary, ſhall open the meeting as a preſident; in abſence of both, firſt local civil officer of the diſtrict, or the firſt inorder of the commiſſaries of orderly commiſſion, and ſo on through all different members of the committee. In caſe there ſhould be none preſent of the above dignified perſons, the oldeſt in the aſſembly ſhall be their preſident.

4th. If any of the above-mentioned officers, being preſent at the dietine, ſhould refuſe accepting of the preſidency, or ſhould be himſelf a candidate for the office to be filled, then the next to him in rotation is to preſide in his room at the aſſembly.

5th. The circle being formed round the table, and the preſident having opened the meeting, ſhall order to be read, loudly and audibly, the whole tenor of the preſent law concerning dietines.

6th. Orderly commiſſion of the diſtrict ſhall deliver to the preſident the *county book*, containing the liſt of all qualified voters, as regulated by a ſeparate article.

7th. Then the notary of the chancery ſhall return to the preſident the names of ſuch candidates as inſcribed themſelves at this office: and in this ſtage, thoſe that have not made previouſly their declarations before the chancery may ſignify their intention in writing to the preſident.

8th. After which the preſident ſhall proclaim the names of candidates.

Section X. *Qualification of the County Committee, and the Candidates.*

1ſt. The foregoing preliminary ceremonies of the dietine being ſettled, if any body has an objection to make againſt the preſident, or any member of the committee, or any of the candidates, he is to deliver it to the preſident in writing.

2d. In caſe the preſident himſelf ſhould lay under an objection, he is to quit his place to the next in order till the objection is decided.

3d. The preſident, together with the members of the committee (except thoſe that are objected to and the candidates), are to try and determine the merit of objections according to the rules laid down by the preſent law, either unanimouſly, or by majority of *ſecret votes*, taken by ballot.

Section XI. *Concerning the Election of the Marſhal of Dietines, and the Aſſeſſors in Poland; and of the Aſſeſſors only in Lithuania.*

1ſt. Having thus cleared and decided all objections againſt the committee and the candidates, the preſident is to propoſe immediately the election of the marſhal of the dietine and ſix aſſeſſors, in Poland, who form a ſub-committee for managing the election buſineſs at the dietine.

2d. In the province of Lithuania the preſident of the aſſembly ſhall be alſo the marſhal of the dietine. His obligations are the ſame, in every point, as thoſe of a marſhal of dietines in Poland.

3d. The marſhal of the dietine in Lithuania, thus becoming the preſident, ſhall immediately, after all the objections are removed, proceed to an election of ſix aſſeſſors.

4th. In

4th. In *Poland*, both marſhal of the dietines and the ſix aſſeſſors; in *Lithunania* the aſſeſſors ſhall be choſen out of the number of the committee, excepting ſenators and candidates.

5th. Proceedings at theſe elections in Poland are as follow: An urn ſhall be placed on the table, wherein the preſident ſhall put as many balls, of equal ſize (but ſeven of them of a different colour), as there are eligible perſons in the committee of the county. This urn, having an aperture at the top, is to be covered with cloth: the preſident then reads the names in order of all eligible perſons, and a child draws out of the urn a ball againſt each name. White balls are reckoned negatives; the firſt coloured drawn falls for the marſhal of the dietine, and the remaining ſix for the aſſeſſors, who are to take their ſeats in the ſame order as they were drawn.

6th. The ſame mode of proceeding is to be obſerved in Lithuania for the choice of ſix aſſeſſors; with this difference only, that the preſident, being *ipſo facto* already marſhal of the dietine, needs not to be put on the liſt of eligible perſons: conſequently only ſix coloured balls are to be thrown into the urn: whereof the firſt drawn ſhall deſign the firſt aſſeſſor.

7th. The marſhal of the dietine and the aſſeſſors in Poland, likewiſe the aſſeſſors in Lithuania, ſhall take their oaths before the preſident, as preſcribed hereunder. But the marſhal of the dietine in Lithuania, being preſident at the ſame time, ſhall take his oath before the next member to him.

8th. Thus elected and ſworn in, marſhal and aſſeſſors are to fulfil all duties of their office in that and ſubſequent dietines according to law.

9th. In caſe of the marſhal's indiſpoſition, or refuſing to perform his obligations as preſcribed by law, the firſt aſſeſſor is to take his place.

Section XII. *The Method of Proceeding at an Election.*

1ſt. Before the opening of the buſineſs of election, the marſhal of the dietine ſhall order to be read aloud the circular letter, propoſitions, and projects, ſent down by the king and the council of inſpection for their deliberation.

2d. All voters divided into pariſhes, except thoſe that are of the grand committee, are to be arranged around the ſaid committee by the local inferior officers.

3d. Any of the candidates giving up his pretenſion, is obliged to declare the ſame in writing to the marſhal of the dietine: but it ſhall not be in his power to recede from it after the election has begun by voting.

4th. The marſhal of the dietine ſhall read the liſt of candidates for the function or office which is the object of election, mentioning thoſe that have either legally been ſtruck out, or renounced voluntarily in form.

5th. Having read this liſt of remaining candidates, the marſhal ſhall repeat ſingly the name of each, and aſk thrice the conſent of the aſſembly. When an unanimity appears in favour of ſuch candidate, the marſhal and the aſſeſſors ſhall immediately certify it by their ſignature. But ſhould there be one diſſentient vote, declared in writing to the marſhal, he is bound to proceed directly to polling

polling for all the candidates, by *ſecret votes*, as regulated by the next article.

Section XIII. *Mode and Order of voting* per Vota Secreta, *or by Ballot.*

1ſt. Near the table of the committee, juſt by the marſhal of the dietine, ſhall be placed the balloting box.

2d. This box ſhall have an inſide partition; one part of it is to be painted *black*, with the inſcription *negative*; and the other painted *white*, with the word *affirmative*. In front of this box there ſhall be two locked doors to each partition. At the top, a convenient opening for putting in a hand, and throwing a ball on either ſide of the partition, ſhall be left. The inſide of the box is to be lined with cloth.

3d. All balls for balloting are to be of the ſame equal ſize, form, and colour; their number ſhall be ſufficient for the number of voters in that diſtrict.

4th. The balloting box is to be publicly ſhewn that it is empty, and then locked. One key is to remain with the marſhal of the dietine, the other with the laſt aſſeſſor.

5th. The candidates are propoſed for balloting in the following order: The names of all candidates, being written on ſeparate and uniform cards, are thrown into the urn covered with cloth: a child is to draw one card at a time, and to deliver it to the marſhal, who ſhall proclaim the name of the candidate ſo drawn out; and having given his vote, ſhall invite to ballot one after another; firſt the aſſeſſors, next the members of the committee at the table, then all the electors, giving each one ball as he comes to vote.

6th. When the members round the table have done voting, one of the aſſeſſors ſhall open the book of the palatinate, or diſtrict, containing the authentic liſt of voters, and read in regular order of pariſhes the names of each elector, whilſt another of the aſſeſſors is giving the ball to the perſon approaching the box. At the ſame time, other aſſeſſors ſhall write down on a ſheet of paper the names of voters in the ſame order as they are called on.

7th. If any one of the voters, being called by the aſſeſſor, do not anſwer and appear in their place to ballot, he loſes his right of voting after in that election for that candidate.

8th. In the courſe of balloting, if the right of voting is controverted to any of the electors, the marſhal of the dietine, with the aſſeſſors, ſhall immediately decide the queſtion, according to the fifth article, ſpecifying thoſe that have no right to vote.

9th. The objection of want of property, or of its inadequate amount, as preſcribed by law, ſhall be determined by the proofs taken from the county book.

10th. After all the electors have voted for one candidate, the marſhal, with the aſſeſſors, are to count ſeparately the *affirmative* balls, and afterwards the *negative*, and to write down their exact number under the name of each candidate.

11th. One candidate being thus diſpatched, a child ſhall draw out of the urn the name of another. The marſhal having declared the ſecond candidate, ſhall proceed to vote, and collect ſuch votes of the aſſembly in the ſame manner as above, repeating the ſame formalities in reſpect to each candidate.

12th. Balloting being begun for one

one candidate, is to continue without interruption; nor is the ſeſſion to be prorogued before it is entirely finiſhed.

13th. When the balloting for each candidate is over, the marſhal of the dietine and the aſſeſſors ſhall make out the liſt of votes for every candidate, according to their reſpective majority. Such liſt, being ſigned by the marſhal and the aſſeſſors, ſhall be read audibly, and the ſucceſsful candidates declared in the ſame order of precedency as they ſtand in the different numbers of votes, beginning from the higheſt, and ending with the loweſt, till the number of perſons requiſite for each elective office is completed.

14th. In caſe of *parity* of votes between two or more candidates, it is to be reſolved in the following manner:

15th. The marſhal ſhall put the names of candidates, having equal number of votes, on ſeparate cards of the ſame ſize, and throw them into the urn, covered as before. A child is to draw out ſingly each name; and in the ſame order as they are drawn, their precedence ſhall be placed, and affirmed by the ſignature of the marſhal and the aſſeſſors. This rule is to be obſerved ſucceſſively in all elective offices.

16th. After this reſolution of *parity*, the marſhal and the aſſeſſors ſhall finally ſign and publiſh the liſt of the elected perſons.

17th. Each candidate may be preſent at the voting, to be witneſs himſelf of the fairneſs of all proceedings.

18th. No candidate is allowed to transfer his votes in favour of another.

19th. This method and order of elections ſhall be ſtrictly obſerved at all elective dietines for all public functions, offices, and places.

20th. As a document to the elected perſons ſhall be given a *laudum*, or *diploma*, ſigned by the marſhal and the aſſeſſors, to be inſerted in the records of the reſpective chancery. The act of election of nuncios, and their inſtructions, ſhall be contained in the ſame diploma. The elected perſons are to be placed in the diploma according to the ſeniority of their offices and dignities.

21ſt. The liſts of all the electors that have voted at the dietine, which was written by the aſſeſſors during the election, being ſigned by the marſhal and the aſſeſſors, ſhall be depoſited in the chancery.

22d. Elected deputies, civil officers, and the commiſſaries of orderly commiſſions, ſhall immediately be ſworn in, according to the *formula* preſcribed by law.

Section XIV. *Concerning Inſtructions.*

1ſt. During the buſineſs of election, the preſident who opened the meeting, with the reſt of the committee, except thoſe who are aſſeſſors, ſhall prepare inſtructions for procedure.

2d. Thus aſſembled, perſons are to examine propoſitions intimated by the king and the council of inſpection, and projects relating to legiſlature; alſo particular projects and wiſhes, formed either by the orderly commiſſion, or any individual of their reſpective palatinate or diſtrict.

3d. All *particular projects*, either from the orderly commiſſions, or from individuals, are to be preſented to the preſident immediately after the

the election of the marſhal of the dietine and the aſſeſſors in Poland, and, after that, of the aſſeſſors in Lithuania, under their own ſignature, as on the following day no project for inſtructions can be received.

4th. After the election of nuncios is determined, the projects for inſtructions are to be ready before the aſſembly. In caſe any part thereof ſhould not meet with unanimous conſent, the marſhal of the dietine and the aſſeſſor ſhall form a diſtinct propoſition or queſtion for the opinion of the aſſembly.

5th. In order to come at the ſenſe of the aſſembly on it, the marſhal ſhall divide them into *ayes* and *noes*; and, after counting each ſide, with the aſſiſtance of the aſſeſſors, ſhall declare the majority. But inſtructions are never to be decided by ſecret votes or ballot.

6th. In regard to the propoſitions ſent by the king and the council of inſpections, inſtructions ſhall be worded thus: "Our nuncios ſhall "vote *affirmative* to the article *N*;" or, "Our nuncios ſhall vote *negative* to the article *N*,"—in caſe it is found contrary to the opinion of the dietine: and ſhould any amendment or addition be deemed neceſſary, and agreed on, it may be inſerted in the inſtructions at the end of the relative propoſition.

Section XV. *Oeconomical Dietines.*

1ſt. The object and the buſineſs of theſe dietines are to conſult about the particular concerns of the palatinate or diſtricts; and having determined any point, it ſhall be recommended to the orderly commiſſion to prepare projects for inſtructions relative thereto.

2d. On every meeting of theſe dietines, the orderly commiſſion ſhall account for the funds entruſted to them for the particular purpoſes of the palatinate or diſtrict.

Section XVI. *Dietines of Report (Relationis.)*

1ſt. At the meeting of the dietines the nuncios are bound to appear before their conſtituents, and to bring their report of the whole proceedings of the diet; firſt, reſpecting the acts of legiſlature; next, with reſpect to the particular projects of their palatinate or diſtrict, recommended to them by the inſtructions.

2d. It is at theſe dietines that nuncios, after they have rendered to their conſtituents a clear account of their proceedings and of the diet, may be either confirmed or changed, and new ones elected in their ſtead till the general election for the following ordinary diet.

3d. New nuncios are choſen.—1ſt. In the room of the deceaſed. 2d. In the room of thoſe that are become ſenators, or miniſters of ſtate. 3d. In caſe of reſignation. 4th. In the room of ſuch as are diſqualified by the diet. 5th. When any of the aſſembly deſires a new election, to ſubſtitute another nuncio in the room of another expreſsly pointed out; which requeſt muſt be made in writing, ſigned by twelve members beſides, and be delivered to the marſhal of the dietine.

4th. Thoſe nuncios that will no longer remain in their functions, ſhall preſent their declaration in writing, to the marſhal of the dietine.

5th. If none of the caſes ſtated in the third paragraph of this article

happen to occaſion a vacancy among the nuncios, and no demand of a new election for a ſubſtitute be made in the regular and legal way, the marſhal and the aſſeſſors ſhall indorſe on the diploma, or laudum, the act of confirmation.

6th. Whenever a vacancy of nuncios ſhould happen by either accident ſpecified above, the marſhal of the dietine ſhall declare ſuch vacancy, and immediately proceed to a new election.

7th. But in caſe a new election ſhould be moved for by any perſon, and ſeconded by twelve others conſonantly to the above-mentioned paragraph, either in the room of one, or of all former nuncios, the marſhal of the dietine is to read the name of the nuncio objected to, and to make the following propoſition: "Shall the nuncio *N* be confirmed "in his function? or ſhall there "be a new election made in his "ſtead?" The opinion of the meeting being taken by a diviſion, the majority ſhall decide the queſtion, and be declared by the marſhal. If the majority approves the conduct of the nuncio, the marſhal and the aſſeſſors ſhall certify this confirmation on the diploma; and in caſe of diſapprobation, the marſhal ſhall declare the vacancy, and begin the form of a new election.

8th. In this manner ſhall be performed either confirmation of each nuncio ſeparately, or a new election decided.

9th. The mode of propoſing oneſelf for a candidate, and proceedings of elections by ballot, are to be equally adhered to at the dietines of report, as are preſcribed by the preſent law for all elective functions and other offices.

Section XVII. *Concerning the Invalidity of Dietines in toto, or in part.*

1ſt. Dietines are null and of no effect: 1ſt. When they are held in any other town and place but ſuch as are appointed by law as conſtitutional, according to the tenor of the firſt article. 2d. If they are preſided by any other perſon than thoſe that are legally impowered by the preſent law for being preſidents. 3d. Every dietine where the marſhal and the aſſeſſors are not legally choſen. 4th. When the voting by ballot is refuſed, notwithſtanding the requeſt being formally made and preſented to the marſhal.

2d. Dietines are void in part whenever a perſon, having no requiſite qualification, ſhould offer himſelf as a candidate for any elective office, and be choſen.

Section XVIII. *Puniſhments for the Tranſgreſſors againſt Dietines.*

1ſt. All tranſgreſſions which invalidate the whole dietine in the election of nuncios ſhall be tried and decided by the diet. With reſpect to other elective functions, offices, and places, their trial ſhall belong to the high tribunal of the reſpective province. In order to prove the nullity of the dietine, the accuſer is to ſummon the guilty of any tranſgreſſion to this court, which is bound to judge definitively ſuch cauſes before any other in the provinces of Poland from the regiſter *Directi Mandati*, and in Lithuania from the regiſter *Officy*.

2d. For all tranſgreſſions annihilating dietines in *toto*, we decree the following penalties: The *principals* are to be impriſoned for half a year

a year *in fundo* *, and to be for ever deprived of the active right of a citizen. The accomplices are to be sentenced to a prison *above ground* †, and to be suspended from the active right for a certain time, according to the degree of guilt.

3d. If president, marshal, or assessors, transgress the obligations prescribed to them by the present law, each of them shall be punished by the high tribunal with twelve weeks imprisonment above ground, and 2,000 florins for the informer.

4th. Besides, we decree the primary terrestrial court, in every palatinate and district wherein the offence shall be committed, for trying transgressors from the register, "*Termini tacti*," (with liberty of appeal to the high tribunal) and punishment as follows:—1st. Whoever brings with him soldiers, or any armed band, and violates the peace of the dietine, shall be punished with half a year's imprisonment *in fundo*, and the loss of active right for ever. 2d. Whoever brings only with him any armed attendants during the meeting of dietines, shall be condemned to half a year's imprisonment above ground, and pay 6,000 florins to the informer. 3d. Whoever, in time and place of dietines, draws out, with an offensive design, his sword or sabre, even without hurting any person, shall be punished with twelve weeks imprisonment above ground, and 2,000 florins for the informer: and in case of any person being wounded, both the person wounding, if not in his own defence, and the person first drawing out the sabre, are to be capitally punished. 4th. Whoever should bring to a constitutional place of dietines, citizens that have no vote, either from his own, or from other districts, and thereby disturb the public tranquillity and order of the meeting, whether by threats or facts; both the principals and the accomplices shall be sentenced to half a year's imprisonment above ground, and 6,000 florins for the informer. This punishment is to extend to each person separately. 5th. Whoever, having no right to vote, or to the eligibility for functions and offices, should pretend forcibly either to vote, or set up for a candidate, shall be subject to six weeks imprisonment above ground. 6th. Whoever comes to the meeting with fire-arms shall be punished with twelve weeks imprisonment *in fundo*. 7th. Both buying votes and the selling are to be deprived of the right of activity for ever.

5th. The informer or the accuser bringing an action against the transgressors at the dietine, must have legal property in the district where the crime is committed, and have a sufficient responsibility equal to those penalties which are to ensue for the offence he is accused of: he is obliged to make his declaration or manifesto before the court,

* A well under ground, two or three fathoms deep, six feet square.

† These two kinds of prisons, or ratner voluntary confinements in obedience to decrees, are designed for the members of the equestrian order only, without any civil or military guard over them, with liberty to the civil prisoner *above ground*, to walk within the rules; but if any one trespasses the limits, he is to begin anew the term of his confinement; and if he escapes, he is to be outlawed.

ſigned, beſides himſelf, by twelve perſons of credit and property preſent at the dietine: an accuſer, unable to prove the offence, ſhall be puniſhed in the ſame manner as the accuſed would be, if convicted, and is to pay beſides all coſts of ſuit to the perſon innocently accuſed.

Section XIX.

It ſhall not be in the power of dietines to lay any taxes on the inhabitants of the diſtrict under any pretence. This law, however, ſhall not prevent voluntary contributions.

Section XX.

The order of dietines, with every regulation thereof, as defined by the preſent law, is to ſerve for the only rule of their proceedings; and all former cuſtoms and practices, not included herein, are entirely aboliſhed and annulled.

Section XXI. *Formula of the Oath for the Marſhal of the Dietine and the Aſſeſſors.*

I, *N. N.* ſwear before the God Almighty, one in the Holy Trinity, that I ſhall fulfil my office according to law and juſtice in every part, as if the whole of my duty was verbally inſerted in this oath, without being influenced to the contrary, either by fear or hope, either friendſhip or revenge, either gift or promiſe, ſo help me God, and his holy paſſion. Amen.

Law concerning Towns and Citizens within the Dominions of the Republic.

Section I. *Of Towns in general.*

1ſt. ALL our *royal towns* within the dominions of the republic we acknowledge and declare to be *free*.

2d. We recognize as *freemen* all the inhabitants of ſuch towns. Their houſes, lands, villages, and territories, as they are now belonging to, and poſſeſſed by them, to be their perpetual property, without prejudicing, however, controverted rights and depending law-ſuits concerning the ſame.

3d. To ſuch towns whoſe original *charters* are loſt, on proving their pre-exiſtence, we ſhall iſſue our royal *diploma* of *renovationis*, with a freſh grant of territory as legally belonging unto them.

4th. If the towns named for conſtitutional places of dietines have no *charters*, we ſhall grant them new ones.

5th. When a ſettlement of freemen on the royal eſtates, favoured by a happy ſituation, proſpers ſo far as to form a town, we ſhall iſſue our *diploma erectionis*, or the original charter, with a perpetual grant of proper territory to it.

6th. It ſhall be permitted to any hereditary proprietor to build and erect towns on his eſtate, compoſed either of freemen, or of his own emancipated villagers, and to grant them a *particular charter*. But ſuch towns cannot be ranked among the *free ones* until the proprietor grants them in perpetuity a ſufficient territory, and applies to us for the *diploma confirmationis*, wherein the original charter is to be inſerted.

7th. One and the ſame law being made for all towns, it follows, that every citizen of every town ſhall equally enjoy all rights and privileges in common with the reſt.

8th. All inhabitants of towns, either of the equeſtrian order, or citizens by birth, having their freeholds therein, and willing to carry on any trade in *retail*, muſt accede and be ſubject to the municipal laws; others

others of the equeſtrian order are at liberty to inſcribe themſelves on the town-book, and receive the right of citizens.

9th. The mode of acquiring the right of a citizen is this: The perſon deſirous of obtaining it in any town, ſhall appear in perſon, or apply by his attorney to the magiſtrate, and make the following declaration:— "I, *N. N.* promiſe allegiance and "fidelity to his majeſty the king "and to the republic, obedience to "the laws and ſtatutes of the diet, "ſubmiſſion to the magiſtrates of "this town, *N.* whereof I wiſh to "become a fellow citizen; and, as "ſuch, I ſhall fulfil all obligation "which I accept in my name, and "that of my ſucceſſors." In conſequence of this declaration, perſons names ſhall be inſerted into the town-book of citizens.

10th. Magiſtrates cannot refuſe the right of citizenſhip to any foreigner, artiſt, or manufacturer, of character and good behaviour. In a word, *all Chriſtians*, freemen, independent of any perſon, may become citizens without any fee or expence.

11th. Neither admiſſion into the claſs of citizens living in towns, and filling therein municipal offices, nor carrying on commerce, manufactures, and trade, either wholeſale or retail, ſhall by any means be prejudicial to the rights, privileges, and prerogatives, attached and inherent to the equeſtrian order, either of thoſe that are originally of that claſs, or of thoſe that are admitted to it, of citizens, or of their poſterity.

12th. A free choice of all magiſtrates and officers of towns, by their own citizens, being the eſſence of liberty, it is declared hereby to be inherently their right: every town beſides is allowed to make ſuch internal regulations for itſelf, and to put them into execution, with reference, however, to the commiſſion of police.

13th. Therefore all citizens inſcribed on the town-book, and poſſeſſed of freeholds or hereditary property therein, have a right of voting, and are eligible, by a majority of votes, to magiſtracies and other municipal offices. Perſons, however, filling any executive office in the palatinate or diſtrict, cannot be elected as plenipotentiaries for towns, under the penalty of loſing both offices. Military officers are likewiſe excluded from the eligibility to all municipal functions.

Section II. *Rights and Prerogatives of Citizens.*

1ſt. That cardinal law, "*Ne-minem captivabimus niſi jure victum*," we extend to all perſons as citizens eſtabliſhed in towns, except fraudulent bankrupts, unable to give proper bails, and ſeized on commiſſion of a flagrant recent crime.

2d. Such towns as are appointed for holding courts of appeal, ſhall chuſe each of them one plenipotentiary, by a majority of votes, out of their own citizens, or out of other towns, who have hereditary property therein, well qualified for a public function, have ſerved ſome municipal offices, neither *crimine notati*, nor being under a decree paſſed *in contumaciam*, at a meeting before each ordinary diet. Theſe plenipotentiaries are to aſſemble in a place where the diet is to be holden, and on the day of its opening to produce before the marſhal of the diet their credentials. Out of their number, in the provincial

ſeſſions, ſhall be choſen commiſſaries or aſſeſſors, and diſtributed for the commiſſions of treaſury, police, and the aſſeſſorial court. Although all of them may aſſiſt at the above commiſſions, no more, however, than two for each province, in the departments of treaſury and police, and three for each province in the aſſeſſorial court, ſhall have an active place.

Such commiſſaries and aſſeſſors ſhall have a *deciſive vote* in matters relating to trade and commerce, and to towns; but on all other ſubjects they can only give their *conſultive vote*, or advice and opinion. Theſe plenipotentiaries may be confirmed and continued by their conſtituents for the ſpace of another two years. In regulating public expences, we ſhall aſſign a certain penſion out of the treaſury for the ſupport of theſe commiſſaries.

3d. In order to extend protection of government to all our towns, and to ſhow our juſt regard for their welfare, we grant to their commiſſaries and aſſeſſors admitted already to the above commiſſions, full liberty to make repreſentations to the diet concerning the intereſts of towns, by demanding of the marſhal leave to ſpeak, which cannot be refuſed to them in the manner uſed by the delegates of various departments when they make their reports, or by petitions expreſſing the wiſhes of any town.

4th. Theſe plenipotentiaries having accompliſhed two years of their public function in the above commiſſions, ſhall be ennobled at the firſt diet, without any fee or ſtamp-tax for their *diploma nobilitatis*, in caſe they are not out of the equeſtrian order.

5th. It is allowed to all citizens to buy landed eſtates, with an hereditary right of enjoying and leaving them to their heirs and poſterity, as well as of holding eſtates by adjudication for debts; but on account of ſuch territorial poſſeſſions, they are amenable to courts of the palatinate or diſtrict where this property is ſituated.

6th. Whenever any of the citizens buy a whole village or borough of an hereditary nature that pays at leaſt 200 florins of territorial tax, he may, if he ſhould wiſh it, preſent his petition to the marſhal of the firſt diet, in order to obtain nobility thereon, which ſhall be granted to him accordingly.

7th. Beſides the above-named perſons, thirty citizens, who are poſſeſſed in any town of an hereditary property, ſhall be admitted into the equeſtrian order at every ordinary diet, having principal regard for thoſe that have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the military ſervice, or ſat in orderly commiſſions; that have eſtabliſhed any manufactory, or have carried on extenſive commerce with country productions; for which they muſt have ſufficient teſtimonies, and recommendations of the nuncios, and of their reſpective towns.

8th. It is permitted to all citizens to ſerve in the *army* in any regiment or *pulk* (except the national cavalry) and to advance therein regularly to the rank of officers. When any of them arrive at the poſt of a ſtaff-captain, or captain of a company, either of foot or horſe, he ſhall become *ipſo facto* ennobled, and likewiſe his poſterity; in conſequence we ſhall grant him *diploma nobilitatis*, on his producing the patent,

tent, without any fee or ſtamp-tax.

9th. The ſame claſs of citizens is allowed to follow the *profeſſion of law* in all courts, departments, and tribunals, and may advance gradually in that line according to merit and capacity. When any of them arrives to the rank of a regent or recorder, he ſhall be ennobled at the firſt diet, and the *diploma nobilitatis* iſſued by us gratis.

10th. In the *church* the citizens have the following privileges: They may be prelates, canons, and prebendaries, in the *collegiates*; in the *cathedrals* they may poſſeſs doctoral canonries; they may enjoy both *ſecular* and *regular* benifices, except ſuch as are eſtabliſhed by their founders expreſsly and excluſively for the nobles of the equeſtrian order.

11th. In every orderly commiſſion of palatinates and diſtricts three citizens are to be placed as commiſſaries choſen out of towns lying within their juriſdiction, whether they be of the equeſtrian order, or only citizens, but poſſeſſed of an hereditary property in ſuch towns.

12th. As to our cities, *Dantzig* and *Thorn*, when they ſhould have any requeſt or petition to preſent to the ſtates, they may do it either *by their ſecretaries* reſiding at Warſaw applying to the marſhal of the diet, or by their *delegates*, who are to aſk leave to ſpeak at the diet in order to repreſent their buſineſs; which leave ſhall not be denied to them.

13th. To prevent fraudulent qualifications by lending *pro tempore* a certain property for the purpoſe of a vote, we enact the following penalty: Whoever grants any eſtate for the ſake of a vote, and takes a reverſional promiſe to get it returned after the election, he ſhall forfeit it for ever in behalf of any perſon who will prove it before any court; and if the perſon in whoſe favour this fictitious grant or ſale of qualification ſhould be made declares it before the court of the diſtrict, he ſhall have ſuch property adjudged to him without appeal.

14th. All former laws and ſtatutes contrary to the preſent conſtitution concerning towns are entirely hereby aboliſhed, and the preſent is declared to be a cardinal conſtitutional law in favour of towns and citizens.

Section III. *Of Juſtice for the Citizens.*

1ſt. Having determined certain boundaries and proper limits of the juriſdiction of towns, we exempt them and their ſuburbs from all former authorities to which they were ſubject, without prejudicing, however, the pending law-ſuits which are now in the way of being finally decided by the ſupreme tribunals. As far as it concerns the power of the grand marſhal in our reſidential town, it ſhall be aſcertained by the regulation of his department.

2d. All private juriſdictions formerly exerciſed, either by the clergy or laity, over certain parts of any town ſituated within the territories granted by the original charters, ſhall now ceaſe, and be transferred to their proper magiſtrates, ſo far as they concern judicial power and the police, without infringing the right of property, and the revenues of their legal proprietor.

3d. If the towns or citizens are poſſeſſed of eſtates out of their limits, they are ſubject to local juriſdictions of the diſtrict wherein ſuch ſtates are ſituated.

4th. All inhabitants of towns eſtabliſhed therein, and carrying on commerce, trade, traffic, or any buſineſs and profeſſion whatſoever, are ſubject to the authority of magiſtrates, and ſhall bear, in juſt proportion, all taxes, without any exception or diſtinction.

5th. Every town ſhall have a judicial magiſtrate, where all *civil cauſes*, not ſurpaſſing 300 florins in the firſt inſtance, and all *criminal cauſes*, which may only be puniſhed with three days impriſonment, ſhall be finally decided without any appeal; but in caſes of a higher importance, the appeal to a higher court ſhall be allowed.

6th. For ſuch *courts of appeal* we appoint ſeven principal towns in each of the three provinces, or one-and-twenty in all, making as many diviſions, and each of them ſhall have its extent and boundaries ſpecified.

7th. In each of theſe towns where the *court of appeal* is fixed, five perſons ſhall compoſe this court, being choſen every two years either out of the equeſtrian order, or out of citizens or property, of their diviſion at large; with this clauſe only, that if any of the inferior magiſtrates of a particular town ſhould be choſen to the court of appeal, he cannot ſit any longer in the inferior one until his office in the court of appeal is expired.

8th. This *court of appeal* is to try and decide finally all cauſes coming from inferior magiſtrates and towns ſituated within its diviſion. The extent of power of this court is aſcertained to lay in caſes between 300 and 3,000 florins, and between three days and three weeks impriſonment: in all other ſuits and actions happening before the primary magiſtrates, where the value is above 3,000 florins, or the puniſhment of priſon above three weeks, the appeal lays no longer to theſe *courts of appeal*, but to the ſupreme court of aſſeſſorial commiſſion.

9th. The primary courts of magiſtrates in each particular town ſhall have no power of trying *criminal cauſes*, but they are to refer them to the *court of appeal*, which has only a right to puniſh, without any appeal, by the impriſonment for a certain limited time.

Whenever the priſoner is condemned either to death or impriſonment for life, the court of appeal ſhall make the report of the trial and the ſentence to our *aſſeſſorial commiſſion*, in order to be examined and reviſed; after which, ſhould the decree be confirmed by this commiſſion, then the ſentence ſhall be put into execution, and not before.

The ſame aſſeſſorial commiſſion has the right to ſuperintend all magiſtrates of towns in their judicial conduct, to puniſh tranſgreſſors, try cauſes concerning rents and revenues in towns, &c.

10th. All towns, in regard to their internal regulation and government, their general municipal revenues, and their management, are put under the control and ſupreme inſpection of the *commiſſion of police*.

FINANCE REPORT,

Preſented to the Houſe of Commons, May 10, 1791.

Report from the SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to examine and ſtate the ſeveral Accounts and

and other Papers, preſented to the Houſe in this Seſſion of Parliament, relating to the PUBLIC INCOME and EXPENDITURE; and to report to the Houſe what has been the whole Amount of the Public Income and Expenditure during the laſt Five Years, and what may be expected to be the Annual Amount thereof in future; and alſo what Alteration has taken place in the Amount of the Public Debt, ſince the 5th Day of January, 1786.

YOUR Committee have proceeded to conſider the matter referred to them, under the ſeveral heads of Income, Expenditure, and National Debt, and have thought it right to ſtate ſeparately, under each of theſe heads, the reſult of their inquiries, as it applies either to the laſt five years, or to the expectations which may be formed for the future.

I. *INCOME.*

PAST INCOME. PERMANENT TAXES.

§ 1. The net produce of the different branches of the ordinary revenue (excluſive of land and malt) for each of the five years, from the 6th of January 1786 to the 5th of January 1791, both incluſive, appears to have been,

1786 -	£. 11,867,055*
1787 -	12,923,134
1788 -	13,007,642
1789 -	13,433,068
1790 -	14,072,978

§ 2. Your committee, obſerving that the report of the former committee, in 1786, has been referred to them, have thought it their duty, in conſidering the paſt income of the country, to compare the expectations then formed with the actual produce of the taxes upon which they were grounded.

The committee of 1786 proceeded upon a ſuppoſition that the permanent taxes then ſubſiſting were likely to produce annually

£. 12,797,471

It appears, that thoſe taxes, according to the beſt information which your committee have been able to collect, have produced,

In 1786	£. 11,836,531
1787 -	12,754,795
1788 -	12,812,952
1789 -	13,209,871
1790 -	13,782,393
Making, upon an average - -	£. 12,879,308

It is to be obſerved, that an alteration was made in the horſe tax, in the ſeſſion of 1786, by which perſons of certain deſcriptions were exempted from it; and that, in conſequence, the aſſeſſment, which in the year ending the 5th day of April 1787, was 133,087 l. in the ſubſequent year fell to 101,284 l. The accounts from the tax office calculate the diminution, by comparing the aſſeſſment of 1786 with that of 1789, and make it amount to 37,687 l. Some allowance ought evidently to be made for this circumſtance, in comparing the produce of the four laſt years with the expectations of the former committee. But, as a ſmall part of this decreaſe may be ſuppoſed to have ariſen, either from the operation of the tax in reducing the number of horſes, or from the increaſe of eva-

* After deducting 522,500 l. of reſpited duties paid by the Eaſt India company.

ſions, which, from information given to your committee, have been conſiderable, they have not thought proper to ſtate any particular ſum on this account.

Some farther allowance ought to be made on account of a tax upon linens and ſtuffs, impoſed in 1784, which produced, in 1785, 27,655 l. and which was alſo a part of the income upon which that committee grounded their expectations. This tax was repealed in 1785; and the *ad valorem* duty, which was impoſed in that year to replace it, having proved unproductive, was alſo repealed by the Conſolidation act in 1787.

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§ 3. It appears that the committee of 1786, in addition to their calculation of the general produce of the permanent taxes, had made a particular eſtimate of what might be expected to be raiſed by certain duties, the future annual produce of which they conſidered as likely to be different from their actual amount in the year immediately preceding.

Theſe duties were expected to produce annually £. 2,107,186

And have produced, upon an average - - £. 2,122,600

Notwithſtanding the diminution of the horſe tax.

ANNUAL TAXES.

§ 4. Your committee have hitherto confined themſelves, in their ſtatements, to the permanent taxes.

With reſpect to thoſe which are annually granted, the land tax, after deducting all the charges previous to its coming into the exchequer, except the payments on account of the militia, was calculated at - - - £. 1,967,650

This eſtimate was formed upon the average produce of the aids for the ſeven years from 1776 to 1782, both incluſive, upon which the payments were ſuppoſed to be complete at the period to which the accounts before that committee referred. It appears, however, that, ſubſequent to this period, a ſum of 34,106 l. was received on account of the aids for the ſaid ſeven years, which would have made an addition of 4,872 l. to the average ſtated by them, and would have raiſed their calculation to - £. 1,972,522

From the manner in which this duty is collected, the accounts of the payments of the aids granted for the ſervice of the years 1789 and 1790, cannot yet be made up, and there are ſtill ſome ſmall arrears on the aids of 1787 and 1788. Your committee, however, think it right to obſerve, that the ſum charged annually upon the country on account of the land tax, is exactly the ſame, and is ſubject to no other deductions (except the payments for the militia) than what ariſe from the poundage, which is alſo invariable, and from ſome other ſmall charges, the fluctuations of which do not appear to have been ſuch as to deſerve particular notice. Whatever, therefore, may be the accidental variations in the times of payment, the real produce on account of each year muſt ultimately prove nearly the ſame. If your committee had taken it at the full amount of the aſſeſſment, deducting only the poundage and the above charges, upon an average of the years 1786, 1787, and 1788, the reſult would have been - £. 1,973,651

But, allowing a ſmall ſum for any caſual loſs, it may be ſtated at - - - £. 1,972,000

The

The malt tax was eſtimated at - - - £. 632,350

The accounts of the actual produce of the ſeveral annual malt taxes appear complete only for the years 1786, 1787, and 1788.

The average produce paid into the exchequer, of the aids granted for the ſervice of thoſe years, has been - - - £. 597,171

FUTURE INCOME. PERMANENT TAXES.

§ 5. Your committee proceeded to conſider what may be expected to be the future income of the country. And, in order to eſtimate the produce of the permanent taxes, they have not thought it neceſſary to go back to a more diſtant period than three years. The ſucceſſive alterations which have taken place in various branches of the revenue, the material changes ariſing from the Conſolidation act, and from the commercial treaty with France, and the particular circumſtances attending the preceding years, ſeem to make a more remote retroſpect inapplicable to this view of the ſubject.

The produce of the permanent taxes, from the 6th day of January 1788 to the 5th day of January 1791, both incluſive, appears to have been,

In 1788	-	£. 13,007,642
1789	- -	13,433,068
1790	- -	14,072,978

Making a total of £. 40,513,688

Your committee, however, think it neceſſary to remark, that the account for the year ending the 5th day of January 1790 includes fifty-three days of weekly payment upon the letter money; that the account for the next year includes the ſame number of days of weekly payment upon the cuſtoms, exciſe, ſtamps, and ſalt; and that the amount of the payment upon all thoſe articles together, on the 4th and 5th days of January 1791, has been - - - £. 193,657

As this circumſtance muſt recur rather oftener than in the proportion of once in every ſix years, if the above total had been formed upon the produce of ſix years, it would not have been neceſſary to make any deduction upon this account. But that total having been formed (for the reaſons already ſtated) upon the produce of three years only, half the amount of that weekly payment, being a ſum of 96,828l. muſt be deducted, and would leave - £. 40,416,860

The average of thoſe three years would then be - £. 13,472,286

It is alſo to be obſerved, on the other hand, that, in order to form as accurate a calculation as poſſible, ſome addition ought to be allowed for beyond this average, on account of whatever may be the exceſs of the taxes impoſed in 1789, above what may be ſufficient to replace the ſhop tax, which was repealed in that year.

It appears, that the actual receipt on account of thoſe taxes, cannot be accurately aſcertained; but if a calculation were to be formed, by deducting from the produce of the three laſt years what was received on account of the ſhop tax, and what is calculated to have been received on account of the duties impoſed in 1789, and by ſubſtituting in each year what may be expected as the future produce of the laſt-mentioned duties, the reſult would be an addition to the average of between

between 20,000l. and 30,000l. But, from the ſhortneſs of the period ſince they were impoſed, the ſeveral accounts from the ſtamp and tax offices do not appear ſufficiently clear and diſtinct, to enable your committee to ſtate any preciſe ſum upon this account.

A ſimilar obſervation ariſes from the increaſe of the revenue upon the article of tobacco, ſince it has been put under the management of the exciſe; and though your committee are here alſo unwilling to hazard any particular calculation, it may be ſuppoſed, from the papers referred to, that if this regulation, which took place only in October 1789, had exiſted during the whole of the three years, it would have added a conſiderable ſum to the average above ſtated.

ANNUAL TAXES. LAND TAX.

In conſidering what is to be taken on account of the land tax, your committee have adopted the eſtimate already mentioned, for the reaſons there given, and ſtate it at - - £.1,972,000

MALT DUTY.

The produce of the duty on malt, not being, like that of the land tax, uniform in its amount, can only be eſtimated from ſome former average. If this eſtimate were formed from its produce in 1786, 1787, and 1788, the reſult would be - £.597,171

But as the reaſons which led the committee to confine their conſideration of the permanent taxes to three years, do not apply to this, it may be proper to include a greater number of years in the average; eſpecially as the produce of this duty depends ſo much on the variations of the ſeaſons. If taken upon an average of the laſt complete five years, included in the account given in, it would amount to about - - £.586,000

The total average ariſing from the permanent taxes, and the annual duties upon land and malt, excluſive of any additional allowance for the taxes impoſed in 1789, or for the increaſe upon tobacco, would be, upon the above eſtimate,

Permanent taxes	£.13,472,286
Land tax -	1,972,000
Malt duty - -	586,000
	£.16,030,286

§ 6. Your committee are ſenſible, that any eſtimate which can be formed of the future produce of a revenue, ariſing from ſo great a number of articles, and neceſſarily varying with the fluctuations of an extenſive commerce, muſt be liable in its nature to uncertainty. They think it right, however, to remark, that the average on which they have grounded their expectations, is formed upon a revenue which has been annually increaſing*; and that a conſiderable proportion of this increaſe (as appears from the papers referred to) has taken place

* Permanent taxes, and land and malt, without any deduction on account of the fifty-third weekly payment.

5 years average — —	£.15,618,775
4 years — — —	15,917,205
3 years — — —	16,062,562
2 years — — —	16,311,023
Laſt year's income —	16,630,978

upon

upon articles of general consumption; and particularly upon those to which the attention of parliament has lately been directed.

EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES.

§ 7. Your committee, having stated all that they think necessary to observe relative to the past or future produce both of the permanent taxes, and of those which, though annually voted, form a part of the ordinary income of the country, have judged it proper, before they proceed to the other branches of their inquiry, to take notice of such extraordinary resources, exclusive of money raised by loans, as have arisen during the period referred to them.

There appears to have been applied to the public service,

From respited duties paid in by the East-India company	£. 522,500
From arrears of aids of land tax granted prior to 1786	131,467
Ditto malt, ditto - -	14,875
From sums remaining in the exchequer on the 5th day of January 1786 - -	1,172,119
From impreſt monies, and monies repaid - -	820,165
From money repaid on account of an advance for foreign secret service - - -	34,000
From sale of French prizes -	3,000
From army savings, and Chelsea pensioners - -	1,091,147
And from profit on the annual lottery - - -	£. 1,212,692

From the nature of the articles which have composed these extraordinary aids, it is evidently impossible to form any estimate of what farther receipt may be expected under such of those heads as can recur in future.

The repayment of impreſt and other monies may still be supposed to yield some additional sums; but as these principally arise from the settlement of accounts for monies issued during the last war, this resource cannot be relied on for any length of time; and even while it lasts must be expected to become every year less productive.

The extent of the resource of a lottery (which has become within these few years an object of increased importance) necessarily depends upon circumstances, which make it impossible to form any certain estimate of the profit to be expected from it: but there is no apparent reason to imagine, that, as long as parliament thinks proper to avail itself of this mode of raising money, it may not continue to furnish as large a sum in time of peace as it has lately produced.—No notice is here taken of army savings, as they are allowed for, to a certain extent, in the army estimates.

II. *EXPENDITURE.*

PAST EXPENDITURE.

§ 1. The total expence incurred in the last five years, under the heads of —interest and charges of the national debt—interest of exchequer bills—civil list—charges on the aggregate and consolidated funds—navy—army—ordnance—militia—miscellaneous services—and appropriated duties—appears to have been *,

* The expence of the armament of the year 1790, being a part of the charge of the year 1791, and having been separately provided for by parliament, is not here included.

The grants on this account, as far as they appear in the papers referred to, under the heads of—navy—army—and ordnance, have been - £. 2,821,000.

For

For the year 1786 £. 15,720,543
1787 - 15,620,783
1788 - 15,800,796
1789 - 16,030,204 *
1790 - 15,912,597 *

§ 2. No preciſe eſtimate having been formed by the committee of 1786 of what might be expected to be the total expence of all thoſe ſervices previous to a permanent peace eſtabliſhment, it is impoſſible to draw the ſame kind of compariſon as to the expenditure, which your committee have attempted to do as to the income.

FUTURE EXPENDITURE.

§ 3. The next object pointed out for their inquiry, was the probable future expenditure, which they have ſtated in the ſame order.

The annual intereſt and other charges payable upon the public debts, as they ſtood on the 5th day of January 1791, including the intereſt on the ſtock which has been purchaſed by the commiſſioners, was - - - £. 9,289,110

From this is to be deducted 14,000l. being the intereſt of the ſhort annuities granted in 1789, becauſe the fund from whence this intereſt is paid does not appear as part of the income - £. 14,000

There muſt be added, on the other hand, the intereſt on the tontine loan. It appears that, on the 5th of April 1791, 21,431l. was ſet apart in the exchequer to pay half a year's intereſt on that loan, but that the future annuity cannot be aſcertained with perfect accuracy. Taking, however, the whole year's intereſt according to this proportion, it would ſtand at - £. 42,862

The whole amount of the intereſt and charges would then be £. 9,317,972

§ 4. Your committee called upon the lords commiſſioners of his majeſty's treaſury for an eſtimate of the expence likely to be annually incurred under the head of exchequer bills, upon the land tax, the malt duty, and the ſupplies. The future charge upon this article is ſtated by them at - - £. 260,000

§ 5. The ſum charged upon the conſolidated fund, for the ſupport of his majeſty's houſehold, is £. 898,000; and, together with 2,000l. which is paid by the alienation office, before the neat produce of that revenue is paid into the exchequer, forms the whole of the civil liſt.

§ 6. The remaining charges upon this fund in the laſt year (excluſive of 4,000l. paid to his late royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland) appear to have been £. 105,385

§ 7. Your committee called upon the different offices for eſtimates of the future annual expence of the navy, army, and ordnance; and, according to the ſtatements received from them, it is calculated to be as follows, ſubject to the obſervations ſubjoined to thoſe eſtimates.

For the navy £. 2,000,000
For the army - 1,748,842
For the ordnance - 375,000

§ 8 The annual charge of the militia, during the only three years ſince the reductions in that branch

* Excluſive of the militia.

of

of the national ſervice for which the accounts are yet made up, appears to have been, upon an average, £.93,110

But, by an eſtimate delivered in for the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, it is ſtated at - £.95,311

§ 9. The expected expence upon the articles uſually included under the head of miſcellaneous ſervices, is ſtated according to the eſtimate received from the lords commiſſioners of his majeſty's treaſury, and amounts to - - - - £.128,416

§ 10. The amount of the taxes which ſtill remain appropriated for particular purpoſes, not included under any of the preceding heads of charge, appears to have been, upon the average of the three laſt years - - - £.40,252

§ 11. The ſum directed to be iſſued in each year, to the commiſſioners for the reduction of the national debt, is - - £.1,000,000

The total of the ſums above ſtated is - - £.15,969,178

§ 12. It does not appear to your committee, that it falls within their province to conſider what other extraordinary expences, not included in any eſtimate before them, may occur in a courſe of years, as the nature and extent of ſuch ſervices depend upon circumſtances which cannot be foreſeen, and muſt be decided upon, by the wiſdom of parliament, as the occaſions ariſe.

The only article of this nature which has been brought diſtinctly under the view of your committee, is the amount of the money remaining due upon the principal and intereſt of the American and Eaſt-Florida claims, which has been directed by parliament to be paid by inſtallments.

The principal appears to have amounted, on the 10th of October 1790, to the ſum of £.1,546,062, excluſive of the intereſt payable half-yearly upon ſuch part of it as remains undiſcharged, and excluſive of ſuch further annual payments as are made for the temporary ſupport and penſions of American loyaliſts, the preſent amount of which appears to be - - - £.54,211

As, however, in the eſtimate of the income of the country, no credit is taken for any aid from a lottery, or from any incidental payments, thoſe additional reſources may be conſidered as applicable towards defraying this and other charges of the like deſcription.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

§ 13. Your committee have hitherto ſtated the reſult of their examination reſpecting the paſt and future income and expenditure, conſidering them in the ſame view, and arranging them under the ſame heads, as the former committee. Theſe heads appear to comprehend all the articles which are neceſſary to be included on each ſide of the account in that view of the ſubject.

But in order to aſcertain, with as much preciſion as they were able, the means by which the whole amount of the public expence, during the laſt five years, has been defrayed, they have thought it neceſſary to conſider the income and expenditure of that period in another point of view, for the purpoſe of forming ſuch a comparative ſtate-

ſtatement of their total amount as may render the account as diſtinct as poſſible, according to the ſeveral heads of ſervice under which money is iſſued from the exchequer.

The total produce of the permanent taxes, for the five years, has been - - £.65,303,877

There was received from the Eaſt-India company in 1786, on account of duties due before that time, the payment of which had been poſtponed - £.522,500

The whole ſum of 2,750,000 l. raiſed upon the credit of the land and malt-tax acts, is actually received from the bank in each year. Exchequer bills to this amount are made out, and depoſited from time to time with the bank; and the ſum by which the produce of thoſe duties paid into the exchequer, up to the time of ſettling the reſpective accounts with the bank, falls ſhort of repaying both the principal and intereſt of ſuch exchequer bills, is paid over at ſuch time to the bank, and is annually ſtated as an article of expenditure, under the head of deficiency of land and malt. It will be inſerted as ſuch on the other ſide of the account now to be formed; and it is evident, therefore, that in this view of the ſubject, the full ſum ſo raiſed muſt be taken as a part of the receipt for the laſt five years - £.13,750,000

Arrears of land-tax - 171,166

Arrears of malt-duty - 16,489

Theſe are ſums received at the exchequer ſubſequent to the period at which the reſpective accounts were cloſed with the bank, and the balance paid, and therefore form a part of the public income, in addition to the whole annual ſum of - - £.2,750,000

The whole ſum raiſed by way of lottery is placed upon this ſide of the account; the amount of the prizes, and of the charges of management, being ſtated as an article of expenditure - £.3,758,724

Impreſt monies, and monies repaid - 820,165

It appeared, upon examination, that the whole of the ſums contained in the papers referred to under this head were applied to the public ſervice of the years in queſtion, either by ſpecific votes, or by being carried to the conſolidated fund, except 100,000 l. paid by the Eaſt-India company in part of the 400,000 l. voted for the ſupply of 1781, and 5,000 l. which belonged to the civil liſt. The remainder, after deducting both theſe ſums, forms the total above ſtated.

Monies in the exchequer on the 5th of January 1786 - - £.1,172,119, which were applied to the public ſervice in that and the ſubſequent year, as appears by the explanation ſubjoined to the account referred to.

It appears further, that there have been applied, as part of the ways and means, during this period, the following ſums:

Ariſing from army ſavings, £.	1,091,147
Raiſed by way of tontine	1,002,140
Raiſed by granting ſhort annuities - -	187,000
Re-payment in part of a loan for foreign ſecret ſervice - -	34,000
Ariſing from the ſale of French prizes - -	3,000
The total amount of the receipts appears to have been -	£.87,832,327

It is to be obſerved, that the annual exchequer bills, furniſhing in the ways and means exactly the ſame

ſame ſum by which they increaſe the charge on the ſupply, are omitted on both ſides of the account.

The firſt great article of expenditure, is the intereſt and charges of the public debt; and it appears that there has been iſſued from the exchequer, during the laſt five years, under that head, the ſum of - - - £.46,187,010

The charges upon the aggregate and conſolidated funds have been, on account of the civil liſt £. 4,481,000

And upon ſundry other accounts 474,751

The ſums granted by parliament (excluſive of the armament of 1790) for the ſervice of the navy, have been - - £. 11,649,539

Of the army - 9,639,626

And of the ordnance 2,308,344

The expences incurred under the name of miſcellaneous ſervices include a variety of articles of different deſcriptions, and among them ſome of thoſe which have been already ſtated as appearing on both ſides of the account; your committee, therefore, have thought proper to diſtinguiſh them under ſeveral heads.

It has been already obſerved, that the deficiencies of land and malt are annually ſtated as articles of expenditure, and would be inſerted on this ſide of the account; and the manner in which they ariſe has been ſufficiently explained. It muſt, however, farther be remarked, that the ways and means are uſually opened to parliament, and the committee of ſupply cloſed, ſome months before the accounts with the bank, relative to the exchequer bills iſſued upon the credit of thoſe duties are actually ſettled. This deficiency, therefore, is then only ſtated upon calculation; and, as its real amount, whatever it may prove, muſt be paid out of the ſupplies of the current year, it follows, that if it ſhould turn out more than the calculation, it would be one cauſe of a deficiency in the whole of the grants for that year. If it ſhould be leſs, it would either occaſion a ſurplus of thoſe grants, or diminiſh by ſo much any deficiency which might ariſe from other cauſes.

The ſum ſtated by your committee is not the eſtimated, but the actual deficiency of land and malt; and as this is in part occaſioned by the expence of the militia, the whole of which is paid out of the land tax before it comes into the exchequer, no ſeparate charge is made for that branch of ſervice in this ſtatement of the account.

The ſums ſtated under the head of intereſt and charges of exchequer bills, in the paper referred to, are the amount of the intereſt paid out of the ſupplies in each year reſpectively, upon exchequer bills iſſued by virtue of acts paſſed in the preceding year. As it has been the conſtant practice not to make any proviſion for this intereſt beforehand, either a part or the whole of this expence (according to the exceſs or deficiency of the ways and means, compared with the other charges upon the ſupplies) is thrown upon the year ſubſequent to that in which it is actually paid, and appears annually under the head of deficiency of grants. From what has been juſt obſerved, it follows, that, in addition to the charges incurred during the laſt five years, and ſtated in this account as the intereſt of exchequer bills, any ſum which was paid in the year 1786, to make good the deficiency of grants in 1785, muſt be inſerted amongſt the expences de-

frayed out of the ways and means of that period.

It appears equally evident, that any ſums voted under the head of deficiency of the grants of any of the ſucceeding years, muſt be omitted in this ſtatement of the account, as all the ſervices of each year (including what is paid for the intereſt of exchequer bills, and for the deficiency of land and malt, as above explained) are ſtated at their full amount, under their proper heads, as articles of expenditure.

It is neceſſary, however, here to obſerve, that the intereſt of exchequer bills, paid in 1790, will be provided for in 1791, under the head of deficiency of grants of the preceding year, and will account for a difference, to that amount, between the apparent receipt and expenditure of the whole five years.

Having premiſed theſe remarks, your committee proceed to ſtate the deficiencies of land and malt at - - - £. 2,033,764

The deficiency of grants of the year 1785, at - £. 127,138

And the intereſt and charges of exchequer bills, iſſued on the credit of the ſupplies, at £. 914,144

The amount of the prizes in the lotteries of the ſeveral years, and of the charges attending them, has been - - £. 2,546,032 and requires no particular explanation.

The expence incurred upon thoſe articles of miſcellaneous ſervices, which were expreſsly ſtated by the former committee, has been £. 507,580

Other miſcellaneous articles, conſiſting principally of incidental or temporary demands, have amounted to - - - £. 929,676

The total expence occaſioned by the relief of the American loyaliſts, appears to have been £. 1,336,377

Your committee have omitted a ſum of 33,890l. for the purchaſe of lands at ſundry places, as it is included in the ordnance account. They have alſo thought proper to leave out in this place a ſum of 112,101 l. ſtated as the deficiency of the conſolidated fund on the 5th day of January 1789, being the ſum which was then wanted to compleat the quarterly iſſue to the commiſſioners for the reduction of the national debt, and which was defrayed out of the ſupplies of that year; becauſe the ſum of 4,750,000l. which is inſerted below, is the full amount of all the quarterly iſſues under this head, and conſequently includes, as a part thereof, the ſum of 112,101 l. above ſtated.

The whole produce of the appropriated duties having been comprehended in the total produce of the taxes, ſuch part of it as has been applied to the ſervices to which they were appropriated, and which do not appear in this ſtatement of the account, muſt be conſidered as an article of expenditure: this has been - - - £. 231,935

The ſum iſſued to the commiſſioners for diſcharging the national debt has been, as above ſtated - - £. 4,750,000 excluſive of what they have received from the intereſt of ſtock bought, or of annuities expired or fallen in.

The total expence, under all theſe heads, amounts to - £. 88,116,916

But the total receipt for the laſt five years is ſtated to have been only - - £. 87,832,327

To this will be to be added (for reaſons already explained) the amount of the deficiency of grants for

for 1790, which remains to be defrayed out of the ways and means of 1791 - - £. 207,728

The total, applicable to the expences of the five years, will then appear to have been £. 88,040,055

There will be then left unaccounted for a ſum of - - £. 76,861 by which the diſburſement will have exceeded the amount of the ſeveral articles of receipt which it has been poſſible in this ſtatement to aſcertain.

It would certainly have been more ſatisfactory if the totals now drawn up had been found to tally with perfect accuracy. It muſt, however, be recollected, that the accounts referred to your committee include a period when the revenue was encumbered with a variety of minute appropriations: and although the change made, by the conſolidation act, in the courſe and practice of the exchequer, has ſimplified the accounts ſince the time when it took place, yet the intricacy of the former ſyſtem has probably rendered it difficult preciſely to aſcertain the ſums brought forward, under different heads, from an antecedent period; and that difficulty may be ſuppoſed to have been in ſome meaſure increaſed by the interval of time which has now elapſed ſince that ſyſtem was altered.

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§ 14. In order, however, to throw ſtill farther light upon this part of the ſubject, your committee have thought proper to add a brief ſtatement of the account in a different point of view.

For this purpoſe they have ſtated as the income the ſeveral ſurpluſſes of the ſinking and conſolidated funds, as they ſtood at the end of each quarter, from the 5th of April, 1786, to the 5th of January, 1791, both incluſive; and ſuch farther ſums as appear in the ways and means of each year, taken from the accounts laid annually before parliament, ſhewing how the money given for the ſervice of each year reſpectively has been diſpoſed of. The expenditure is compoſed of ſuch ſums as have been charged in each year, in conſequence of the grants of parliament, excluding only (for reaſons above ſtated) ſuch as have been voted in 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1790, under the head of deficiencies of the grants of the years reſpectively preceding. In this manner of ſtating the account, no notice is taken, on either ſide, of the fixed charges upon the income, or of the revenue by which they are defrayed; but the principal of the annual exchequer bills, and the deficiencies of the annuity funds, are included on both ſides. Theſe deficiencies were ſums which, prior to the conſolidation act, were annually made good, out of the ſinking fund, to the various other funds appropriated to the payment of particular annuities, and replaced to that fund out of the ſupplies of the ſubſequent years.

It appears by the table referred to, that the whole receipt for the laſt five years (ſo ſtated) has been £. 62,519,440

To which muſt be added 176,347, being the ſum wanting, on the 31ſt day of December, 1790, to make up what had been granted as the growing ſurplus of the conſolidated fund, up to the 5th of April, 1791, to defray the ſervices included on the other ſide of the account.

And a farther ſum of - £. 207,728 under the head of deficiency of grants

of 1790, being that by which the whole of the ways and means granted for the ſervice of that year falls ſhort of defraying the expences incurred in the courſe of it.

The total will then be

£.62,903,515

The amount of the grants for the ſame period appears to have been - - £.62,903,519

The difference between the totals, which may be ſuppoſed to ariſe only from fractions, may be entirely overlooked.

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§ 15. Your committee, deſirous of aſcertaining in what manner the difference between the receipt and expenditure, as firſt ſtated, has ariſen, by all the means which occurred to them, proceeded to examine the diſpoſition papers of each year; and have taken the ſurpluſſes of the ſinking and conſolidated funds (as before) for each quarter, from the 5th of April, 1786, to the 5th of January, 1791, both inclusive; deducting only the ſums carried to them to make good the annuity funds, which do not appear as articles of expenditure.

As theſe ſurpluſſes ariſe after defraying the intereſt of the public debt, the annual million, the civil liſt, and all other permanent charges upon theſe funds, the whole of which muſt have been paid as they became due, at the expiration of each quarter, before any ſurplus could be applied to the current ſervice of the year, it is evident that the total income ariſing from the permanent taxes, and other articles, carried, during this period, to the ſinking and conſolidated funds, muſt have exceeded the amount of thoſe ſurpluſſes by a ſum equal to the amount of the charges above enumerated.

Adding, therefore, to theſe ſurpluſſes, the charges above ſtated—the amount paid out of the appropriated duties for the purpoſes to which they are reſpectively appropriated—the ſums ſeparately voted as the ways and means of each year, excluſive of the principal of the annual exchequer bills—the ſum wanted, on the 31ſt of December, 1790, to complete the total for which the growing ſurplus had been taken, up to the 5th of April, 1791—and the deficiency of grants, 1790, the total will be

£.88,116,918

In order to examine the expenditure in a ſimilar manner, your committee have taken the totals, ſtated in the diſpoſition papers, as granted by parliament, as the whole amount of the ſupplies; deducting only the principal of the annual exchequer bills—the deficiencies of the annuity funds—the deficiencies of grants for every year, except 1785—and the deficiency of the conſolidated fund on the 5th of January, 1789.

To this they have added the intereſt of the public debt—the charges on the aggregate and conſolidated funds, including the civil liſt—the quarterly payments to the commiſſioners for diſcharging the national debt—and the produce of the appropriated duties, as above ſtated; being articles of expence which are not included in the annual grants of parliament.

The total of theſe ſums appears, by the papers referred to, to be

£.88,116,926

Which agrees almoſt exactly with the whole amount of the expenditure, already ſtated in a different manner, and is an additional proof, that

that there can be no error, which deſerves notice, on this ſide of the account.

The coincidence between the income and expenditure, as here ſtated, ſufficiently proves that the difference which appeared in the former ſtatement, muſt have proceeded from the omiſſion of ſums, to the amount of that difference, on the receipt ſide; and the cauſe from which ſuch an inaccuracy may be ſuppoſed to have ariſen, has already been mentioned.

III. *NATIONAL DEBT.*

Your committee find, that there has been applied to the diſcharge of the public debt, during the period referred to them, a ſum of - - - £. 4,750,000 ariſing from the quarterly payments directed by parliament; and a further ſum of - - £. 674,592 ariſing from the intereſt of ſtock bought, and of annuities expired or fallen in; making together a ſum of - - £. 5,424,592

The only increaſe of the funded debt, during the ſame period, which is to be ſet againſt the above decreaſe, has been occaſioned by a loan raiſed by annuities with the benefit of ſurvivorſhip.

The capital ſo raiſed was £. 1,002,140

A farther ſum of 187,000l. was raiſed by ſhort annuities in 1789, of which 34,000l. has been ſince repaid. But as this loan, which was intended to replace a ſum advanced for foreign ſecret ſervice, is to be repaid by inſtallments, in ſuch proportions as will be equal to the ſums neceſſary for diſcharging both the principal and intereſt, by the time at which the above-mentioned annuities are to determine, it did not appear to your committee of a nature to be ſtated as an increaſe of the national incumbrances.

In comparing the outſtanding debt of the navy, on the 31ſt of December, 1785, and on the 31ſt of December, 1790, there appears to have been an increaſe of £. 105,530

On the 31ſt of December, 1789, there had been an increaſe of 657,950l. But in the year 1790, a ſum of 200,000l. was granted by parliament towards diſcharging this debt, and has been included in the ſtatement of the expences of the five years, which would have reduced the increaſe to - £. 457,950

Your committee think it neceſſary to remark, that, from information received from the navy board, the apparent decreaſe which has taken place in the year 1790, beyond what can be accounted for by the grant of 200,000l., appears to have been in part occaſioned by the circumſtances attending the late armament, and the ſums voted for defraying it.

Credit has been taken, in making up this account, for ſo much of thoſe ſums as was intended to replace the ſtores delivered out in the courſe of the laſt year, which apparently diminiſhes the debt, till that ſervice has been fully performed. Some of the works propoſed in the extra eſtimate of 1790 having been neceſſarily ſuſpended, in conſequence of the exertions for the armament, left a part of the ſum voted on that eſtimate applicable, in the courſe of that year, to the reduction of the debt.

A farther ſum aroſe from the additional expence of the armament having been ſtated as including the purchaſe of hemp and other articles,

cles, which, although immediately neceſſary for the extraordinary preparations then made, are ſtated to have been in fact defrayed out of the grants of parliament for the current ſervice of the navy. Your committee, therefore, having reaſon to believe that the great apparent decreaſe of the debt during the laſt year would have proved only temporary, (even if the navy had continued this year upon the uſual eſtabliſhment) have thought proper to ſtate the increaſe of the period referred to them, by comparing the ſtate of the debt on the 31ſt of December, 1785, with that of the 31ſt of December, 1789; and, by deducting from this increaſe the ſum of 200,000l. voted by parliament,

It would then ſtand at £.457,950

The deficiency of the grants of 1790, which falls upon the revenue of 1791, is - - - £.207,728

But the deficiency of grants of 1785, which was defrayed out of the income of 1786, was only £.127,138

The difference, therefore, muſt be added to the increaſe of the debt in the whole period, and makes a ſum of - - £.80,590

There appears by the ordnance account to have been, on the 5th of January, 1791, a ſum due, for articles not provided for by parliament, amounting to - £.61,909 which has been ſince voted, and muſt be conſidered as a part of the debt incurred in the five years preceding.

The whole exceſs of the ſum applied to the diſcharge of the public debt, beyond thoſe by which it has been increaſed (during the laſt five years) appears to have been, according to the above ſtatement, £.3,822,003

The amount of the unfunded debt ariſing from the exchequer bills annually iſſued by the authority of parliament upon the credit of the ſupplies, is 5,500,000l., being the ſame as at the commencement of this period, excluſive of thoſe iſſued in conſequence of the late armament, which are charged upon taxes appropriated to that purpoſe, and not included in the ſtatement of the future income of the country.

The amount of the exchequer bills annually iſſued on the credit of the land and malt, which are now outſtanding, is not ſtated by your committee as a part of the unfunded debt, becauſe money applicable to the diſcharge of thoſe bills is conſtantly in a courſe of collection, and no other charge is occaſioned by them to the public, except the annual intereſt, which is already ſtated as a part of the future expenditure.

It is farther to be obſerved, that, in the year 1786, the growing produce of the ſinking fund was taken up to the 5th of April 1787, which included the ſurplus of five quarters, and appears to have been for the time an anticipation, to a certain extent, of the revenue of the ſubſequent year; and that the growing produce of the ſinking and conſolidated funds has, ſince that time, been taken from April to April. The ſurplus of the conſolidated fund had produced, on the 31ſt of December 1790 (being the day on which the account of that fund was made up) within 176,347l. of the whole ſum for which it had been taken, up to the 5th of April 1791. This ſum, therefore, was, on the 31ſt of December 1790, all that remained of the amount of that anticipation. Your committee

having called for an account of the produce of the taxes from that day to the 5th of January 1791, find that it amounted to - £. 200,468

If, therefore, the balance had been ſtruck upon the conſolidated fund account on the 5th of January in 1791, as was done in 1786, (inſtead of ſo many days earlier than uſually happens in the courſe of the exchequer) the produce of the three laſt quarters would have been rather more than ſufficient to make good the whole charge on the growing produce of that fund for the ſupplies of the year 1790, without any anticipation.

Your committee beg leave alſo to remark, that an alteration was made with reſpect to the time of payment of certain annuities, by an act of the 26th of his preſent majeſty, cap. 34. One quarter was paid on the 10th of October 1786, and the future payments were directed to be made half-yearly, on the 5th of April, and the 10th of October. By this change the public availed itſelf, in that year, of the amount of one quarterly payment upon theſe annuities, which would have been payable on the 5th of January 1787, (in addition to that iſſued on the 10th of October) which quarter was not afterwards to be paid till the 5th of April 1787; and, on the other hand, the public became bound, for the future, to pay, on every 5th of April, half a year's intereſt, being in fact an advance of one quarter, which would not otherwiſe have been payable till the 5th of July following. The reſult of this is, that, on the 5th day of January, 1791, there had been paid, upon the whole, one quarter leſs, on account of the intereſt of theſe annuities, than would have been iſſued if the above-mentioned alteration had not taken place.

It is farther to be obſerved, that the abolition of all the diſtinct appropriations, and the charging all the quarterly iſſues for the intereſt of the public debt on one general fund, to which all the permanent taxes are carried, has produced the effect of making the whole amount of the revenue in the exchequer applicable, at the end of each quarter, to the diſcharge of the demands then exiſting; whereas, under the former ſyſtem, that part of the revenue which conſiſted of taxes diſtinctly appropriated to the payment of the intereſt of particular annuities, could only be applied to the half-yearly payments on thoſe annuities; in conſequence of which, there remained, at the expiration of each quarter, certain ſums of this deſcription uſeleſs, till the expiration of a ſubſequent quarter.

The capital ſtock bought by the commiſſioners for diſcharging the national debt, up to the 1ſt day of February, 1791, (being the day on which they made up their accounts of the application of the ſums iſſued in the preceding year) was

£. 6,772,350

The annual intereſt of the ſame is - - - £. 203,170

To this muſt be added, the preſent amount of the annuities expired or fallen in, which appears to be

£. 51,634

Both together make a ſum of

£. 254,804

which is at this time an addition to the million annually applied to the reduction of the national debt, reſulting from the adoption of the plan for that purpoſe, and now increaſing at compound intereſt.

ABSTRACT of the ſeveral Articles of the PUBLIC RECEIPT and EXPENDITURE.

RECEIPT.

Permanent taxes —	£. 13,472,286	
* Land and malt — —	2,558,000	£.
		16,030,286

EXPENDITURE.

Intereſt and charges of the public debt	£. 9,317,972	
Exchequer bills — —	260,000	
Civil liſt — — —	898,000	
Charges on conſolidated fund —	105,385	
Navy — — —	2,000,000	
Army — — —	1,748,842	
Ordnance — —	375,000	
Militia — — —	95,311	
Miſcellaneous ſervices — —	128,416	
Appropriated duties — —	40,252	
Annual million — — —	1,000,000	
		15,969,178
Balance — —		£. 61,108

* Calculated upon the average produce of the three laſt years, and excluſive of any additional allowance for the taxes impoſed in 1789, or for the increaſe upon tobacco.

SUPPLEMENT

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

STATE PAPERS;

CONTAINING,

New and faithful Tranſlations of Two IMPORTANT PAPERS; with introductory Remarks on the Falſities of the common Tranſlations.

THE Reader will ſee among our State Papers (page *131) the declaration of the king of France on his departure from Paris; and the anſwer of the national aſſembly to that declaration, as they are to be found in ſome of the beſt Engliſh publications of the year. Perceiving, however, that theſe very important papers were untruly given, that they were disfigured by omiſſions in ſome inſtances, additions in others, and that in many material points they were apparently garbled for the worſt of purpoſes, we have made a new and faithful tranſlation of them from the original copies, which were publiſhed by order of the national aſſembly. We add it here, as a Supplement to the State Papers, that our Readers, by comparing both, may perceive what little arts have been practiſed on this occaſion to miſlead public opinion.

In the king's declaration it will be found, that very many circumſtances, which were explanatory of the conduct, and reflected honour on the feelings, of the unfortunate monarch, have been either miſrepreſented or ſuppreſſed, eſpecially where the ſilence or evaſion of the anſwer admitted the fact; and ſimilar falſifications have taken place with reſpect to other unanſwered paſſages tending to fix on the aſſembly the guilt of participating in thoſe ſanguinary atrocities, which many in this country have inſidiouſly attempted to palliate, but none explicitly to approve and defend. The inſtances are too numerous to be ſpecified; but they will eaſily diſcover themſelves, as the paper has been reduced conſiderably more than two thirds in its bulk, to bring it nearer to the ſtandard of the anſwer.

In the ſame ſpirit too, though in a leſs degree, theſe univerſal lovers of innovation have new-modelled the anſwer of the national aſſembly to their own taſte. They have generouſly made a preſent of two millions to the population of France; and, to balance the account, have ſubtracted 100,000 men from the number of the

national guards, which they knew to exceed the truth. Some of the king's complaints (as with reſpect to the inconveniencies of his reſidence in Paris) have been diſtorted for the purpoſe of treating them with a ridicule much over-charged in compariſon of the original; while admiſſions, which might ſerve the king's cauſe (ſuch as that none of the laws, called conſtitutional, were ſubmitted to his refuſal, and that the interior adminiſtration of the kingdom was wholly in the hands of perſons elected by the people) have been cut away, and the remaining ſhreds of invective againſt deſpotiſm aukwardly pieced to other ſubjects: in ſhort, every thing unfavourable to the revolution (ſuch as confeſſions of tumults and outrages, or marked recommendations of order, ſubmiſſion, and moderation) has been much weakened, or entirely omitted.

There are† two very material paragraphs, of which no trace is to be found; the one relative to the patronage of the army and navy, the other to the new conſtitution of the clergy. Though the king is acknowledged in this very anſwer to be the head of the executive power, yet the aſſembly intimate, that it was an act of favour and liberality in them to allow him one-third or one-fourth of the military and naval appointments; and that their meaſures on this head had only reſtored to their ſoldiers and ſeamen the rights which belonged to them. This probably was thought not altogether congenial with the old-faſhioned prejudices of Engliſhmen; and it muſt be remembered, that the firſt indications of a breach in oppoſition ſhewed themſelves on this very ſubject, when the army eſtimates were before the houſe of commons in the year 1790. Nor may the motives have been very diſſimilar, which induced the ſuppreſſion of the ſecond point. The aſſembly aſſert the right of the civil power over the church; and in the perſecutions of the clergy, which all parties here have joined to condemn, hypocritically aſſume merit for having reſtored Chriſtianity to its primitive purity. Such doctrines muſt have ſhaken the credit of the aſſembly with many warm admirers of the French revolution in this country, who diſſent from our eſtabliſhed church, or, had they not unequivocally expreſſed their diſapprobation, might have been a little unpleaſantly retorted in argument againſt them.

The next example is of a tendency the moſt perſonally uncandid to the king. It may be remembered, that a violent cry was attempted to be raiſed againſt the king's perjury on his departure from Paris. The aſſembly did not forget this topic. But to fix perjury, they thought it neceſſary firſt to ſhew, that the oath was free; though they had begun, rather inauſpiciouſly for this purpoſe,

† p. 236* and *237.

by

by ſtating it to have been taken in the midſt of the deputies of the national guards, and all the troops of the line They argue, however, the freedom of the oath, from a paſſage in the king's declaration, where he† ſays, that "during the federation he paſſed the ſweeteſt moments of his ſtay in Paris," and then goes on to explain himſelf, by adding ſome ſtrong expreſſions of ſatisfaction in "the attachment and affection, which were then ſhewn him by the national guards." Yet he had before declared himſelf to have been in a ſtate of captivity during his whole reſidence there; and ſurely it is not very inconſiſtent for a captive to be pleaſed with the perſonal kindneſs of his keepers. Indeed, the king had before made ſimilar acknowledgments reſpecting the national guards of Paris and the troops of the line, in the very paragraph where he complains of having been a priſoner in their cuſtody. The weakneſs of the argument was felt, as well as the imprudence of mentioning the fact, that the oath was taken in the midſt of an armed force. So both one and the other have diſappeared, and in their room we meet with nothing but a round aſſertion, that if the king did not declare his good faith to have been ſurpriſed, *he had, of courſe, announced his own perjury to the whole world.* In truth, let the freedom of the oath have been what it might, the king would not therefore have been neceſſarily implicated in perjury. He would not have been bound on his part, if on the other ſide that conſtitution, which all with him had ſworn to maintain, was violated to the annihilation of all his authority under it, and the inſecurity of his perſon; and that it was ſo violated, he has endeavoured to ſhew at length. The reader will carefully examine, and judge for himſelf, how far he has been ſufficiently contradicted in the anſwer of the aſſembly.

Theſe are but ſpecimens, taken as they occurred. Some others will be pointed out in ſhort notes; but we ſhall here particularize one more, becauſe it goes directly to the whole merits of the revolution. Whence came the firſt aggreſſion? is the queſtion, on the ſolution of which muſt depend the deciſion of mankind, whether all the horrors of France, from the period of July 1789, were the conſequences of a juſtifiable reſiſtance, or a premeditated rebellion. The defence of the inſurrection at Paris in that month has always been reſted on the aſſembling of the troops under Marſhal Broglio. Now the king aſſerts that meaſure to have been the effect, not the cauſe, of rebellion in the capital. He ſays, that ‡ "he did not call them around his perſon, until a ſpirit of revolt had manifeſted itſelf in Paris, and even in the regiment of his own guards." This is not denied by the aſſembly, and their ſilence concedes the queſtion to

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† p. *235. ‡ p. *221.

the king. The falſe tranſlation, therefore, true to its object, ſtrikes every alluſion to this leading fact out of both papers.

Some excuſe might be attempted in extenuation by the firſt publiſhers of this paper, if it had been merely ſhortened; but there are alſo interpolations to be found in it. The high tone in which the aſſembly claims an inconteſtible right to the exerciſe of government in the abſence of the king, has not only been lowered in the tranſlation, but a new apology for their conduct has been vamped up for them by a reference to the law of regency, which however, unfortunately, rather applies the other way. Another inſtance relates to the Jacobin clubs. The original intimates, that to be any longer uſeful, they muſt change their ardent love of liberty for *prudent* and *enlightened* patriotiſm. The Engliſh, on the contrary, pronounces them to be "more neceſſary than ever," and then, without a ſyllable of authority, but probably with a view to charges made upon them in our parliament, adds, "ſome perſons *preſume to ſay*, that they govern the adminiſtrative bodies, and the empire, as if they were the deliberating bodies!" The aſſembly did not think it ſo preſumptuous to ſay this. On theſe very grounds, two months after, they decreed, though in vain, the diſſolution of thoſe clubs. But, perhaps, the moſt perfect pattern of inſidious alteration in every kind, occurs on the ſubject of making war and peace. In the firſt place, an unfair inſinuation againſt the king is aggravated into a direct charge; a complaint of all former treaties, as having ſacrificed the territories of France, is then omitted, probably on account of its tendency to give ſerious alarm in other countries; and finally, the conſequent defence of the aſſembly's right to reviſe all treaties of peace before they ſhould be valid, is converted, with ſome additions, into a declamation againſt the royal prerogative of making war.

It is not the deſign of theſe obſervations to impute any blame to reſpectable works, which may have incautiouſly copied theſe papers from the uſual ſources of political information. Compilers muſt, in ſome degree, rely upon ſuch authorities. It ſeemed however highly neceſſary, at the preſent moment, to put the public on their guard againſt men, who can carry on a treacherous and malignant warfare by poiſoning the ſprings of hiſtory. Some miſchief, it is apprehended, may have been already done in this inſtance; and more might hereafter be the conſequence, if the antidotes of detection and expoſure were not to be applied.—Two ſhort fabrications, ſuch as our duty has here compelled us to notice, are more calculated to injure the cauſe of truth, than volumes of detailed miſrepreſentations in the form of partial narratives: for it is by the teſt of documents like theſe, and not by the catalogue of qualifications, which writers may arrogate to themſelves, that the merits of diſcordant accounts muſt be ultimately tried.

Declaration

Declaration *of the* King, *addreſſed to all the* People *of* France, *upon his Departure from* Paris.

WHILE the king could hope to ſee the order and happineſs of the kingdom revived by the meaſures of the national aſſembly, and by his reſidence near that aſſembly, in the capital, he regretted no perſonal ſacrifice; nor ſhould he have objected to the nullity with which an abſolute privation of freedom has infected all his proceedings ſince the month of October 1789, if that hope had been fulfilled: but now that his only recompence for ſo many ſacrifices, is to behold the deſtruction of royalty; to ſee all the powers of government diſowned; all property violated; perſonal ſafety every where endangered; crimes remaining unpuniſhed; and perfect anarchy domineering over the laws, while that ſemblance of authority given him by the new conſtitution is inſufficient for repairing any one of thoſe evils with which the kingdom is affliſted; the king, after having ſolemnly proteſted againſt all the acts which emanated from him during his captivity, believes that he ought to ſubmit to the view of France, and of the whole world, a detail of his own conduct, and of that of the government which has eſtabliſhed itſelf in the kingdom.

In the month of July 1789, his majeſty, in order to remove all cauſe of jealouſy, ſent away the troops which he had not called around his perſon until a ſpirit of revolt had manifeſted itſelf in Paris, and even in the regiment of his own guards. The king, relying on his conſcience and the rectitude of his intentions, was not afraid to come alone amongſt the armed citizens of the capital.

On the 5th of October of the ſame year, the king, who had long anticipated thoſe commotions which the factious were endeavouring to excite, was informed of what was going forward ſufficiently early to allow of his withdrawing to any place he choſe; but he feared that his departure might be made a pretext for kindling a civil war; and he choſe rather to ſacrifice himſelf, and, what was more agonizing to his heart, to endanger the lives of thoſe perſons whom he held moſt dear. All the world knows the events of the night of the 6th of October, and the impunity which has drawn a veil over them for nearly two years. God alone has prevented the commiſſion of the greateſt crimes, and averted from the French nation a ſtain which would have been indelible.

The king, yielding to the manifeſt deſire of the Pariſian army, came, and, with his family, eſtabliſhed his reſidence in the palace of the Thuilleries. More than an hundred years had elapſed ſince any king, except Louis the XVth, during his minority, had made this palace his conſtant reſidence. Nothing was ready to receive the king: and the diſpoſition of the apartments is ſuch as by no means to afford the conveniencies to which his majeſty was accuſtomed in the other royal houſes, and which every private perſon in eaſy circumſtances enjoys. Notwithſtanding the reſtraint laid upon him, and the inconveniencies of every kind which attended the king's change of abode; faithful to the ſyſtem of ſacrifice on which his majeſty had

reſolved for procuring public tranquillity, he believed it his duty, on the day after his arrival in Paris, to ſatisfy the provinces concerning his reſidence in the capital; and to invite the national aſſembly to come to him, and continue their labours in the ſame city.

But a ſacrifice ſtill more painful was reſerved for the heart of his majeſty: it was thought neceſſary to remove from him his body-guards, of whoſe fidelity he had received a brilliant proof on the fatal morning of the 6th inſtant. Two of them had fallen victims of their attachment to the king and his family; and many more were ſeverely wounded in conſequence of their ſtrict obedience to the orders of the king, who had forbidden them to fire on the deluded multitude. Great art had been employed by the factious to repreſent in dark colours this corps, ſo faithful, who had now carried to the higheſt point that good conduct which they had ever obſerved. But it was not ſo much againſt the body-guards that their deſigns were levelled, as againſt the king himſelf; they ſought to inſulate him entirely, by depriving him of the ſervice of thoſe guards, whoſe minds they had not been able to delude, though they had ſucceeded with the French guards, who a ſhort time before were the model of the army.

To the ſoldiers of this laſt regiment, already taken into the pay of the city of Paris, and to the national guards of the ſame city, the guarding of the king has been conſided. Theſe troops are entirely under the orders of the municipality of Paris, by whom alſo their commander in chief is appointed. The king, thus guarded, ſaw himſelf a priſoner in the midſt of his ſtates; for what but a priſoner can a king be ſtiled, who can only command his guard on occaſions of parade; who cannot appoint one of them; and who is obliged to endure the ſight of many perſons round him, with whoſe ill intentions towards him and his family he is well acquainted? It is not to criminate the Pariſian national guards, or troops of the line, that the king ſets forth theſe facts; it is that the exact truth may be known; and in making it known, he has done juſtice to that zeal for good order, and that attachment to his perſon, which, in general, theſe troops have ſhewn when left to act from the dictates of their own minds, and not led aſtray by the clamours and the falſhoods of faction.

But the more the king ſacrificed for the good of his people, the more the factious laboured to leſſen the value of thoſe ſacrifices, and to repreſent royalty under the falſeſt and moſt odious colours.

The calling together the ſtates general; the doubling of the deputies of the third eſtate; the pains which the king had taken to ſmooth all the difficulties which could retard the aſſembling of the ſtates general, and thoſe which aroſe after their opening; all the retrenchments which the king had made in his perſonal expences; all the ſacrifices he offered to his people in the ſeſſion of the 23d of June; in fine, the union of the orders, effected by the manifeſtation of the king's deſire, a meaſure which his majeſty then judged indiſpenſable for putting the ſtates general in motion; all his cares, all his labours, all his

generoſity,

generoſity, all his devotion to his people; all has been miſconſtrued, all has been perverted.

When the ſtates general, having taken upon them the name of the National Aſſembly, began to employ themſelves about the conſtitution, it muſt be recollected what memorials the factious had the addreſs to get tranſmitted from many provinces, and what commotions were raiſed in Paris, to prevent the deputies from adhering to a very principal clauſe contained in all their inſtructions, which imported that *the power of legiſlation ſhould be exerciſed in concert with the king*. In contempt of this clauſe, the aſſembly put the king altogether out of the conſtitution; by refuſing him the right of granting or denying his aſſent to ſuch articles as the aſſembly ſhould deem conſtitutional; reſerving to themſelves the right of ranging in that claſs all ſuch as they thought proper; and with reſpect to thoſe which are purely legiſlative, reſtraining the royal prerogative to a right of ſuſpenſion to the third legiſlature: a right wholly illuſive, as many examples too evidently prove.

What now remained for the king, but the vain phantom of royalty? They gave him twenty-five millions for the expence of his civil liſt; but the ſplendour of the houſehold which it was neceſſary to maintain for ſupporting the honour and dignity of the crown of France, and the expences which were thrown upon him even after this eſtabliſhment was made, muſt have abſorbed it entirely.

They left him the uſufruct of ſome of the domains of the crown, ſubjecting the enjoyment to many irkſome forms. Theſe domains are but a ſmall part of thoſe poſſeſſed by the kings of France from all antiquity, and of the patrimonies of his majeſty's anceſtors, which had been annexed by them to the crown. It may be confidently advanced, that if all theſe objects were united, their amount would greatly exceed the ſums allowed for the maintenance of the king and his family, and that in ſuch caſe the people would be at no expence on that account.

One remark, which it afflicts the king to make, is the attention ſhewn in every arrangement, reſpecting the finances, and all other objects, to ſeparate the ſervices rendered to the king perſonally from thoſe rendered to the ſtate; as if theſe objects were not abſolutely inſeparable, and that the ſervices done to the king in perſon, were not done alſo to the ſtate.

It will be proper now to examine the different parts of the government, as they follow in order.

Department of Juſtice.—The king has no participation in forming the laws: he has the ſimple right of ſuſpending to the third legiſlature ſuch articles as are not reputed conſtitutional; and of praying the aſſembly to take into conſideration ſuch or ſuch affairs; but without the right of propoſing them in form. Juſtice is adminiſtered in the king's name; the judges commiſſions are iſſued by him, but this is merely matter of form, and the king has only the nomination of the king's commiſſioners. Theſe officers, whoſe offices are newly created, exerciſe only part of the functions of the late procurators general: they are only to ſee that all forms are duly executed; the public part of the buſineſs has devolved on another

officer

officer of juſtice. Theſe commiſſioners hold their places for life, and are not removeable; while the judges muſt be removed every ſix years. A decree of the aſſembly has deprived the king of that nobleſt prerogative which is every where attached to royalty—that of remitting or commuting puniſhments. Though laws are ever ſo perfect, there muſt ſtill be unforeſeen caſes for which they cannot provide: it muſt then be the jurors who would in fact have the right of ſhewing mercy by conſtruing the law according to their pleaſure, however the matter might ſeem otherwiſe. Beſides this, how would ſuch an arrangement diminiſh the majeſty of the king in the eyes of the people, ſo long accuſtomed to recur to him in their exigencies and diſtreſſes, and to behold him as a common father, able to alleviate all their diſtreſſes!

The Interior Adminiſtration.—This is entirely in the hands of the departments, the diſtricts, and the municipalities: multitudinous ſprings, which muſt embarraſs the movement of the grand machine, and frequently thwart the action of each other. All theſe bodies are elected by the people, and, according to the decrees, have no concern with government but in the execution of decrees, or of thoſe private orders which are as ſequels to them. They have, on one ſide, no favour to expect from government; and on the other ſide, the modes of puniſhing or reſtraining their faults, as eſtabliſhed by the decrees, are ſo complicated, that they can reach none but extraordinary caſes, and this almoſt defeats that ſuperintendence which miniſters ought to have over them. Theſe bodies have in other reſpects acquired little force or conſideration. The ſocieties of the friends of the conſtitution (of which notice will be hereafter taken) which are not reſponſible, poſſeſs much greater ſtrength, and thus the action of government is annihilated. Since the eſtabliſhment of theſe bodies, many examples have proved, that however well they were diſpoſed to maintain good order, they did not dare to employ the means provided by law to effect it, from fear of the people, impelled by very different inſtigations.

The electoral bodies, although they have no action of themſelves, and are reſtrained to elections, poſſeſs real force from their combined numbers and their biennial continuance; and from that fear, ſo natural to men, more eſpecially to men who have no eſtabliſhed ſituation, of diſpleaſing thoſe by whom they may be ſerved or injured.

The diſpoſal of the military forces is placed by the decrees in the hands of the king. He has been declared ſupreme head of the army and marine. But the buſineſs of forming theſe two bodies has been tranſacted in the committees of the aſſembly, without the king's participation; every thing, even to the leaſt regulation in diſcipline, has been done by them: and if there has been left to the king a third or fourth part of the nominations, according to circumſtances, this right, however, becomes almoſt nugatory, from the obſtacles and contradictions, out of number, which each takes upon itſelf to oppoſe to the king's will. He has been ſeen under the neceſſity of doing over again all that had been done, by the general officers, in the army,

becauſe

becauſe their arrangements did not pleaſe the clubs. In yielding thus, his majeſty would not expoſe the virtuous and gallant ſoldiers, and ſubject them to that violence which would certainly have been exerciſed againſt them, as has been ſeen in too many afflicting examples. The clubs and the adminiſtrative bodies have intermeddled in all the interior regulations of the troops with which even the adminiſtrative bodies ſhould not have the leaſt connection, who have only a right to call upon the public force when they think there is occaſion for employing it: they have ſometimes availed themſelves of this right, for thwarting the arrangements made by government in quartering the troops; ſo that it has often happened where they ought to have been there were none found. It is to the clubs alone that ſhould be attributed that ſpirit of revolt againſt their officers, and againſt military diſcipline, which has ſpread through ſo many regiments; and which, if order is not effectually re-eſtabliſhed, will prove the deſtruction of the army. What muſt an army become without officers, and without diſcipline? Inſtead of being the ſtrength and ſafety of the ſtate, it will prove its terror and its ſcourge. How will the French ſoldiers, when their eyes are opened, bluſh at their conduct, and in what abhorrence will they behold thoſe who have perverted the good order which reigned in the army and marine of France! Fatal alteration, effected by thoſe who encouraged the ſoldiers and ſailors to frequent clubs! The king has ever thought that the laws ſhould be equal towards all: officers who have done wrong ſhould be puniſhed; but they ſhould, as well as private ſoldiers, be puniſhed according to eſtabliſhed laws and uſages. Every door ſhould be open for merit to diſplay itſelf, and obtain promotion. Every comfort which can be given to the ſoldiery is juſt and neceſſary; but there can be no army without officers, or without diſcipline; and neither can exiſt while the ſoldiers believe themſelves entitled to judge the conduct of their commanders.

Foreign Affairs.—The nomination of miniſters to foreign courts has been reſerved to the king, as well as the conducting of negociations: but his power of chuſing is equally null and void in this inſtance as in reſpect to officers of the army: this was exemplified in the laſt nomination. The reviſion and confirmation of treaties being reſerved for the national aſſembly, and the appointment of a diplomatic committee abſolutely deſtroys the ſecond prerogative. The right of making war would be nugatory, becauſe it would be nothing ſhort of frenzy in a king, who neither is or wiſhes to be deſpotic, to ruſh headlong to attack another kingdom, when the will of his people oppoſed it, and that they would grant no ſupplies for its ſupport. But the right of making peace is entirely of another kind. The king, who is one with the nation, who has no intereſt but that of the nation; knows its rights, its wants, and its reſources; and is not afraid to enter into ſuch engagements as appear proper to him for enſuring happineſs and tranquillity: but when treaties muſt be ſubmitted for reviſion and confirmation to the national aſſembly, no power will be willing to receive engagements which may be broken by others beſides

beſides the party with whom he contracts; and then all the powers muſt centre in the aſſembly. With whatever openneſs negociations might be carried on in another place, would it be poſſible to intruſt any ſecret to an aſſembly whoſe deliberations are neceſſarily public?

Finances.—The king had declared, even before the calling of the ſtates general, that he acknowledged in the aſſemblies of the nation the right of granting the ſupplies, and that he would lay no farther impoſts on the people without their conſent. All the *cahiers** of the deputies to the ſtates general agreed in placing the arrangement of the finances foremoſt in the liſt of objects, on which the aſſembly were to deliberate: and ſome even added articles of reſtriction, for the purpoſe of obtaining a deciſion of this point previous to any other buſineſs. The king removed the difficulties which theſe reſtrictions might have occaſioned, by freely coming forward, and granting, in the ſeſſion of the 23d of June, all that had been deſired. On the 4th of February 1790, the king himſelf prayed the aſſembly to conſider effectually this important object, in which they had proceeded but ſlowly and imperfectly. There has not to this day been drawn up any correct table of the receipts and expenditures; and the reſources to make good the deficit, are ſubmitted to hypothetical calculations. The aſſembly haſtened to aboliſh thoſe impoſts, the weight of which did, in truth, preſs much upon the people, but which furniſhed a ſure income; and ſubſtituted in their room an impoſt, almoſt a ſingle one, the exact levying of which might, perhaps, be attended with great difficulty. The ordinary taxes are at preſent much in arrears, and the extraordinary ſupply of the firſt twelve hundred thouſand aſſignats is nearly exhauſted. The expences of the departments of war and marine, inſtead of being diminiſhed, are increaſed; without including the expence occaſioned by the neceſſary armaments in the courſe of laſt year. As to the adminiſtration of the department of finance, the wheels of the machine have been greatly multiplied by the adminiſtrative bodies of the diſtricts being made receivers of the taxes. The king, who was the firſt to feel no apprehenſion at making public the accounts of his adminiſtration of the finances, and who had manifeſted his will that public accounts ſhould be eſtabliſhed as a rule of government, has been, if it be poſſible, more eſtranged to this department than the others: and the prejudices, the jealouſies, and the recriminations againſt government, have been more abundantly poured forth on this than any other ſubject. The regulation of the funds, the recovery of the impoſts, the ſub-diviſion of them amongſt the departments, the reward of paſt ſervices, all have been taken from under the king's ſuperintendance, and nothing is left to him except a few nominations to barren offices: he has not even the diſpoſal of any gratuities for the relief of indigence. The king knows the dif-

* Written inſtructions delivered by the conſtituents to their reſpective deputies previous to their going to the aſſembly.

ficulties

ficulties of this adminiſtration, and if it were poſſible for the machine of government to go on without his immediate inſpection into the management of the finances, his majeſty would regret nothing but his want of power to aſſiſt perſonally in eſtabliſhing ſuch permanent orders as might produce a diminution of the impoſts (an object which, it is well known, his majeſty has always ardently deſired, and which he would have effected, had it not been for the expences of the American war) and his having no longer the diſpoſal of ſuccours for the relief of the unfortunate.

In fine, the king has been declared, by the decrees, ſupreme chief of the adminiſtration of the kingdom: but ſubſequent decrees have directed the organization of the miniſtry in ſuch a manner that the king, at whom theſe decrees directly point, can make no change without new deciſions of the aſſembly. The ſyſtem adopted by the heads of the predominant faction, of making all the agents of government the objects of ſuſpicion and diſtruſt, has been ſo well followed up, that it is now become almoſt impoſſible to fill the offices of adminiſtration. No government can proceed or ſubſiſt without a mutual confidence between the governors and governed; and the laſt laws propoſed in the national aſſembly, reſpecting the puniſhment to be inflicted on the miniſters, or agents, of the executive power, who ſhould be * guilty of malverſation, or judged to have exceeded their authority, muſt give riſe to all manner of inquietudes: theſe penal arrangements extend even to the ſubalterns in office, which muſt deſtroy all ſubordination; as inferiors ought never to judge the orders of their ſuperiors, who are reſponſible for whatever they command. Theſe regulations, from the multiplicity of proviſions, and the kinds of offences which are there indicated, tend only to inſpire diſtruſt, inſtead of that confidence which is ſo neceſſary.

This form of government, ſo vicious in itſelf, is rendered ſtill more ſo by the following cauſes:

Firſt. The aſſembly, by means of their committees, are every moment exceeding the limits preſcribed them: they employ themſelves about thoſe affairs which pertain only to the interior adminiſtration of the kingdom, and to that of juſtice, and thus accumulate all the powers. They even exerciſe, by their committee of reſearches, a real deſpotiſm, more barbarous than any of thoſe which hiſtory has ever recorded.

In the ſecond place, there are eſtabliſhed in all the cities, and even in many towns and villages, aſſociations known under the name of the Friends of the Conſtitution: contrary to the tenor of the decrees, theſe allow no ſociety to exiſt which is not affiliated with them; by which is formed an immenſe body corporate, more dangerous than any of thoſe which formerly exiſted. Without any authority for the purpoſe, and even in contempt of all the decrees, theſe ſocieties deliberate on all the parts of government, correſpond among themſelves on all objects, make and receive denunciations, poſt up their reſolutions about the ſtreets, and have

* The word in the original is *prévaricateurs*.

acquired

acquired ſuch a preponderance, that all the adminiſtrative and judiciary bodies, not excepting the national aſſembly itſelf, are in general obedient to their orders.

The king does not believe it poſſible to govern a kingdom, ſo extenſive and of ſuch importance as France, by the means eſtabliſhed by the national aſſembly, as they exiſt at preſent. His majeſty, in granting to all the decrees, indiſcriminately, a ſanction which he well knew it was not in his power to refuſe, has been guided by the deſire of avoiding all diſcuſſion, which experience taught him was at leaſt of no uſe; he moreover feared it would be thought that he wiſhed to retard or defeat the labours of the national aſſembly, in the ſucceſs of which the nation took ſo great an intereſt; he placed his confidence in the ſage perſons of that aſſembly, who muſt have known that it is eaſier to deſtroy a government, than to conſtruct another on a very different baſis. They have many times perceived the neceſſity, at the time of the reviſion of their decrees, of giving a ſtrength of action, and re-action, neceſſary to all government: they knew alſo the utility of inſpiring for the government, and for the laws, which ought to aſſure the proſperity and ſtate of each individual, ſuch confidence as ſhould bring back into the kingdom all thoſe citizens who, ſome by diſcontent, but more by fear for their lives or their property, had been forced to emigrate.

But the nearer the aſſembly approach to the concluſion of their labours, the more theſe ſage perſons are perceived to loſe their credit; while thoſe regulations which can ſerve only to impede, and even render impracticable, the conduct of government, and inſpire for it nothing but diſtruſt and hatred, are every day augmenting. The other laws, inſtead of pouring ſalutary balm into the wounds which are ſtill bleeding in many provinces, tend only to increaſe their inquietudes, and ſharpen their diſcontents. The ſpirit of the clubs domineers over and pervades all: the multitude of calumnious and ſeditious pamphlets, which are every day diſperſed, are but their echos, and prepare men's minds to be conducted as they pleaſe. The national aſſembly have never dared to remedy this licentiouſneſs, ſo very different from true liberty: they have loſt their credit, and even the ſtrength which would have been neceſſary for retracting any of their meaſures, and altering what they judged to want correction. It is evident from the ſpirit which reigns in the clubs, and the manner in which they made themſelves maſters of the new primary aſſemblies, what is to be expected from them; and if they diſplay any diſpoſition to retract in ſome points, it is only that they may deſtroy the remains of royalty, and eſtabliſh a metaphyſical and philoſophical government, which can never be reduced to practice.

People of France! was this what you intended by ſending repreſentatives to the national aſſembly? Did you deſire that anarchy, and the deſpotiſm of clubs, ſhould replace that monarchical government under which the nation has proſpered during fourteen hundred years? Did you deſire to ſee your king overwhelmed with outrages, and deprived

prived of his liberty, at the moment he was employed in eſtabliſhing yours?

The love of their kings is one of the virtues of Frenchmen, and his majeſty has perſonally received ſuch touching marks of it as he never can forget. The factious are well convinced, that while that love ſubſiſts, their work can never be completed: they are equally convinced, that in order to weaken that love it is neceſſary, if poſſible, to annihilate the reſpect with which it is always accompanied; and this is the cauſe of thoſe outrages which the king has received during the two laſt years, and of all the other ills which he has ſuffered: his majeſty will not here re-trace the melancholy picture; he wiſhes only to make known to his faithful ſubjects the temper of the factious, who are tearing the boſom of their country under pretence of regenerating it.

Advantage was taken of the enthuſiaſm felt for Mr. Neckar, to procure for him, even under the eyes of his majeſty, a triumph ſo much the more ſplendid, becauſe thoſe who were hired for the purpoſe affected at the ſame time to pay no attention to the preſence of the king. Emboldened by this firſt eſſay, they dared on the enſuing day, at Verſailles, to inſult the archbiſhop of Paris, purſue him, throw ſtones at him, and put his life in imminent danger. When the inſurrection broke forth at Paris, a courier whom the king had ſent was publicly arreſted, his papers rummaged, and the king's letters opened. During this time, the national aſſembly ſeemed to inſult the ſorrows of his majeſty, by employing themſelves only in heaping marks of eſteem on thoſe very miniſters whoſe recal ſerved as a pretence for inſurrection, though they have not ſince met with better treatment on that account. The king being determined to bear, himſelf, the words of peace into the capital, theſe apoſtates took great care to prevent the ſhouts of *Vive le Roy!* ſo natural to the French; and the harangues which they addreſſed to his majeſty, ſo far from containing expreſſions of acknowledgment, were filled with the bittereſt irony.

At the ſame time they accuſtomed the people more and more to diſpiſe monarchy and the laws. An attempt was made by the populace at Verſailles, to hang two huſſars at the gate of the caſtle; a parricide was reſcued by them from puniſhment, and they made a ſtand againſt a detachment of chaſſeurs intended to maintain order: whilſt a maniac made a motion publicly, in the Palais-Royal, to go to Verſailles, hurry away the king and his ſon, bring them under a guard to Paris, and ſhut up the queen in a convent: and this motion, inſtead of being rejected with the indignation it deſerved, was applauded. The aſſembly themſelves, not contented with degrading royalty by their decrees, affected to deſpiſe the perſon of the king, by receiving, in a manner which could not properly be qualified, the obſervations of his majeſty on the decrees of the nights of the 4th and 5th of October.

In fine, the 5th and 6th of October arrived. To relate the events of thoſe days would be ſuperfluous, and his majeſty will ſpare his faithful ſubjects the pain of hearing them; but he cannot forbear remarking the conduct of the aſſembly during thoſe horrible ſcenes: ſo far from any thought of preventing them,

them, or at leaſt of ſtopping them, they remained tranquil, and contented themſelves with replying to a motion, which propoſed their removing in a body, and taking their ſtation near the king, that it was not conſiſtent with their dignity.

From that moment almoſt every day has been marked by new ſcenes more afflicting than the preceding ones to his majeſty, or elſe by new inſults offered to his perſon. Scarcely was the king come to the Thuilleries, when an innocent woman was maſſacred, and her head paraded through Paris almoſt under the eyes of his majeſty. In many provinces thoſe who appeared attached to the king as their monarch, or to him perſonally, were perſecuted; many even loſt their lives; while the king had it not in his power to cauſe the aſſaſſins to be puniſhed, or to ſhew his concern for the event. Even in the garden of the Thuilleries all the deputies who had ſpoken againſt royalty, or againſt religion, (for the factious in their rage had no more reſpect for the altar than the throne) received the honours of a triumph; while thoſe who acted differently were every moment inſulted, and heard their lives continually menaced.

At the federation of the 14th of July 1790, the aſſembly, in naming the king, by a ſpecial decree, to be the chief at that ceremony, ſhewed that they thought it in their power to name another. At this ſame ceremony, notwithſtanding the king's deſire to the contrary, the royal family were ſeated in a place ſeparate from that which he occupied; a thing unheard of till the preſent time.—It was during this federation that the king paſſed the ſweeteſt moments of his ſtay in Paris. He pauſes with ſatisfaction on the remembrance of thoſe proofs of attachment and affection which were given him by all the national guards of France aſſembled at that ceremony.

The king's miniſters; thoſe very miniſters whom the aſſembly had forced the king to recall, or whoſe nomination they had applauded, have been all, except one, conſtrained by force of inſult or of threats, to quit their ſituations.

Meſdames, the king's aunts, who had remained conſtantly with him, determined by a religious motive, were diſpoſed to go to Rome: the factious would not allow them that liberty which belongs to every perſon, and which is eſtabliſhed by the declaration of the rights of man: a crowd of people, urged on by the factious, proceeded to Bellevue, in order to ſtop the princeſſes, but this blow having failed by their haſty departure, the mob were not diſconcerted, they went to Monſieur, under pretence that he intended to follow the example of the princeſſes; and though they derived from this expedition nothing more than the pleaſure of ſhewing him an inſult, it did not, according to their ſyſtem, entirely fail of ſucceſs. But though the princeſſes could not be overtaken at Bellevue, means were found to ſtop them at Arnai-le-Duc; and it was neceſſary to obtain orders from the national aſſembly, before they were permitted to continue their journey, the orders of the king being deſpiſed.

Scarcely had the news of this arreſt arrived in Paris, when endeavours were uſed to make the national aſſembly approve this violation of liberty; the attempt however,

ever, having failed, an insurrection was excited to constrain the king to oblige the princesses to return: but the good conduct of the national guard (of which the king ardently testifies his satisfaction) having dispersed the crowd, they had recourse to other means. It was not difficult for them to observe that, whenever the least commotion was perceived, a great number of faithful subjects repaired to the Thuilleries, and formed a kind of battalion, capable of restraining the ill-intentioned: they excited a rising of the people at Vincennes, and designedly spread a report that they would seize that opportunity of coming to the Thuilleries: this was to make the defenders of the king assemble as they had done before, and then to misrepresent the intention of their assembling to the national guards, by attributing to them those very designs, and offences, against which they had taken arms. They succeeded so well in souring the minds of the national guards, that the king had the affliction of seeing ill-treated, under his eyes, and without his having power to defend them, those who had given him the most affecting proofs of their attachment. It was in vain that his majesty demanded in person the arms which had rendered them suspected; it was in vain that they gave him this last mark of their devotion; nothing could restrain their infatuated pursuers, who carried their audacity so far as to seize and break those arms which had been deposited with the king.

At this time the king, having been ill, wished to take advantage of the return of spring for going to Saint Cloud, where he had the preceding year spent part of the spring, and the autumn. As this journey took place in the Holy week, they laid hold of his majesty's known attachment to the religion of his fathers, to excite men's minds against him; and on Sunday evening the club of the cordeliers caused a resolution to be posted up, in which the king himself was arraigned as refractory to the law. The next day his majesty got into his carriage, in order to proceed on his journey; but when he came to the gate of the Thuilleries, a multitude of people appeared ready to oppose his passage; and it is painful though necessary to add, that the national guard, far from restraining the seditious, united with them, and stopped the horses of the king's carriage themselves. It was in vain that Mr. de la Fayette did all in his power to make the guard sensible of the enormity of their conduct: nothing had any effect; the most insolent language, the most abominable propositions, rung in his majesty's ears: the persons of the household, who were with the king, hastened to make around him a rampart, at least of their bodies, if the intentions, which were too plainly manifested, should be carried into execution. But it was necessary that the king should drink of the chalice even to the dregs: his faithful servants were now torn from him by violence; and, in fine, after having endured for an hour and three quarters all these outrages, his majesty was constrained to return into his prison; for, after what had just happened, what other appellation can be given to his palace? The king's first care was to send for the director of the department, charged by the state with watching over the

public tranquillity and ſafety, and to inform him of all that had happened. The next day the king went himſelf to the national aſſembly, to make them ſenſible how repugnant theſe proceedings were, even to the new conſtitution; but new inſults were the only fruit which the king derived from theſe two meaſures: he was obliged to conſent to the removal of his chaplains, and the majority of his great officers; to approve a letter which his miniſter had written in his name to foreign courts; and, in fine, to aſſiſt at the maſs on Eaſter-day with the new vicar of St. Germain l'Auxerrois.

With all theſe incitements, and finding it impoſſible for him to effect any good, or to prevent any evil, is it ſurpriſing that the king has ſought to recover his liberty, and to place himſelf and his family in a place of ſafety?

Frenchmen, and you above all, Pariſians! you inhabitants of a city which the anceſtors of his majeſty took a pleaſure in calling the good city of Paris, learn to ſuſpect the ſuggeſtions, and the untruths, of your falſe friends: return to your king: he will always be your father, your beſt friend. What pleaſure will he have in forgetting all his perſonal injuries, and in ſeeing himſelf again in the midſt of you! when a conſtitution, which he ſhall have accepted freely, has made our holy religion reſpected; when government ſhall be eſtabliſhed on a footing ſteady, yet allowing uſeful action; when the property or condition of no man ſhall be troubled; when the laws ſhall be no more infringed with impunity; and, in fine, when liberty ſhall be ſettled on a firm and immoveable foundation.

At Paris, the 20th of June, 1791.
Signed LOUIS.

The king forbids his miniſters to ſign any order in his name, until they have his farther orders: he enjoins the keeper of the ſeal of the ſtate to ſend it to him, when it ſhall be required on his part.

At Paris, the 20th of June, 1791.
Signed LOUIS.

*** *The following Account of the Manner in which the foregoing Declaration was communicated to the Aſſembly, is taken from their proceedings of the* 21*ſt of* June.

Mr. la Porte, intendant of the civil liſt (being at the bar, in conſequence of a decree, requiring him to bring the king's declaration) ſaid, that that morning at eight o'clock, there was tranſmitted to him, on the part of the king, a packet, in which he found a memorial written in his majeſty's hand, of which he had read only the firſt and the laſt pages: that he immediately carried this memorial to the miniſter of juſtice, who adviſed him to take it to the preſident of the national aſſembly; that he had with this view ſought for the preſident, but could not find him.

The preſident demanded of him, whether he had the memorial; and by whom it was brought to him?

He anſwered, that he had the memorial, and that it had been brought to him by a domeſtic belonging

CONTENTS.

*French king's speech to the National Assembly, the last day of their meeting, Sept. 30, 1791; with the president's answer — — *144*
Proclamation of the French king, Sept. 30, 1791 — — ibid.
*French king's speech to the new National Assembly, Oct. 7, 1791, with the president's answer — — — — *146*
*Message from the National Assembly to the French king, Nov. 29, 1791; with his majesty's answer — — — — *148*
*French king's speech to the National Assembly, Dec. 14, 1791; with the president's answer — — — — — *149*
*Address from the National Assembly to the French king, Dec. 16, 1791 *151*
Authentic copy of the French constitution, as revised and amended by the National Assembly, and presented to the king, on the 3d of September, 1791 ibid.
*Authentic copy of the new constitution of Poland, established May 3, 1791 *177*
*Finance report, presented to the House of Commons May 10, 1791 *201*

SUPPLEMENT to the STATE PAPERS:

CONTAINING NEW AND FAITHFUL TRANSLATIONS OF TWO IMPORTANT PAPERS; WITH INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

I. *Declaration of the King of France, on his Departure from Paris* *221
*Account of the Manner in which the foregoing Declaration was communicated to the National Assembly — — — *232*
II. *Proclamation of the National Assembly, in answer to the above* — *233*

CHARACTERS.

Short account of Mr. Ray; from Dr. Pulteney's Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Progress of Botany in England, vol. i. — — 1
Character of the late Sir William Watson; from the same — 6
Sketch of the life and character of Dr. Hartley; from the European Magazine for August 1791 — — — — 8
Character of the inhabitants of an Indian village in Louisiana, from De Pages' Travels round the World, vol. i. — — — 12
Account of Mexico, and the manners of its inhabitants; from the same 15
Account of the dress and manners of the Arabs; from the same, vol. ii. 18
Account of a Hindoo widow's burning herself with the body of her deceased husband; from sketches chiefly relating to the history, &c. of the Hindoos, vol. ii. — — — — — 25
Anecdotes of Voltaire during his visit to the late king of Prussia; from the Life of Voltaire, by the Marquis de Condorcet, vol. i. — — 27
Life of the late Mr. Duval, superintendant of the imperial library and collection of medals; from the European Magazine for Oct. 1791 — 32

CONTENTS.

NATURAL HISTORY.

On the production of ambergris; from the Phil. Transf. vol. lxxxi. *part* 1. 41
Observations on certain horny excrescences of the human body. By E. Home, Esq. F. R. S. from the same — — — — 43
Observations on the decomposition of fixed air, tending to prove that charcoal is one of the constituent principles. By S. Tennant, Esq. F. R. S. from the same, part 2 — — — — — 47
Account of Chermes Lacca. By W. Roxburgh, M. D. of Samulcotta; from the same — — — — — 48
Observations on the cause and cure of the leprosy. By W. Falconer, M. D. F. R. S. and C. M. S. From Memoirs of the Medical Society of London, vol. iii. — — — — — 52
Explanation of the principles of dyeing. From Berthollet's Elements of the Art of Dyeing. Translated by W. Hamilton, M. D. vol. i. — 57
Observations on the effects produced by the action of light on colours. From the same — — — — — 58
Account of the three species of the palm-tree. From Sketches relating to the History, &c. of the Hindoos, vol. i. — — — 59
Experiments on the temperature of the air at different heights. From an Essay on Fire, by M. A. Pictet — — — — 61
Experiments on heat produced by friction. From the same — 65

USEFUL PROJECTS.

On the utility of the Spanish chesnut-tree. By L. Majendie, Esq. From the Transactions of the Society of Arts, &c. vol. ix. — — 70
Observations on the management of bees. By Mr. T. Morris. From the same 72
Process of converting smoke arising from steam engines, &c. into tar. By Mr. W. Pitt. From the same — — — — 77
Observations on curing coffee, and sending it from the West Indies in a new mode. By Mr. J. Titford. From the same — — — 80
Description of four cases of gutta serena cured by electricity. By Mr. J. Ware. From Memoirs of the Medical Society of London, vol. i. — 82
On the management of sheep, from a pamphlet addressed to the Society for Improvement of British Wool. By Sir John Sinclair, Bart. — 86
Process of dyeing the Adrianople or Turkey red. From Berthollet's Elements of Dyeing, vol. i. — — — — — 89
Remarks on manufacturing the maple sugar; extracted from a pamphlet, published at Philadelphia — — — — 93

ANTIQUITIES.

CONTENTS.

CHRONICLE. *1—*55

Births for the year 1791 — — — — *55
Marriages — — — — — *57
Promotions — — — — — *60
Deaths — — — — — — *63
Sheriffs appointed by his majesty in council for 1791 — — *71

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

SUCCESSES OF THE BRITISH ARMS IN THE EAST INDIES.

Account of the capture of Cannanore and Turuckabad, with several forts on the Malabar coast — — — — *73
Account of the capture of Bangalore — — — — *77

Letter from l'Abbé Raynal to the French National Assembly — *81
Letter from Mr. Harriot, of Rochford, in Essex, to the secretary for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. describing the effects of a high tide, February 2, 1791, on land inclosed from the sea — — — *86
Directions of the Lancashire Humane Society for the recovery of persons apparently dead by drowning, suffocation, &c. — — *87
Extracts of letters, accounts, &c. relative to the settlements in New South Wales — — — — — *89
Account of the quantity of rum and melasses exported from the British West Indies, in the years 1787, 1788, *and* 1789 — — *103
Account of the quantity of sugar imported from the British West Indies into Great Britain in certain years: also of the quantity exported from Great Britain — — — — — *104
Account of the quantity of British and foreign plantation sugars into North America, in the years 1769, 1770, 1771, *and* 1772 — *105
Account of the quantity of British plantation sugars imported into Great Britain in certain years — — — — *106
A general bill of all the christenings and burials in the cities of London and Westminster, &c. for the year 1791 — — — *107
An account of all corn and grain exported from, and imported into, England and Scotland, with the bounties and drawbacks paid, and the duties received thereon, for one year, ending the 5th of January 1792 — *108
Prices of stocks, for the year 1791 — — — *110
State of the barometer and thermometer, for the year 1791 — *111

CONTENTS.

*Principal public acts paſſed in the firſt ſeſſion of the ſeventeenth parliament of Great Britain — — — — — *112*
*Supplies granted by parliament, for the year 1791 — — *113*
*Account of the net produce of the duties of cuſtoms, exciſe, ſtamps, and incidents, between the 6th day of January 1790, to the 5th day of January 1791 — — — — — *117*

STATE PAPERS.

*His majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, on opening the ſeſſion of parliament Nov. 26th, 1790 — — — *118*
*Addreſs of the Houſe of Lords, December 1ſt, 1790; and his majeſty's anſwer — — — — — *119*
*Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons; and his majeſty's anſwer thereto *121*
*Speech of the ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, on preſenting certain bills to his majeſty, Dec. 29th, 1790 — — — *123*
*Meſſage from his majeſty to both houſes of parliament, Feb. 25, 1791, relative to a propoſed diviſion of Canada, &c. — — — *124*
Meſſage from his majeſty, relative to an augmentation of the naval force of the kingdom — — — — ibid.
Meſſage, relative to the eſtabliſhment of the younger branches of the royal family — — — — — ibid.
*His majeſty's ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, June 10th, 1791 — — — — *125*
Speech of the Earl of Weſtmoreland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both houſes of parliament, Jan. 20, 1791 — — — ibid.
*Ditto, on the cloſe of the ſeſſion, May 5th, 1791 — — *126*
*Letter of the Emperor of Germany to the French king; dated Vienna, Dec. 24th, 1790 — — — — *127*
*Proclamation for the diſcovery of the publiſhers of a certain ſeditious paper, circulated, on the 11th of July, in the town of Birmingham — *128*
*Letter of inſtructions from M. Montmorin, miniſter for foreign affairs in France, ſent by order of the king to all his miniſters at foreign courts, April 23d, 1791 — — — — — *129*
*Memoir left by the French king, on his departure from Paris, preſented to the National Aſſembly June 21ſt, 1791 — — — *131*
*Addreſs of the National Aſſembly to the French — — *135*
*Declaration of 290 members of the National Aſſembly, on the decrees for ſuſpending the exerciſe of the royal authority, and which infringe the inviolability of the ſacred perſon of the king — — — *138*
*Letter from the French king to the National Aſſembly, announcing his reſolution to accept the conſtitution, Sept. 13, 1791 — — *141*
*French king's ſpeech to the National Aſſembly, on accepting the conſtitution, Sept. 14, 1791; with the preſident's anſwer — — *143*

French

longing to a valet-de-chambre of the king.

On being interrogated, if he knew the name of that man, he anſwered, that he did not; but that it would be eaſy to know it, if the aſſembly would give the order.

A member demanded, that before the memorial ſhould be read to the aſſembly, M. la Porte ſhould be required to write down, and depoſit on the table, the account which he had to give. M. la Porte in conſequence wrote, and delivered to the preſident, the following declaration.

"I the underſigned, declare, that at eight o'clock, a domeſtic belonging to the king's firſt valet-de-chambre brought to me a ſealed packet, on which my name was written, in the hand of his majeſty. This packet incloſed a memorial, written in the king's hand, and ſigned. I have not read it: but having ſeen a poſtſcript, containing an order to the miniſters, I went immediately to M. Duport-Dutertre, miniſter of juſtice. This miniſter adviſed me to go directly to the preſident of the national aſſembly. Not finding him, I returned home, from whence I am now come, only in obedience to the orders of the national aſſembly, who have directed me to place the memorial on the table, and to ſign the preſent declaration.

At Paris, June the 21ſt, 1791.

LA PORTE."

June the 22d.

Proclamation *of the* National Aſſembly *to the* People *of* France.

(In anſwer to the king's declaration.)

AN* atrocious enterprize againſt the laws has diſcovered itſelf. The National Aſſembly approached the end of their long labours; the conſtitution was finiſhed; the tumults of the Revolution were ſubſiding; and the enemies of the public weal have reſolved by one criminal act to ſacrifice the whole nation to their vengeance. The king, and the royal family, were carried off in the night between the 20th and 21ſt of this month.

Your repreſentatives will triumph over this obſtacle: they have meaſured the extent of the duties impoſed upon them. Public liberty ſhall be maintained; conſpirators and ſlaves ſhall be taught to know the intrepidity of the founders of French liberty; and we ſolemnly engage, in the face of the nation, to avenge the law or to die.

The French are reſolved to be free; and they ſhall be free. Endeavours are uſed to make the revolution recede, but it ſhall not re-

* The original is, *Un grand attentat vient de ſe commettre.* It is impoſſible to tranſlate this; the Engliſh language has no one word that anſwers to *attentat*, which properly means, any act of an inferior juriſdiction, in contempt of a ſuperior. Something like the general meaning of the paſſage is attempted to be given above, but with great diſtruſt.

cede. Frenchmen! ſuch is your will, and your will ſhall be accompliſhed.

The buſineſs then is to apply the law to the ſtate of the kingdom at this moment. The king in the conſtitution exerciſes the royal prerogative of refuſing or ſanctioning the decrees of the legiſlative body; he is beſides the chief of the executive power; and in this laſt capacity he cauſes the laws to be executed by miniſters who are reſponſible. If the firſt public functionary deſerts his poſt, or is carried off againſt his will, the repreſentatives of the nation, inveſted with all the powers neceſſary for the preſervation of the ſtate, and for invigorating government, have a right to ſupply his place. In pronouncing that affixing the ſeal of the ſtate, and the ſignature of the miniſter of juſtice, ſhall give to decrees the character and authority of law, the national conſtituent aſſembly have exerciſed an indiſputable right. Under the ſecond relation of the king to the conſtitution, it is no leſs eaſy to find a ſubſtitute. In fact, no order from the king can be carried into effect unleſs counterſigned by the miniſter, who remains reſponſible for it: a ſimple declaration, which ſhould order miniſters to act proviſionally under their reſponſibility, without the king's ſignature, would be ſufficient.

After having provided the means of completing and ſecuring the execution of the laws, the dangers of the preſent criſis are removed with regard to the internal affairs of the kingdom. Againſt foreign attacks, a firſt re-inforcement of four hundred thouſand national guards is ordered for the army. Thus internally and externally France has every means of ſecurity, if men will not ſuffer their minds to be panic-ſtruck, but preſerve moderation. The national conſtituent aſſembly is in its place; all the public powers eſtabliſhed by the conſtitution are in action; the patriotiſm of the citizens of Paris, and its national guards, whoſe zeal is above all praiſe, watch around your repreſentatives; the active citizens of the whole kingdom are enrolled, and France is able to expect her enemies.

Ought France to fear the conſequences of a writing, extorted, before his departure, from the ſeduced king,* whom we ſhall not think inexcuſable, except in the laſt extremity? The ignorance and the pretenſions of thoſe by whom it was dictated can ſcarcely be conceived. This writing, if your intereſts require it, ſhall hereafter be conſidered more at large; but it is our duty to give ſome idea of it here.

The national aſſembly have made a ſolemn declaration of political truths; they have diſcovered, or rather re-eſtabliſhed, the ſacred rights of mankind; and this writing preſents again the theory of ſlavery.

Frenchmen! it calls to your recollection the day of the 23d of June, when the chief of the executive power, or the firſt public functionary, dared to dictate his abſolute will to your repreſentatives, charged

* This expreſſion of tenderneſs toward the king, "that they ſhall not think "him inexcuſable but in the laſt extremity," is wholly ſuppreſſed in the falſe tranſlation.

by

by your orders to renovate the conſtitution of the kingdom.

The writers of that paper have not been afraid to make mention in it of that army which menaced the national aſſembly in the month of July. They have dared to make a merit of having removed it from the deliberations of your repreſentatives.

The national aſſembly lamented the events of the 6th of October; they ordered the guilty to be proſecuted; and becauſe it is difficult to diſcover ſome brigands amidſt a general inſurrection of the people, the aſſembly are accuſed of letting them remain unpuniſhed: great care is taken to avoid relating the outrages which provoked theſe diſorders. The nation was more juſt and more generous; they no more reproached the king with the violences exerciſed under his reign, and under the reigns of his anceſtors.

They have dared in this writing to advert to the federation of the 14th of July in the laſt year; but what is the circumſtance which remains impreſſed on the memory of its authors? It is, that the firſt public functionary was placed only at the head of the repreſentatives of the nation. In the midſt of all the deputies of the national guards, and the troops of the line of the kingdom, the king there pronounced a ſolemn oath: this is the circumſtance which they have forgotten! The oath of the king was free; for he ſays himſelf, that "it was during the "federation he paſſed the ſweeteſt "moments of his ſtay in Paris; "that he pauſed with ſatisfaction "on the remembrance of the proofs "of attachment and affection there "given him by the national guards "of all France." If the king does not one day declare, that he was drawn away by the factious, his perjury ought to be publiſhed to the whole world.

Is there occaſion for running through ſo many reproaches ſo ill founded? They would ſay, that the people are made for kings, and that clemency is the only duty of theſe kings; that a great nation ought to regenerate itſelf without any agitation, without diſturbing for a moment the pleaſures of the king and his court. Some diſorders have attended the revolution; but ought the antient deſpotiſm to complain of the evils which it has produced? And is it decent in that deſpotiſm to expreſs aſtoniſhment, that the people ſhould not always have kept within bounds in diſperſing that maſs of corruption formed in a ſeries of ages by the crimes of abſolute power?

Addreſſes of felicitation and thanks have come in from all parts of the kingdom, and theſe, it is ſaid, are the work of the factious: yes, without doubt, of twenty-four millions of factious.

It was neceſſary that all the powers ſhould be re-conſtituted, becauſe all were corrupted; becauſe a frightful debt, accumulated by the ignorance and diſorders of government, was precipitating the nation into an abyſs. We are reproached for not ſubjecting the conſtitution to the king's refuſal; but royalty is eſtabliſhed for the ſake of the people only; and* if great nations

* This ſeems to admit the *moral neceſſity* of monarchy for a great nation; but the falſe tranſlation ſinks it to *a voluntary obligation*, and weakens the force of the ſentence

tions are obliged to maintain a kingly government, it is becauſe that form is the ſafe-guard of their happineſs. The conſtitution has left the king his prerogative and his true character. Your repreſentatives would have acted criminally if they had ſacrificed twenty-four millions of citizens to the intereſt of one man.

The labours of the people fill the treaſury of the ſtate; it is a ſacred depoſit. The firſt ſymptom of ſlavery is to conſider the public contributions as a debt paid to deſpotiſm*. France ought to be on this point more ſtrict than any other country. The national aſſembly has regulated the appropriation of theſe contributions with exact juſtice; they have provided munificently for the expences of the king: by a condeſcenſion of the aſſembly he himſelf has fixed the amount, and nearly thirty millions granted for the civil liſt are repreſented as too moderate a ſum.

The decree on war and peace takes from the king and his miniſters the right of devoting the people to carnage, according to the caprices or the views of the court: and this ſeems to be a ſubject of regret! A ſucceſſion of diſaſtrous treaties has ſacrificed the territories of the French empire, the treaſures of the ſtate, and the induſtry of the citizens. The legiſlative body better underſtand the intereſts of the nation; and yet we are reproached for having reſerved to that body the reviſion and confirmation of treaties! What then! have you not had ſufficiently long experience of the errors of government?

Under the antient regimen, the promotion and the diſcipline of ſoldiers and officers of the land and ſea ſervice were abandoned to the caprice of miniſters. The national aſſembly, attentive to their welfare, has reſtored the rights which belonged to them; the royal authority has no more than a third or fourth part of the appointments to diſpoſe of; and this the authors of the paper do not find ſufficient.

They attack your judicature without even dreaming that the king of a great people ought not to interfere in the adminiſtration of juſtice any farther than in cauſing the laws to be obſerved, and judgment executed. They are diſpoſed to excite diſſatisfaction concerning the right of pardoning offences and commuting puniſhment; and yet it is univerſally known how this right is exerciſed, and on whom monarchs beſtow ſuch favours.

To complain of being no longer at liberty to direct all the parts of the adminiſtration, is to claim miniſterial deſpotiſm. Certainly the king could not exerciſe it himſelf. The choice of their adminiſtrators

ſentence that follows. The whole paſſage runs thus: "Does not royalty exiſt "for the people? and if a great nation *obliges itſelf* to maintain it, is it not ſolely "*becauſe it is believed to be uſeful?*"—This ſhews the aim of all the fraud practiſed with theſe papers. It is levelled at the general principle of monarchy, in this and every country, as well as in France.

* As the falſe tranſlation was intended to operate here, this ſaving clauſe in favour of other countries has been omitted; the preceding and ſubſequent ſentences have been alſo altered.

reſts

CONTENTS.

the passage to it by the Cape of Good Hope. By W. Robertson, D.D. F.R.S. Ed. — — — — 167

The Statistical Account of Scotland, drawn up from the communications of the ministers of the different parishes. By Sir John Sinclair, Bart. vols. i. *and* ii. — — — — — 182

Sacontala, or the Fatal Ring; an Indian drama, by Calidas. Translated from the original Sanscrit and Pracrit — — — 192

THE END.

CONTENTS.

ANTIQUITIES.

Singular letter from Henry VIII. to a Mrs. Coward, of Southampton. From Lodge's Illuſtrations of Britiſh Hiſtory, &c. vol. i. — — 96
Letter from the Earl of Suffolk to Queen Elizabeth, on the ſubject of her propoſed marriage. From the ſame, vol. ii. — — — *ibid.*
Remarks of the Earl of Leiceſter upon the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. From the ſame — — — — 102
Extract of a ſpirited letter by the Earl of Suſſex to Sir William Cecil. From the ſame — — — — 103
"*A breefe of ſuche reaſons and conjectures which cauſed many to ſuppoſe his "honor (the Earl of Derby) to bee bewytched.*" *From the ſame* — *ibid.*
Speech delivered to Queen Elizabeth at her departure from Harvile, Auguſt 1602. *From the ſame* — — — — 104
Commercial conſequences of the cruſades to Europe. From Robertſon's Diſquiſition concerning Ancient India — — — *ibid.*
Religious ceremonies obſerved by the Jeſuits on delivering a knife to the aſſaſſin of Henry III. of France. From the Gentleman's Magazine for March 1791 — — — — — 107

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Extract from a diſcourſe delivered to the ſtudents of the Royal Academy, on diſtributing the prizes, Dec. 10, 1790, *by the preſident* — 109
On the excellence of the Britiſh conſtitution. From "An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs" — — — — 117
Diſcuſſion of the queſtion, "What we mean when we ſay the PEOPLE?" From the ſame — — — — 119
Obſervations on the tenure by which the tackſmen of the highlands formerly held their farms, &c. From Proſpects and Obſervations on a Tour through England and Scotland. By T. Newte, Eſq. — — 123
Account of the erection of the Edyſtone lighthouſes. From Smeaton's Narrative of the Edyſtone Lighthouſe — — — — 126

CONTENTS.

POETRY.

Ode for the new year 1791. *By H. J. Pye, Esq. Poet Laureat* 137
Ode for his Majesty's birth-day, June 4, 1791. *By the same* — 139
Lines by Sir C. Cavendish to the Countess of Shrewsbury, written in the year 1614. *From Lodge's Illustrations of British History, &c.* — 140
Personal description and domestic character of the ancient inhabitants of this island. From "The Aboriginal Britons," by G. Richards, B. A. 141
Monody on Dick, an academical cat. From Salmagundi, a miscellaneous combination of original poetry — — — — 143
Song for the Wiccamical Anniversary. From the same — — 149
The golden days of good King Alfred. From "Seventeen hundred and Ninety-one," a poem by A. Murphy, Esq. — — — 150
Censure of the perpetual exhibition of portraits. From "The Shakspeare Gallery," a poem by Mr. Jerningham — — — 151
Characters of Shakspeare, proposed as subjects for painting. From the same 152
The Magpie and Robin Red-Breast. A tale, by Peter Pindar, Esq. 153
Description of the sea shore. By Dr. Aikin — — — 156
Description of Morning. From Poems by the author of the Village Curate, &c. — — — — — *ibid.*
The Patriot Fair, a song. By the late C. Smart, M. A. — 157
Soliloquy of the Princess Perriwinkle. From "A Trip to Cambridge," a comedy — — — — — 158
Prologue to The School for Arrogance, spoken by Mr. Bernard — 159
Extract from an elegy written at the Hot Wells, Bristol — — 160
Netley Abbey. By W. Sotheby, Esq. — — — 161
*Character of the inventor of whist. From "*WHIST,*" a poem* 163
Disgrace of trumping with an ace. From the same — — 164
Epitaph — — — — — 165
Lines written in the schools at Oxford, on the last day of performing exercises for a doctor's degree — — — — 165
Sonnet. By Charlotte Smith — — — — 166

ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1791.

An Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India, and the progress of trade with that country, prior to the discovery of the

reſts with the people; but theſe very adminiſtrators are under the king's authority in all matters which do not concern the aſſeſſment of impoſts: he can, under the reſponſibility of his miniſters, annul their irregular acts, and ſuſpend the exerciſe of their functions.

The powers once ſeparated, the legiſlative body, like all other public powers, muſt not go beyond the limits aſſigned it. In default of miniſters, imperious neceſſity has ſometimes forced the national aſſembly to mingle, in ſpite of itſelf, in the adminiſtration. It is not for the government to reproach that aſſembly on this account; it ought to be told that it no longer inſpired confidence; and while all the people of France inclined towards the legiſlative body as the centre of action, that body never buſied itſelf in this reſpect, but to make ſuch diſpoſitions as were neceſſary for the preſervation of liberty. Ought it to give continuance to any diſtruſt? You may judge after the departure of the king.

The faction which, in conſequence of that departure, has drawn up a long liſt of reproaches, to which it would be ſo eaſy to reply, has unmaſked itſelf. Imputations, frequently renewed, betray their ſource. They complain that the new ſyſtem is complicated; and, in evident contradiction, complain at the ſame time of the biennial duration of the functions of electors. They bitterly reproach, in the ſocieties of the friends of the conſtitution, that ardent love of liberty which has ſo greatly aſſiſted the revolution, and which may be ſtill ſo uſeful, if under the preſent circumſtances it is directed by a patriotiſm always prudent and enlightened.

Is it neceſſary, in fine, to ſpeak of the inſinuation relative to the Catholic religion? The national aſſembly, you know, have made uſe only of the rights of the civil power; they have reſtored the purity of the firſt chriſtian ages; and it is not the intereſt of heaven that dictates theſe reproaches.

Frenchmen! the abſence of the king will not arreſt the activity of government; and you are threatened only by one real danger. It is your part to provide againſt the ſuſpenſion of the labours of induſtry, for the payment of the public contributions, and againſt that extreme agitation which may overturn the ſtate by an exceſs of patriotiſm, or at the inſtigation of our enemies, commencing in anarchy, and ending in civil war.

This is the danger to which the national aſſembly calls the attention of all good citizens; this is the real misfortune which you muſt avoid. Your repreſentatives exhort you, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, not to loſe ſight of this object. It is in critical moments that a great character ſhould be developed: it is at ſuch times that private animoſities and private intereſts ſhould diſappear. The people who have recovered liberty ſhould, above all things, ſhew that firm tranquillity by which tyrants are appalled.

The grand, almoſt the only object which ſhould particularly engage us until the moment now at hand, when the national aſſembly ſhall have taken their definitive reſolution, is the maintaining of order.

der. Order may exiſt wherever there is a central point of authority; that point is found in the aſſembly of your repreſentatives. It will ſuffice proviſionally, if the united voice of citizens pronounce with energy the obligation of reſpecting the law; if the public force of the army of the national guards, and of all the people of France, ſupport the execution of the law. *We ſhall bewail the misfortunes of our king; we ſhall call down the vengeance of the laws on thoſe who have drawn him from his poſt; but the empire ſhall not be ſhaken; the activity of the adminiſtration of juſtice ſhall not relax. Rally, therefore, around that centre on which the preſervation of France depends; watch thoſe men who conſider public calamities but as affording a favourable opportunity for their depredations: unite your efforts for preventing violence; for ſecuring the payment of the contributions and the free circulation of proviſions; for maintaining the ſafety of men's perſons, and of all kinds of property. Diſplay the law to the guilty; ſtrengthen the conſtitutional authorities with all the puiſſance of the general will; let the factious, who require the blood of their fellow citizens, behold order preſerved in the midſt of tempeſts, and the conſtitution eſtabliſhing itſelf, and becoming more dear to the French from the blows which they direct againſt it. And, in fine, let the dangers which were deſigned for you, involve none but the enemies of your welfare. The capital may ſerve as a model for the reſt of France: the king's departure cauſed no agitation there; and our enemies are filled with deſpair at ſeeing Paris enjoy perfect tranquillity.

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CHARACTERS.

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Short Account of Mr. Ray; *from Dr. Pulteney's Hiſtorical and Biographical Sketches of the Progreſs of Botany in England*, vol. i.

JOHN Wray, or, as he always ſpelt his name after the year 1669, Ray, was born at Black Notley, near Braintree, in Eſſex, Nov. 29, 1628. His father, though in ſo humble a ſituation as that of a blackſmith, ſent his ſon to the grammar-ſchool at Braintree; and in 1644, entered him at Catherine Hall, in Cambridge; from whence he removed, in leſs than two years, to Trinity College, where the politer ſciences were more cultivated. Dr. Barrow was his fellow pupil, and intimate friend, and, on account of their early proficiencies, both were the favourites of their learned tutor, Dr. Duport. He was choſen minor-fellow of Trinity, in 1649; in 1651, was made Greek lecturer of the college; in 1653, mathematical lecturer; and in 1655, humanity reader. Theſe appointments were ſufficient teſtimonies of his talents and abilities at this early period. He afterwards paſſed through the offices of the college, and became tutor to many gentlemen of honourable birth and attainments, who gave him due praiſe and acknowledgments for his watchful care of them. He alſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf, while in college, as a ſenſible and rational preacher, and a ſound divine. As his favourite ſtudy was the works of God, he laid, at this time, in his college lectures, the foundation of his "Wiſdom of God in the Creation," and of his "Three Phyſico-theological Diſcourſes;" which were afterwards ſo well received by the public.

At the period when Mr. Ray turned his attention to the ſtudy of nature, the knowledge of plants was not highly ſuperior to the ſtate in which Turner had found it, in the ſame place, more than a century before. In this ſtudy Ray could find no maſter. I am not able to ſay, that a ſingle publication, of a ſcientific nature, on the ſubject of plants, had ever appeared at Cambridge; for Maplet's "Green Foreſt" will ſcarcely be thought worthy of that appellation. Oxford had, indeed, not only experienced the benefit of private encouragement, but of public munificence, in the eſtabliſhment of a garden. But at the ſiſter univerſity Mr. Ray ſtood alone, himſelf indeed an hoſt! Self-taught as he was, and full of ardour, he ſo forcibly diſplayed the utility of botanical knowledge, and its intimate connection with the

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arts, and conveniencies of life, independent even of thoſe charms, which the views of nature ever afford to contemplative minds, that he ſoon made it an object of attention; and numbered among his aſſociates in theſe ſtudies, Mr. Nid, a ſenior fellow of his own college, Mr. Francis Willughby, and Mr. Peter Courthope. The firſt of theſe gentlemen became his inſeparable companion; but he had the misfortune to deplore his death, a little time before the publication of his firſt work, which came out under the title of "Catalogus Plantarum circa Cantabrigiam naſcentium. *Cantab.* 1660." pp. 182. *cum Indicibus, &c.* pp. 103. 12°.

Theſe occupations, however, did not divert Mr. Ray from his object of entering into the miniſtry. He was, in Dec. 1660, ordained both deacon and prieſt, by Dr. Sanderſon, biſhop of Lincoln, and continued fellow of Trinity College till the Bartholomew act; which, as he did not ſubſcribe, neceſſarily ſuperſeded him. This event took place Sept. 18, 1662.

He died at Black Notley, and was buried, as Dr. Derham ſays, according to his own deſire, in the church of that pariſh. The writers of the "General Dictionary," in the mean time, inform us, that, "although the rector of the pariſh "offered him a place of interment "in the chancel of the church, yet "he modeſtly refuſed it, chooſing "rather to be buried in the church-"yard with his anceſtors, where a "monument was erected to him," as Dr. Derham relates, at the charge of ſome of his friends, with a Latin inſcription; which may be ſeen in the "General Dictionary," and in Mr. Scott's "Remains;" and of which I inſert a copy below *.

As Mr. Ray did not inherit any paternal

* The Inſcription on Mr. Ray's Monument.

Eruditiſſimi Viri JOHANNIS RAII, M. A.
Quicquid mortale fuit
Hoc in anguſto Tumulo reconditum eſt,
At ſcripta
Non unica continet Regio:
Et Fama undiquaque celeberrima
Vetat Mori.
Collegii SS. Trinitatis Cantab. fuit olim Socius,
Nec non Societatis Regiæ apud Londinenſes Sodalis,
Egregium utriuſque Ornamentum.
In omni Scientiarum Genere,
Tam divinarum quam humanarum
Verſatiſſimus:
Et ſicut alter Solomon (cui forſan unico ſecundus)
A Cedro ad Hyſſopum,
Ab Animalium maximis ad minima uſque Inſecta
Exquiſitam nactus eſt Notitiam.
Nec de ſtantis ſolum quæ patet Terræ Facie,
Accuratiſſimè diſſeruit;
Sed et intima ipſius Viſcera ſagaciſſimè rimatus,
Quicquid ſtatu dignum in Univerſi Naturâ
Deſcripſit.
Apud exteras Gentes agens,

Quæ

paternal eſtate, and had often refuſed preferment, his circumſtances could never have been affluent; and the legacy of Mr. Willughby is ſaid to have been the greateſt part of what he enjoyed. His own eſtate, whatever that might be, he ſettled on his wife. He had four daughters, three of whom ſurvived him. "He left a ſmall legacy to the poor "of his own pariſh, and five pounds "to Trinity College, in Cam-"bridge, to purchaſe books for the "library there. All his collections "of natural curioſities he beſtowed "on his friend and neighbour, Mr. "Samuel Dale, author of the Phar-"macologia, to whom they were "delivered about a week before his "death."

Mr. Ray's poſthumous papers were entruſted by his widow to the care of Dr. Derham; who, after publiſhing the "Hiſtoria Inſectorum," ſelected a number of his letters, and printed them, in 1718, under the title of "Philoſophical Letters between the learned Mr.

Quæ aliorum Oculos fugerant, diligenter exploravit,
Multaque ſcitu digniſſima primus in Lucem protulit.
Quod ſupereſt, eâ Morum Simplicitate præditus,
Ut fuerit abſque Invidiâ doctus:
Sublimis Ingenii,
Et (quod raro accidit) demiſſi ſimul Animi et modeſti.
Non Sanguine et Genere inſignis,
Sed (quod majus)
Propriâ Virtute illuſtris.
De Opibus Titulisque obtinendis
Parum ſollicitus,
Hæc potius mereri voluit, quam adipiſci:
Dum ſub privato Lare ſua Sorte contentus,
Fortunâ lautiori dignus conſenuit.
In Rebus aliis ſibi Modum facilè impoſuit,
In Studiis nullum.
Quid plura?
Hiſce omnibus
Pietatem minimè fucatam adjunxit,
Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ
(Id quod ſupremo Habitu confirmavit)
Totus et ex Animo addictus.
Sic bene latuit, bene vixit Vir beatus,
Quem præſens Ætas colit, Poſtera mirabitur.

This monument beginning to want repair by ſtanding expoſed in the churchyard, was removed and ſet up in the chancel of the church; and to the epitaph is added, on the table of the eaſt ſide, what follows:

Hoc Cenotaphium
Olim in Cœmeterio ſub Dio poſitum,
Inclementis Cœli Injuriis obliteratum,
Et tantum non collapſum,
Refecit et ſub Tectum tranſpoſuit
J. LEGGE, M. D.
xvi kal. Aprilis, A. D. 1737.

On the weſt ſide,

J. RAY, { Nat. 29. Nov. 1628.
Ob. 17. Jan. 1705-6.

Ray and ſeveral of his Correſpondents, natives and foreigners." 8°. pp. 367.

This collection contains 218 letters; of which, ſixty-eight were written by Mr. Ray himſelf. Among his correſpondents, the moſt frequent were Dr. Liſter, Sir Philip Skippon, Dr. Tancred Robinſon, Sir Hans Sloane, Mr. Llwyd, Mr. Jeſſop, Mr. Johnſon, and Mr. Oldenburgh. The firſt of Mr. Ray's letters bears date in 1667, the laſt in 1705.

The correſpondence of learned and ſcientific men, ſeldom fails to be a welcome preſent to thoſe of ſimilar literature and purſuits; for, beſides the perſonal intereſt we take in their concerns, they commonly delineate, in the moſt faithful colours, the characters of the writers, frequently aſcertain diſcoveries, and enable their ſucceſſors to trace the progreſs of knowledge in a more intereſting manner than by hiſtorical detail.

As the general ſubject of theſe letters is natural hiſtory, ſo botany bears a prevailing portion. Beſides numberleſs critical obſervations that occur on particular ſpecies, we meet with a long catalogue of the rare plants of the north of England, by Mr. Lawſon; Dr. Plukenet's Obſervations on the firſt edition of the "Synopſis;" thoſe of Dr. Preſton on various Britiſh plants; a paper of Thomas Williſel's, ſpecifying the different kinds of trees, on which, in his travels, he had ſeen the miſſeltoe growing; and a liſt of ſuch exotics as were thought rare at that time in the Chelſea Garden, and at Fulham.

There is, moreover, among theſe letters, an intereſting paper, written by Mr. Ray himſelf, in anſwer to the queſtion, "What number of "plants there are in the world?" in which he diſcuſſes the difficulty, or impoſſibility, of gaining ſatisfaction on this point, ariſing from the want of ſufficient bounds between ſpecies and variety. He communicated to the Royal Society ſome remarks on this head, which were printed by Dr. Birch, in the third volume of the "Hiſtory of the Royal Society."

Dr. Derham meditated writing the life of Mr. Ray; but he appears not to have fully executed his plan. His papers, however, were publiſhed by Mr. Scott, in 1760, under the title of "Select Remains of the "learned John Ray." 8°. pp. 336. To theſe are annexed three of the Itineraries, which conſtitute the greater part of the book. They are evidently ſhort notes only, never intended for the public eye. Some of Mr. Ray's devotional pieces accompany this collection; and three letters to Dr. Derham; with a Latin letter of advice and inſtructions to his pupils, the Mr. Willughbys.

There is ſaid to be ſtill extant a manuſcript of Mr. Ray's, under the title of "Catalogus Plantarum domeſticarum quæ aluntur Catabrigiæ in hortis academicorum et oppidanorum." In this, he chiefly makes uſe of the ſynonyma of the two Bauhines, and of Gerard and Parkinſon.

Mr. Ray had the ſingular happineſs of devoting fifty years of his life to the cultivation of the ſciences he loved. Incited by the moſt ardent genius, which overcame innumerable difficulties and diſcouragements, his labours were, in the end, crowned with a ſucceſs, before almoſt unequalled. He totally reformed the ſtudies of botany and zoology; he raiſed them to the dignity

dignity of a ſcience, and placed them in an advantageous point of view; and, by his own inveſtigations, added more real improvement to them in England, than any of his predeceſſors.

He invented and defined many terms, expreſſive of ideas before unknown to the naturaliſts of England; and introduced many others, from writers of the beſt note. As he wrote Latin in great purity, and with great facility, he gave his ſubjects all the embelliſhments that learning could beſtow; and his extenſive erudition, and knowledge of philoſophy at large, enabled him to add many collateral ornaments, and uſeful obſervations, with an aptitude and judgment that has been much applauded.

The extent of his improvements in ſcience procured him the admiration of his contemporaries, and have juſtly tranſmitted his name to poſterity, among thoſe who have done honour to their age and country. Even learned foreigners have been eloquent in his praiſe. French writers have ſtiled him the "Engliſh Tournefort;" an eulogy that ſufficiently evinced the high opinion they had of his merit. And the late eminent Haller not only attributes to Ray the merit of improving and elevating botanical knowledge, but from his life dates a new æra in the records of the ſcience.

But Mr. Ray's enquiries were not limited to natural knowledge. His foreign travels and his itineraries prove, that antiquities, polity, government, and legiſlation, attracted a ſhare of his regard; as his philological books are evidences of his attention to language, and of his deſire to improve and illuſtrate his native tongue.

To all theſe endowments he joined an unremitting induſtry and perſeverance in the proſecution of his ſtudies; and, what marks a fortitude of mind as uncommon as it is enviable, his aſſiduity ſeemed to ſtrengthen with his age, and to bid a defiance to the encroachments of infirmity, and the proſpect of diſſolution. I call to witneſs the magnitude of the attempt, and ſucceſsful iſſue of his exertions, in writing the ſupplemental volume to his "Hiſtory of Plants," and in beginning the "Hiſtoria Inſectorum" at ſo late a period of his life.

His ſingular modeſty, affability, and communicative diſpoſition, ſecured to him the eſteem of all who knew him; and his eminent talents as a naturaliſt and a philoſopher procured him many patrons and friends, and preſerved him from that obſcurity, which would otherwiſe probably have been his lot: for, notwithſtanding his learning and probity, as his principles did not accord with thoſe of the times, they were adverſe to his fortune, and he gained no emoluments in the church. He had relinquiſhed his fellowſhip at the commencement of the Bartholomew act, not, as ſome imagined, from his having taken the Solemn League and Covenant (for that he never did, and often declared, that he ever thought it an unlawful oath), but becauſe he could not declare, agreeably to the terms of the act, that the oath was not binding on thoſe who had taken it. Hence too, his conſtant refuſal of preferment afterwards, occaſioned him to be ranked, by many, among the non-conformiſts, although he lived

and died in the communion of the church of England. He had ſeen, with deep regret, the diſorders of the commonwealth and the uſurpation, and afterwards, not leſs, the threatening aſpect of the reign of James II.

His ſtrong attachment to the principles of civil and religious liberty, is manifeſted by his animated ſtile, in the preface to his "Synopſis;" where he expreſſes, in glowing terms, his joy and gratitude, for having lived to ſee thoſe bleſſings eſtabliſhed by the Revolution.

The character of Mr. Ray cannot be contemplated by thoſe who have a true reliſh for the ſtudies of nature, without a high ſentiment of reſpect and gratitude; nor by thoſe who conſider the exemplarineſs of his life as a man, and his qualifications as a divine, without veneration.

There are two engraved portraits of Mr. Ray prefixed to his works, both from a painting by Faithorne; one by W. Elder, before his "Syl-"loge," in 1693, which ſeems to have been copied for the "Methodus emendata," in 1703; and the other by Vertue, in 1713, prefixed to the "Phyſico-theological Diſ-"courſes." In both theſe, he is repreſented, as Mr. Ames deſcribes it, in "an oval frame, with hair, whiſ-"kers, band, and canonical habit." Theſe engravings repreſent Mr. Ray in the latter ſtage of his life.

Character of the late Sir William Watſon; *from the ſame work*, vol. ii.

SIR William Watſon had a natural activity both of mind and body, that never allowed him to be indolent in the ſlighteſt degree. He was a moſt exact œconomiſt of his time, and throughout life a very early riſer, being up uſually in ſummer at ſix o'clock, and frequently ſooner; thus ſecuring to himſelf daily two or three uninterrupted hours for ſtudy. In his younger days, theſe early hours were frequently given up to the purpoſes of ſimpling; but, in riper years, they were devoted to ſtudy. He read much and careſully; and his ardent and unremitting deſire to be acquainted with the progreſs of all thoſe ſciences which were his objects, joined to a vigorous and retentive memory, enabled him to treaſure up a vaſt ſtock of knowledge. What he thus acquired, he freely diſpenſed. His mode of conveying information was clear, forcible, and energetic, and juſtified the encomium beſtowed upon him by a learned foreigner, in a letter to a correſpondent *.

His attention, however, was by no means confined to the ſubjects of his own profeſſion, or thoſe of philoſophy at large. He was a careful obſerver of men, and of the manners of the age; and the extraordinary endowment of his memory had furniſhed him with a great variety of intereſting and entertaining anecdotes, concerning the characters and circumſtances of his time †.

On all ſubjects, his liberal and communicative diſpoſition, and his courteous behaviour, encouraged enquiry; and thoſe who ſought for information from him, ſeldom departed without it. In his epiſtolary corre-

* *Watſonius Botanicus et Phyſicus clarus eſt et perſpicax homo, itidemque humaniſſimus.* M. Mecke', of Berlin, in Epiſtolis ad Hallerum *datis*.

† It is to Sir William Watſon that we owe the preſervation of an anecdote, which tends to illuſtrate the character, and exalt the ſincerity and integrity of the excellent

correſpondence he was copious and preciſe; and ſuch as enjoyed the privilege and pleaſure of it, experienced in his punctuality another qualification which greatly enhanced its value.

Some of the firſt of Sir William Watſon's papers in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, evince his early proficiency in the ſcience of Botany, and eſpecially his acquaintance with the Engliſh ſpecies: nor was he leſs ſkilled in exotics in his riper years. That he was very ſoon conſidered on the continent as highly reſpectable in this light, is manifeſt from his having been one of the few in England, whom Mr. Clifford gratified with a copy of the Hortus Cliffortianus; a work, at its firſt publication, only attainable by thoſe whoſe ſtudies and acquirements in the ſubject of it, entitled them to receive it from the munificence of Mr. Clifford himſelf. In fact, all learned foreigners, of the ſame bias in their ſtudies, brought letters of recommendation to him; and, on their return, failed not, both in their corrreſpondence and in their writings, to bear honourable teſtimony to his learning and abilities.

Sir William Watſon had learned to know plants by the ſyſtem and nomenclature of Ray, when trivial names were unknown; and he was ſo ſingularly happy in a tenacious memory, as to be able to repeat, with wonderful promptitude, the long names which had been in uſe from the times of Bauhine, Gerard, and Parkinſon; a taſk from which botaniſts are relieved, by the introduction of the Linnæan trivial epithets. He lived to ſee the ſyſtem of his much-honoured countryman give way to that of the Swede, which began to take place in England about this period; and with which alſo he made himſelf acquainted. His knowledge of plants, and the hiſtory of them in the various authors, was ſo eminently extenſive, that his opinion was frequently appealed to as deciſive on the ſubject; and by ſome of his intimate friends he was uſually called "The living Lexi-" con of Botany." Had it been the lot of Sir William Watſon to have been devoted to Botany as an official employment; or had the more important avocations of his profeſſion allowed a further indulgence to his favourite bias, ſuch an union of natural endowments and acquired knowledge as he poſſeſſed, muſt have placed him very high among the naturaliſts of this age.

It remains for me to do juſtice to the worth of Sir William Watſon as a phyſician, and as a member of ſociety. But as theſe parts of his character have been already delineated with great truth and diſcrimination by my much-reſpected friend Dr. Garthſhore, I ſhall conclude this account by ſome extracts from the Memorial read by him to a ſociety of phyſicians, of which Sir William had been the preſident.

"As a phyſician, his humanity, " aſſiduity, and caution, were emi-" nently conſpicuous; and his ex-" act obſervance of the duties of " ſocial politeneſs muſt ever be re-" membered with pleaſure by all

excellent Mr. Addiſon. It is inſerted in the Addenda to his Life, in the third volume of the Biographia Britannica. Dr. Kippis alſo acknowledges himſelf the moſt indebted to him for the materials of the life of the late Henry Baker, Eſq.

" thoſe who enjoyed the happineſs " of his acquaintance. The ſmile " of benignity was always diſplayed " on his countenance; he invariably continued the general, the " ready, and the obliging friend of " mankind; he was reſpectful to " the elder and ſuperior, encouraging to the younger, and pleaſant " and eaſy to all with whom he had " any intercourſe. The ſame affability and good-humour which " adorned his character in public " life, were preſerved alſo in the " boſom of his family, and endeared " him to thoſe who were more immediately around him. He was " ſcarcely ever out of temper, was " always benignant and kind to his " friends and relations — and, it " would be injurious to his memory not to mention an anecdote " which equally diſplays his humanity, and the warmth with which " he intereſted himſelf in the caſes " of his patients—Not many years " before his death, he was waked " ſuddenly one morning very early " by his ſervant, who came to inform him that his houſe had been " broken open, and that his plate " (which was of conſiderable value) " was ſtolen.—" Is that all?" ſaid " he, coolly—" I was afraid you had " brought me ſome alarming meſſage from Mr.———, concerning whoſe dangerous ſituation I " have been very uneaſy all night."

Sketch of the Life and Character of Dr. Hartley; *from the European Magazine for Auguſt* 1791.

DOCTOR David Hartley was born on the 30th of Auguſt, 1705. He was the ſon of a very worthy and reſpectable clergyman, vicar of Armley, in the county of York. He received the firſt rudiments of inſtruction at a private ſchool, and his academical education at Cambridge. He was admitted at Jeſus' College at the age of fifteen years, and was afterwards elected a Fellow of that Society. He was originally intended for the church, and proceeded for ſome time in his thoughts and ſtudies towards that object: but upon a cloſer conſideration of the conditions attached to the clerical profeſſion, he was reſtrained by ſome ſcruples, which made him reluctant to ſubſcribe the Thirty-nine Articles. In conſequence of theſe ſcruples he became diſqualified for the purſuit of his firſt plan, of devoting himſelf to the perſonal functions and ſervice of the church. However, he ſtill continued to the end of his life a well-affected member of the church of England, approving of its practical doctrines, and conforming to its public worſhip. As the church of England maintains all the uſeful and practical doctrines of Chriſtian morality, he did not think it neceſſary to ſeparate himſelf from its communion on account of ſome conteſted articles of ſpeculative and abſtruſe opinion. He was a Catholic Chriſtian, in the moſt extenſive and liberal ſenſe of that term. On the ſubject of religious controverſy he has left the following teſtimony of his ſentiments, in the laſt ſection of Propoſition LXXXVIII. *On Religious Knowledge*; viz. " The great differences of opinion and contentions which happen on religious matters, are plainly owing to the violence of men's paſſions more than to any other cauſe. When religion has had its due effect in reſtraining theſe, and begetting true candour, we may expect

pect a unity of opinion both in religious and other matters, as far as is neceſſary for uſeful and practical purpoſes."

Though his talents were very general, yet undoubtedly his pre-eminent faculties were formed for the moral and religious ſciences. Theſe talents diſplayed themſelves in the earlieſt parts of life, with ſo much diſtinction, as could not fail to hold out to his ambition a future career of honeſt fame, in the ſervice of the national church, if he could have complied with the conditions, conſiſtently with the ſatisfaction of his own mind. But he had at all times a moſt ſcrupulous and diſintereſted mind, which diſpoſed him in every part of his life, and under all circumſtances, to adhere firmly to thoſe principles which appeared to him to form the ſtrict and conſcientious line of moral duty. It proceeded, therefore, from the moſt ſerious ſcruples, irreſiſtibly impreſſed upon his mind, that he relinquiſhed the profeſſion of his firſt choice, which may properly be called the prerogative profeſſion of moral and religious philoſophy.

In conſequence of this determination he applied his talents and ſtudies to the medical profeſſion, in which he ſoon became equally and in the firſt degree eminent for ſkill, integrity, and charitable compaſſion. His mind was formed to benevolence and univerſal philanthropy. He exerciſed the healing art with anxious and equal fidelity to the poor and to the rich. He viſited, with affectionate ſympathy, the humbleſt receſſes of poverty and ſickneſs, as well as the ſtately beds of pampered diſtemper and premature decrepitude. His manners were gentle; his countenance affable; his eloquence moral and pathetic, not harſh or importunate; yet he was not unmindful that bodily ſickneſs ſoftens the mind to moral ſenſibilities, which afforded frequent opportunities to him of exerciſing mental charities to afflicted minds, whilſt he employed the powers of medical ſcience to the reſtoration of bodily health. He thus united all the talents of his own mind for natural and moral ſcience, conformably to thoſe doctrines which he inculcates, to that univerſal ſyſtem of final morality, by which each effort of ſenſation or ſcience in the various gradations of life muſt be eſteemed defective, until it ſhall have attained to its correſponding moral conſummation.

It aroſe from the union abovementioned, of talents in the moral ſcience with natural philoſophy, and particularly from the profeſſional knowledge of the human frame, that Dr. Hartley was enabled to bring into one view the various arguments for his extenſive ſyſtem, from the firſt rudiments of ſenſation through the maze of complex affections and paſſions in the path of life, to the final, moral end of man.

He was induſtrious and indefatigable in the purſuit of all collateral branches of knowledge, and lived in perſonal intimacy with the learned men of his age. Dr. Law, Dr. Butler, Dr. Warburton, afterwards Biſhops of Carliſle, Durham, and Glouceſter, and Dr. Jortin, were his intimate friends and fellow-labourers in moral and religious philoſophy, in metaphyſics, in divinity, and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. He was much attached to the highly reſpected character of Dr. Hoadley, biſhop of Wincheſter, for the liberality of his opinions both in church and ſtate, and for the freedom of his religious ſentiments. Dr. Hales, and Dr. Smith,

Smith, maſter of Trinity College in Cambridge, with other members of the Royal Society, were his companions in the ſciences of optics, ſtaticks, and other branches of natural philoſophy. Mr. Hawkins Browne, the author of an elegant Latin poem, *De Animi Immortalitate*, and Dr. Young, the moral poet, ſtood high in his eſteem. Dr. Byrom, the inventor of a ſcientific ſhort-hand writing, was much reſpected by him for uſeful and accurate judgment in the branch of philology. Mr. Hooke, the Roman hiſtorian, and diſciple of the Newtonian chronology, was amongſt his literary intimates.

The celebrated poet Mr. Pope was likewiſe admired by him, not only as a man of genius, but alſo as a moral poet. Yet, as Dr. Hartley was a zealous Chriſtian without guile, and (if the phraſe may be admitted) a partizan for the Chriſtian religion, he felt ſome jealouſy of the rivalſhip of human philoſophy, and regarded the Eſſay on Man, by Mr. Pope, as tending to inſinuate that the divine revelation of the Chriſtian religion was ſuperfluous, in a caſe where human philoſophy was adequate. He ſuſpected the ſecret influence of Lord Bolingbroke as guiding the poetical pen of his unſuſpecting friend, to deck out in borrowed plumes the plagiariſms of modern ethics from Chriſtian doctrines; not without farther diſtruſt of the inſidious effect of poetic licence, in ſoftening ſome rugged points of unaccommodating moral truths. It was againſt this principle that his jealouſy was directed. His heart, from conſcious ſympathy of human infirmity, was totally devoid of religious pride. His only anxiety was to preſerve the rule of life inviolate, becauſe he deemed errors of human frailty leſs injurious to the moral cauſe, than ſyſtematical perverſions of its principle.

It was in the ſociety and friendly intercourſe of the learned men above-mentioned, and many others, that Dr. Hartley arranged his work and brought it to a concluſion. His genius was penetrating and active; his induſtry indefatigable; his philoſophical obſervations and attentions unremitting. From his earlieſt youth he was devoted to the ſciences; particularly to logic and mathematics. He ſtudied mathematics, together with natural and experimental philoſophy, under the celebrated Profeſſor Saunderſon. He was an enthuſiaſtic admirer and diſciple of Sir Iſaac Newton in every branch of literature and philoſophy, natural and experimental, mathematical, hiſtorical and religious, which that immortal man diffuſed throughout the world. He received his firſt principles of logic and metaphyſics from the works of that good and great philoſopher Locke. He took the firſt rudiments of his own work from Sir Iſaac Newton and Mr. Locke; the doctrine of vibrations, as inſtrumental to ſenſation and motion, from the former, and the principle of aſſociation originally from the latter, farther explained in a diſſertation by the Rev. Mr. Gay; as he himſelf has informed us. His work was begun when he was about twenty-five years of age; which is a very early period for deep and comprehenſive reſearches. And yet it remains upon his own authority, as declared by himſelf to his private friends and connexions, that the ſeeds of this work were lying in latent germination for ſome years antecedent even

to

to that early bud, which in the work itſelf has diſplayed, in full maturity, the mechanical, rational, and moral ſyſtem of man, reſpecting his frame, his duty, and his expectations.

Dr. Hartley's work was publiſhed in the beginning of the year 1749, when he was a little more than forty-three years of age. It had been completed and finiſhed about two or three years before. He did not expect that it would meet with any general or immediate reception in the philoſophical world, or even that it would be much read or underſtood; neither did it happen otherwiſe than as he had expected. But at the ſame time he did entertain an expectation that, at ſome diſtant period, it would become the adopted ſyſtem of future philoſophers. That period ſeems now to be approaching.

He lived about nine years after the publication of his work. The labour of digeſting the whole ſyſtem, and of the compoſition, was exceedingly great and conſtant upon his mind for many years, as may eaſily be ſuppoſed, from the very great ſcope of learning which it embraces. But after the completion and publication of it, his mind was left in perfect repoſe. He kept a general and vigilant attention upon the work, to receive and to conſider any ſubſequent thoughts which might have occurred from his own reflections, or from the ſuggeſtions of others, by which he might have modified or arranged any incongruous or diſcordant parts. But no ſuch alterations or modifications ſeem to have occurred to him; and at his death he left his original work untouched, without addition or diminution, without alteration or comment. He has left no additional paper on the ſubject whatſoever.

The learned and ingenious Dr. Prieſtley publiſhed, in the year 1775, ſome parts of Dr. Hartley's works in an octavo volume, entitled, *Hartley's Theory of the Human Mind, on the Principle of the Aſſociation of Ideas; with Eſſays on the Subject of it.* Dr. Prieſtley had commenced a correſpondence with the author a ſhort time before his death, and has in ſubſequent literary works commented, with great acuteneſs and erudition upon his metaphyſical and moral ſyſtem.

The ſyſtem is in itſelf ſo extenſive, and was at the time of its publication ſo entirely novel and original, that the author did not appear diſpoſed to multiply his anxieties for the particular fate of each tenet or doctrine; but he bequeathed the whole, as one compact and undivided ſyſtem, to the candour and mature judgment of time and poſterity. There was but one point in which he appeared anxious to prevent any miſapprehenſion of his principles: that point reſpected the immateriality of the ſoul. He was apprehenſive, leſt the doctrine of corporeal vibrations being inſtrumental to ſenſation, ſhould be deemed unfavourable to the opinion of the immateriality of the ſoul. He was therefore anxious to declare, and to have it underſtood, that he was not a materialiſt. He has not preſumed to declare any ſentiment reſpecting the nature of the ſoul, but the negative one, that it cannot be material, according to any idea or definition that we can form of matter. He has given the following definition of matter; viz. "That it is a mere paſſive thing, of whoſe very eſſence it is

to be endued with a *vis inertiæ*; for this *vis inertiæ* preſents itſelf immediately in all our obſervations and experiments upon it, and is inſeparable from it, even in idea." The materiality therefore of the ſenſitive ſoul is precluded, by the definition of matter being incapable of ſenſation. If there be any other element capable of ſenſation, the ſoul may conſiſt of that element; but that is a new ſuppoſition, ſtill leaving the original queſtion concluded in the negative, by the fundamental definition of matter. If, indeed, we could ſuppoſe that matter may have ſome occult powers and properties, different and ſuperior to thoſe which appear to us, ſo that it might be endued with the moſt ſimple kinds of ſenſation, it might then attain, according to the demonſtrations of the author's theory, to all that intelligence of which the human mind is poſſeſſed; that is to ſay, through all the paths of ſenſation, imagination, ambition, ſelf-intereſt, ſympathy, and theopathy, finally to the moral ſenſe. And if to the moral ſenſe, whatever may be the origin of the ſoul by divine creation, whether material or immaterial, tranſitory, or deſtined to immortality, it is a moral eſſence, the nobleſt work of God.

The philoſophical character of Dr. Hartley is delineated in his works. The features of his private and perſonal character were of the ſame complexion. It may with peculiar propriety be ſaid of him, that the mind was the man. His thoughts were not immerſed in worldly purſuits or contentions, and therefore his life was not eventful or turbulent, but placid and undiſturbed by paſſion or violent ambition. From his earlieſt youth his mental ambition was pre-occupied by purſuits of ſcience. His hours of amuſement were likewiſe beſtowed upon objects of taſte and ſentiment. Muſic, poetry, and hiſtory, were his favourite recreations. His imagination was fertile and correct, his language and expreſſion fluent and forcible. His natural temper was gay, cheerful, and ſociable. He was addicted to no vice in any part of his life, neither to pride, nor to ſenſuality, nor intemperance, nor oſtentation, nor envy, nor to any ſordid ſelf-intereſt: but his heart was replete with every contrary virtue. The virtuous principles which are inſtilled in his works were the invariable and decided principles of his life and conduct.

His perſon was of the middle ſize, and well-proportioned; his complexion fair, his features regular and handſome; his countenance open, ingenuous, and animated. He was peculiarly neat in his perſon and attire. He was an early riſer, and punctual in the employments of the day; methodical in the order and diſpoſition of his library, papers, and writings, as the companions of his thoughts; but without any pedantry, either in theſe habits, or in any other part of his character. His behaviour was polite, eaſy, and graceful; but that which made his addreſs peculiarly engaging, was the benevolence of heart from which that politeneſs flowed. He never converſed with a fellow-creature without feeling a wiſh to do him good. He conſidered the moral end of our creation to conſiſt in the performance of the duties of life attached to each particular ſtation, to which all other conſiderations ought to be inferior and ſubordinate; and conſequently, that the rule of life conſiſts in training and adapting our faculties, through the

the means of moral habits and aſſociations, to that end. In this he was the faithful diſciple of his own theory, and by the obſervance of it he avoided the tumult of worldly vanities and their diſquietudes, and preſerved his mind in ſerenity and vigour, to perform the duties of life with fidelity, and without diſtraction. His whole character was eminently and uniformly marked by ſincerity of heart, ſimplicity of manners, and manly innocence of mind. He died at Bath, on the 28th of Auguſt, 1757, at the age of 52 years.

He was twice married, and has left iſſue by both marriages, now living: From whom this memorable teſtimony is the tribute of Truth, Piety, and Affection.

Character of the Inhabitants of an Indian *Village in* Louiſiana; *from* Pagé's *Travels round the World*, vol. i.

A Little higher, and on the oppoſite ſide of the river, is a ſavage village, where the natives, like thoſe I met with on the Miſſiſippi, uſe muſkets and tomahauks, and may be ſaid to retain nothing of the ſavage but the name. In ſummer they cultivate fields of Indian corn; and in winter they follow the chace, the produce of which, after ſupplying their own wants, is ſold to Europeans. They hire themſelves occaſionally as ſervants; for here two of our rowers having fallen ill, were replaced with a couple of ſavages.

The hair of the beard, which in general they are at much pains to pluck out by the roots, is permitted to grow in length the fifth of an inch as an emblem of mourning. I have had occaſion to obſerve in the Philippine iſles the ſame paucity of beard, which I believe to be univerſal among all the natives of hot climates. The ſavages are often ſeen to weep over the graves of their departed relations. The wife of one of the Indians we had taken into the boat being lately deceaſed, his beard was allowed to grow, in teſtimony of his ſorrow; and this poor man engaged in our ſervice for no other reaſon than to withdraw himſelf from the preſence of thoſe objects which conſtantly recalled her to his mind. One day, having gone aſide to mourn over his departed friend, he unexpectedly ſpied his own daughter, about the age of twelve years, ſwimming in the river with her companions. He caught her eye, and inſtantly turned from her; but the young ſavage, who had perceived his affliction, quitting her amuſement, fell into a fit of melancholy, and retired to the ſolitude of her hut.

Their mode of ſwimming is ſomewhat different from ours. The ſavage throws himſelf into the water, and darting forward with aſtoniſhing force, beats the river with his feet and hands; an exerciſe in which both ſexes are equally expert.

The other ſavage was a young man who had been lately married, and his wife expected the moment of their ſeparation with the utmoſt regret. We were apprehenſive ſhe might prevail upon him to renounce his engagement; and it was not without much art and perſuaſion that we were able to reſtrain him from complying with her entreaties. The promiſe, however, of a blanket for himſelf, and a piece of red cloth for her, caſt the balance in our favour! ſo true it is that ſelf-intereſt early aſſumes the controul

of

of our beſt and moſt ſocial affections. Still, however, he appeared irreſolute; and new reaſons were conſtantly aſſigned for returning to his hut. But perceiving there would be no end to this conflict, I at laſt propoſed to remove the canoe from the view of his dwelling to the oppoſite extremity of the village, and he was no longer averſe from accompanying us.

This village might conſiſt of ſixty huts, which, like other ſavage habitations, are conſtructed of large trees planted circularly in the ground, and meeting at the top in the ſhape of a cone. The interſtices occaſioned by the round figure of the tree being filled up with leaves and branches, are plaiſtered over with mud, and here the family find ſhelter from the inclemencies of the ſeaſon. In the middle of the floor is placed the fire, whoſe ſmoke makes its eſcape either by the door, or an aperture at the junction of the trees in the top of the hut. Round the area ſtands a kind of bench formed by ſhort portions of trees placed contiguouſly to each other: it is covered with a mat of reeds, and ſerves for a bed.

At the diſtance of three or four paces from the manſion of the chief is a ſecond open hut or gallery, where he enjoys the freſh air, and is ſheltered from the heat of the ſun. This laſt is thatched over with leaves, commonly ſupported by ſix pillars, and is the hall of the aſſembly of the tribe. Here the chiefs ſhow their hoſpitality to ſtrangers, and relax from their cares and fatigues, either by ſleeping, or ſmoking their tomahauks. This piece of native armour is a ſpecies of battle-ax, the handle of which is uſually perforated, and ſerves as a tube to an iron pipe-head fixed on the back of the inſtrument.

As ſoon as a ſtranger is ſeen to approach the village, his arrival is announced by a ſcream from the ſavages who firſt happen to perceive him. The chief and principal men of the tribe immediately aſſemble, each ſitting before his own hut, and ſend him a deputation of one of their number. We commonly made him a preſent, conſiſting of a bottle of liquor, and were ſure to receive an ample recompence in fruit, fiſh, and fowls. We were next invited to aſſiſt in ſmoking tobacco, mixed with a certain red leaf, which in its ſhape reſembles that of the peach-tree. In ſhort, I was much better received as a ſtranger by thoſe ſavages than I had been by any European I had met with ſince the commencement of my travels.

The men of this nation are tall and well-proportioned, have large full features, without however any thing diſguſtingly coarſe in their expreſſion. They pay much deference and reſpect to old age, marry early, and, without being addicted to jealouſy, are extremely affectionate to their wives. Divorce, though permitted, very rarely occurs. The chaſtity obſervable in ſavage nations may be owing, among other cauſes, to the little intercourſe that prevails between the ſexes. War, hunting, and fiſhing, are the conſtant occupations of the men: while the cultivation of the fields, which conſiſts chiefly in rearing peach-trees, ſowing a little Indian corn, gourds, and melons; cooking fiſh and game; and in tranſporting their baggage, in caſe of a diſtant expedition, are thoſe of the women. In the fine ſeaſon they wear the ſkin of a roe-buck tied round the waiſt, and in winter

winter wrap themſelves in an European blanket, or in the ſkin of the buffalo. This animal has much reſemblance to the ox, with the difference of a bunch or ſwelling on his back, like that of the ſame ſpecies in the Eaſt Indies. The natives have the art of tanning his hide without ſtripping off the hair, which, though fine like ſilk, has the ſpongy quality of wool, and affords an excellent defence againſt the cold. I was ſurpriſed at obſerving the apparently careleſs manner in which a mother is accuſtomed to nurſe her infant. Inſtead of a cradle ſhe uſes a kind of frame, in which the child is made faſt; but as the upper part of this machine is lower than the ſhoulders, his head is left to hang in a very aukward poſition; and, except occaſionally offering the breaſt, ſhe ſeems to give herſelf no farther concern about him. In caſes of ſurgical complaints they have recourſe to plants, particularly to the leaf of the ſquine, which they have found to have much efficacy in curing wounds: as to a knowledge in the medical art, they have but ſmall pretenſions; abſtinence in eating, and drinking water, being eſteemed excellent remedies for diſeaſes of every kind.

The natives of theſe parts are laborious, humane, and a brave race of men. Peace and good order ſeem equally eſtabliſhed in their families and villages. Their regular performance of the reciprocal duties of life, of the young towards the aged, of the father towards his children, of the huſband towards his wife; their courteſy to ſtrangers, and the little apprehenſion they entertain of their enemies, gave me a high opinion of their generoſity and courage. In the courſe of different wars, the French as well as the Spaniards have experienced their valour in the field. This nation was juſt returned from an expedition againſt the Engliſh, whom they ſeem to conſider as very reſtleſs and troubleſome neighbours. In their extenſive peregrinations during the hunting-ſeaſon they encounter perils and hardſhips which appear almoſt incredible to the effeminate European. Neither the impetuous current of their rivers, nor the ſavage aſperity of a wild and uncultivated ſoil, can reſiſt their unabating ardour for the chaſe.

Account of Mexico, *and the Manners of its Inhabitants; from the ſame.*

ON the 28th of February, having travelled a hundred and fifty leagues ſouth from Sartille, I had the pleaſure to diſcover, from the heights, at the diſtance of about a league, a very extenſive lake, in the centre of which is built the city of Mexico. It has the effect of an immenſe maſs of building, connected with the land by cauſeways or embankments raiſed to a great height above the water. At the foot of the mountain, and on the borders of the lake, is ſituated the village of Noſtra Senora de Guadaloupe, which one might miſtake for a little European town. Here the only curioſities worth the traveller's notice are a beautiful church and aqueduct, which, with the whole kingdom of Mexico, are conſecrated to the ſame Noſtra Senora. I now proceeded to the capital by a cauſeway at leaſt a hundred feet in breadth, and three miles in length, which reſts upon a ſeries of arches

kept

kept in excellent repair, and meant to give free paſſage to the briny waters of the lake. Five cauſeways of equal magnificence, leading to the different quarters of this great city, facilitate its communication with the adjacent country. It is about ſix legues in circumference, and defended only by barriers in the nature of turnpike-gates.

The lake, containing a bottom of deep mud, which is every where impaſſable on foot, anſwers all the purpoſes of artificial fortifications; whilſt an extreme ſcarcity of wood in the neighbouring country equally ſecures the Mexicans from every ſpecies of invaſion by water. The ſtreets in general are broad, run in ſtraight lines, and have their names inſcribed on the wall, with the number of each houſe on the door; a circumſtance of great advantage to ſtrangers, who otherwiſe would be in conſtant danger of loſing their way. The inns, like thoſe in the adjacent country, are large, handſome buildings; but the traveller is not a little mortified upon entering them, to find they contain nothing but empty apartments, deſtitute both of furniture and proviſions. The houſes, conſiſting for the greater part of three or four ſtories, are good; and the places of public reſort, ſuch as walks, ſquares, and gardens, are delightful. The cathedral, the caſtle of the Spaniſh vice-roy, and the ſimple remains of the palace and baths of the ancient emperors of Mexico, occupy three ſides of the principal ſquare. Next to theſe buildings, the mint is an object of curioſity to the traveller, on account of the vaſt piles of ingots with which its courts are conſtantly filled, and which are brought hither in order to have their weight and fineneſs aſcertained. The metal, after paſſing the aſſay office, ſuffers a deduction of the king's fifth, in conſideration of liberty granted to work the mines, which in general are the property of private perſons.

The Baratillo, a ſpecies of exchange, from the regularity and rich ornaments of the building, merits alſo the attention of the traveller; and if he is not tired, he will find the piazzas, allotted to the purpoſes of a flower-market, millenary, and paſtry ſhops, as well as for the accommodation of the clothier and jeweller, in the ſame ſtile of highly ornamented architecture.

Some of the fine arts, particularly painting and ſculpture, which are chiefly employed in adorning the churches, are cultivated by the Indians with very conſiderable ſucceſs. But of all the trades in this city, the myſtery of the goldſmith is held in the higheſt repute, and his workmanſhip, though heavy, is far from being deficient either in taſte or finiſhing. Silver, eſpecially in the churches, is applied to an infinity of different purpoſes. But in order to have an idea of the immenſe riches of this metropolis, the traveller ought to be here the day on which they commemorate the conqueſt of Mexico. In honour of this great feſtival, every Mexican vies with his neighbour in an oſtentatious diſplay of whatever is moſt coſtly, rare, and ſplendid, in his poſſeſſion; and indeed it would be difficult to eſtimate the value of the prodigious quantities of gold and ſilver in different forms which on this occaſion meet the public eye. Silver is eſteemed little above a common metal, and hence is frequently ſubſtituted, by the ſumptuous Mexican, for the purpoſes

poſes of plating the wheels of his carriage, and ſhoeing the hoofs of his horſes.

The Spaniards and Creoles of the firſt claſs, having loſt all deſire of reſiding on the oppoſite ſhore of the Atlantic, where they would have fewer enjoyments, and much leſs conſequence, live at Mexico in a ſtate of ſplendour and magnificence. Elegant and faſhionable dreſſes are very dear; but modeſt and decent apparel, and all kinds of proviſions, are remarkably cheap. A diſtance of two hundred leagues is little regarded by the indefatigable Indian, who, for a ſmall profit, imports the neceſſaries of life from all corners of the country. By his virtuous toil and induſtry he eſcapes that ſordid indigence and miſery which devour the lower claſs of the Spaniards. The luxury of the great families, their gaming, the magnificence of their houſes, the ſplendor of their furniture, the number of their domeſtics, their carriages drawn by four, perhaps ſix mules; every thing, in ſhort, conſpires to impreſs the traveller with the higheſt idea of Mexican wealth. But in proportion as men of the firſt condition are rich, thoſe of the lower ſort among the Spaniards are poor and wretched; inſomuch that, under a great coat hanging in a thouſand tatters, you will frequently find neither ſhirt nor breeches. In one word, drunkenneſs, debauchery, card-playing, and cock-fighting, conſtitute the habitual occupations of all ſexes and conditions of the people.

I obſerved, that the Mexicans in converſation frequently applied the term *Mecos* to the northern ſavages, and ſpoke of them with every ſign of extreme averſion and terror. Chychymecos, when applied by one Mexican to another, ſeems to denote the higheſt degree of inſult and reproach. Now are the Chychymecos a particular nation of ſavages, ſtill more cruel and ferocious than the Mecos? or is Chychy only an aggravation of what is implied in the word Mecos? As to all this I confeſs myſelf entirely at a loſs. One thing is certain, however, that the Indians who inhabit the northern regions of this kingdom have long renounced the patient and ſubmiſſive character of their anceſtors; and hence the Spaniards are obliged to maintain, at a great expence, a ſtrong body of Creoles, who are conſtantly employed in carrying on hoſtilities againſt thoſe warlike tribes. Upon my arrival here, a detachment of theſe troops was diſpatched to the province of Sonora, and the object of this expedition was to clear the roads leading from Mexico to the mines of Serro Prietto, as well as Metanchel, and other ſea-ports, by means of which their trade is carried on with California. Theſe wars all tend to the enlargement of the Spaniſh dominions, already almoſt without bounds; and one may ſafely affirm, that the number of great towns, vaſt population, fertility of ſoil, mines, and other rich productions, peculiar to this country, render Mexico, though not one of the moſt powerful, yet the moſt magnificent empire in the world *.

During my abode here the Mexican inquiſitors, whoſe diſcipline is

* Not having had it in my power, however, to viſit it as extenſively as I could have wiſhed, I will readily admit that my knowledge of this kingdom muſt be in many reſpects lame and imperfect.

exerciſed with great ſeverity, ordered ſeveral perſons to be whipped through the ſtreets, among whom were a couple of unhappy women, the victims of an abſurd and cruel ſuperſtition. The crime for which they ſuffered, was that of creating ulcers and ſores on the bodies of their enemies, by means of certain incantations, and particularly by ſcarifying the correſponding parts of a doll, which they were ſaid to preſerve with much care for the diabolical myſteries of witchcraft. The witches appeared with theſe deadly engines of magic hanging round their necks; while their fellow-criminals wore each a kind of mitre, on the front of which was a label inſcribed with the names of their ſeveral offences. All puniſhments inflicted by this ghoſtly tribunal are regarded by the Mexicans as a ſervice peculiarly acceptable to the Deity, and therefore held in the higheſt veneration. Among the good and charitable offices we owe our neighbour, and recommended in the Spaniſh catechiſm, I took particular notice of one, which is that, not of perſuading him to embrace the truth, but of chaſtiſing him with ſtripes if he ſhould be found in error.

Account of the Dreſs and Manners of the Arabs; *from the ſame Work*, vol. ii.

ON the eighth day of our journey, we diſcovered an Arabian encampment; and here, in order to prevent my being diſtinguiſhed from my companions, I put on an *abe*, or robe, with a handkerchief floating on my head, in the ſtyle of the Arabs of the deſert; for hitherto I had been clad in the Turkiſh faſhion, which is different from that of the Arabs, particularly the Bedouins. The abe is made of woollen ſtuff, and compoſes the dreſs of both ſexes. Next the ſkin is generally worn a white one of a fine quality, over which are two others of a larger ſize; and while the uppermoſt remains looſe and flowing, the ſecond is faſtened about the waiſt with a girdle. The latter is commonly ſtriped black and white; but the former is for the greateſt part entirely black. This robe is of a very ſimple form; and in order that the reader may have a diſtinct idea of it, he has only to conceive a ſack of an equal width and length, which, being ſlit lengthways for the convenience of putting it on, and paſſed over the head, with two holes, one in each corner, to receive the arms, will be an exact model of the Arabian *abe*. This is all the variety of dreſs that enters into the wardrobe of the Arab; his perſon, however, is completely covered, and his *abe* being of ſo cloſe a texture as to be impenetrable to water, is an excellent defence againſt rain; and, as it is large enough to give free circulation to the air, and denſe enough to repel the firſt bluſh of the ſun's rays, it is equally uſeful againſt the burning heat of the deſert. No perſon wears either breeches or drawers, as is cuſtomary in towns. On the head of the male is an ample-ſized handkerchief of ſilk and cotton, attached to a large piece of cotton cloth, which, after paſſing twice round the head, falls upon the ſhoulders, covering them by its breadth. The ends of the handkerchief having been doubled down on the mouth and noſe, are returned under the fillet which binds it to the head, and in this

this manner the Arab endeavours to defend his cheſt and lungs againſt the dangerous influence of a moſt formidably dry and parching wind. The true Bedouin Arab never ſhaves either his head or beard; and his hair, diſpoſed into ten or twelve treſſes, floats careleſsly down his ſhoulders. The head-dreſs of the women is almoſt the ſame; and indeed one perceives very little difference between the dreſs of the two ſexes, except in the colour of the handkerchief, and the jewels employed to adorn the head of the female. The *abe* of the women, ſerves for a complete veil to the face, there being only a ſmall and neceſſary aperture for the eyes: in many parts of theſe deſerts, however, the Arabs of both ſexes go entirely naked.

The Bedouins, leaving their camels deſtined for the Aleppo market conſiderably behind us, proceeded a quarter of a mile from the Arabian camp. One of our men now ran before, to requeſt the friendſhip of the tribe, a requeſt, which, of courſe, is complied with almoſt as ſoon as a ſtranger has arrived within the lines of their encampment. It is granted, however, according to cuſtom, under all the formalities of war; and therefore a party of the Arabian warriors, ruſhing inſtantly from their camp, ran full ſpeed towards our caravan. The Bedouins diſmounted from their dromedaries, and proceeded with equal celerity to meet them, when mingling with much apparent rage, each holding his lance pointed againſt the breaſt of his opponent, they exhibited a mock fight, accompanied with loud ſhouts on both ſides. We were ſoon introduced to the camp, when peace and good order were immediately reſtored. My companions were deſirous to have ſome traffic in camels, and we ſojourned within the lines of the Arabian encampment two days and a half.

One day I went on a viſit to the Arabian camp entirely alone, for my conductor, either really or affecting to be afraid of ſome diſagreeable adventure, declined his attendance. About the diſtance of forty paces from their tents I was accoſted by a ſingle Arab, who deſired to know my buſineſs. Having made him underſtand that I was a ſtranger in the deſert, and that curioſity alone had led me that way, he ſaluted me with much civility, and conducting me to his tent, as a mark of his hoſpitality placed me in the uppermoſt ſeat. He was by profeſſion a ſmith, and had a little furnace, which he heated with charcoal obtained from the roots of brambles gathered in the deſert; and had contrived to piece four ſkins in the form of a large bladder, which, receiving a conſtant preſſure from two of his children, ſerved in place of a bellows. This, like all the other tents in the camp, was much longer than broad, with a partition in the middle: the firſt apartment belonged to the maſter of the family, while the ſecond was occupied by his wife and other females, who were employed in dreſſing wool. I made it my buſineſs to examine the wells of the Arabs, which I found to be nothing more than large holes dug in the earth, without any lining whatever, and in which the water ſtood at the depth of ſix feet from the ſurface. One of the moſt beautiful mares I had ever ſeen was ſtanding at the door of a neighbouring tent, which I likewiſe took the liberty to enter. Here I was extremely well

received by a good old Arab, who was employed in making bottles and troughs of goat-ſkins; every creature I met, even to the mare and her foal, came to ſmell me. I proceeded to make the tour of another circle of tents, and found them all open to leeward, but ſhut againſt the burning wind of the deſert, which prevails ſix months in the ſame quarter. It ſeemed to be the chief employment of this little commonwealth to dreſs goats hair, and the wool of their ſheep and camels. One circumſtance which ſurprized me not a little, was the incurious and indifferent air of the people, who though they treated me with civility, yet never ſtirred from their ſeats at my approach. Their tents being open lengthways, I had an opportunity of obſerving that an Arab's family is remarkably populous. This liſtleſs inattention, eſpecially in children, always eager to examine whatever has the air of novelty, appeared to me to be extremely ſingular; and the more ſo, ſince ſtrangers are but ſeldom ſeen in this part of Arabia, it being near the centre of the deſert.

The whole property of an Arab conſiſts of his herds and flocks; his horſes, but more eſpecially his mares, which he conſiders as much more valuable, are of great uſe to him in his excurſions, and particularly in the purſuits of war: he is eminently diſtinguiſhed as a horſeman, and much more ſkilful in the management of that animal than the native of any other country. The Arabian horſe, which feeds only once a day, and even then makes but a ſcanty meal, is at the ſame time the fleeteſt and moſt abſtemious animal in the world.

The camel is perhaps of no leſs conſequence to his roving maſter; he ſerves to tranſport his family and property from one part of the deſert to another, and is, beſides, an article of traffic for grain and other neceſſaries of life. When, in conſequence of extreme drought, his graſs begins to fail, or his well to be dried up, the Arab decamps, and goes in queſt of water and paſture in leſs inhoſpitable regions. The whole deſert is covered with a fine ſand mixed with gravel, which produces only a few brambles about a foot and a half high, and a kind of graſs with a ſingle ſtalk of four inches, but which is never found incorporated in the manner of our green turf.

During the ſummer months there prevails in the plains of Arabia a N. W. wind, violently heated by the reflection of the ſand; and in winter the ſcorching heat of the S. E. is perhaps ſtill more inſupportable. In this ſeaſon the rays of the ſun are ſo powerful, that the human ſkin becomes criſped, and the pores ſo conſtricted as to impede the ordinary courſe of perſpiration. Hence the Arabian has been taught to interpoſe a very denſe medium between his body and the ſolar rays, againſt which an European winter dreſs of the moſt ſubſtantial fabric would prove but a ſlender defence; he doubles down a thick handkerchief tied round the forehead, over his mouth and noſe, in order to prevent that moiſture which is neceſſary to the lungs from being entirely exhauſted; he is obliged, however, to leave his eyes wholly unprotected, which ſuffer the moſt acute pain from the heat and violent reflection of the ſand, and which conſequently become in an early period of life greatly weakened and impaired.

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As the general aſpect of the deſert is that of a vaſt plain terminated on all ſides by the horizon, in vain does the roving eye of the traveller ſeek to reſt on ſome intervening object; and hence, after flitting over a diſmal waſte of grey ſand and ſcorched brambles, it returns at laſt, languid and fatigued, to enjoy a little relaxation in the variety of herds and other Arabian property with which it is ſurrounded. A deep and mournful ſilence reigns over the dreary landſcape; no beaſt, no bird, no ſpecies of inſect, is ſeen to diverſify the ſad uniformity of the ſcene. In the whole extent of Arabia Deſerta I ſaw only four rabbits, five or ſix rats, three large, and ſeven or eight ſmall birds. The laſt were, beſides, in the vicinity of an inhabited country, whilſt the former were natives of a more earthy ſoil than is eaſily to be met with in theſe regions.

The ſpecies of rat I have mentioned is remarkably handſome, and of a breed very different from any I had before met with: his eyes are large and ſprightly; the whiſkers, ſnout, and brow, as well as the belly, feet, and end of the tail, are white, whilſt the other parts of the body are covered with a long neat fur of a yellow colour: the tail is rather ſhort, thick, yellow, and pointed with white. Some of theſe animals were killed, and, after being roaſted, eaten by the Arabs, who are accuſtomed to throw their ſticks with ſurpriſing dexterity at whatever bird or quadruped happens to come in their way.

The ſmall quantity of water found in this vaſt deſert is extremely ſalt and bitter; but the Arab is trained to the hardſhips, and attached to the freedom of his native plains. Inured to fatigue, and careleſs of the conveniencies of a wealthier ſituation, he looks down on the effeminate pleaſures of more temperate climates with ſcorn and contempt. Brave, proud, hoſpitable, and enterprizing, he is true to all his engagements. Being conſtantly expoſed, however, to the inroads of warlike tribes, he is prone to ſuſpicion, and hence receives all ſtrangers whatever with arms in his hands. The individuals of the ſame tribe, even of the loweſt condition, being regarded by the reſt of the clan in the light of brothers, any injury done to one is received and reſented as an inſult offered to the whole. They are extremely cautious of engaging in an affair from which blood may be expected to enſue; but are proportionally ſtimulated to action, in contempt of every danger, when they have a cauſe to avenge.

The Arab is unfortunate enough to imagine that he has the ſame right to interfere with the property of another, which he, in exerciſing the offices of hoſpitality with regard to his own, parts with to a ſtranger, and in this ſenſe may be ſaid to be a robber; but in no caſe can he be charged nationally with the character of an aſſaſſin. From the combination of theſe virtues and prejudices, ſeem to reſult the ſtrength and union of the Arabian tribes; and were their manners a little more humanized by the influence of Chriſtian morality, I know no race of men whoſe character would bid fairer for happineſs, or be leſs liable to exception. The extreme barrenneſs of their deſerts, which diſcourages the ambition, and defends them againſt the yoke, of a conqueror, the certainty of ſubſiſtence, and the total excluſion of luxury, conſtitute their great charter to independence, and

thoſe undepraved and ſimple manners, by which they have always been diſtinguiſhed.

His ſtrong attachment to freedom makes an Arab cautious of acknowledging any authority in his chief, which he cannot diſcover to be expedient for the good of the community; but at the ſame time, being frequently at war with his neighbours, he is ſenſible that there muſt be one man, in whoſe diſcretion on ſuch occaſions the national will ought to center, in order that the tribe may take the field in a body, and act with proper effect againſt the enemy. The Arabian tribes in general bear the name of the primitive ſtock whence they are reſpectively deſcended, and have no other appellation than that of his children; the Arabs by whom I was accompanied were called Ben Halet, or the children of Halet.

The Arabs run with extraordinary ſwiftneſs, and are ſingularly dexterous in the management of the lance, have large bones, a deep brown complexion, perſons of an ordinary ſtature, but lean, muſcular, active, and vigorous. The Bedouins ſuffer their hair and beards to grow; and, indeed, among the Arabian tribes in general, the beard is remarkably full and buſhy. The Arab has a large ardent black eye, a long face, features high and regular, and, as the reſult of the whole, a phyſiognomy particularly ſtern and ſevere. This marked expreſſion, meeting with our pre-conceived notions of his character, gives him an air of great ferocity; upon a little acquaintance, however, his formidable aſpect ſettles into ſomething truly noble and manly.

The tribes which frequent the middle of the deſert have locks ſomewhat criſped, extremely fine, and approaching the woolly hair of the negro: my own, during the ſhort period of my travels in theſe regions, became more dry and delicate than uſual, and, receiving little nouriſhment from a checked perſpiration, ſhewed a diſpoſition to aſſume the ſame frizzled and woolly appearance. An entire failure of moiſture, and the exceſſive heat of climate by which it was occaſioned, ſeemed to be the principal cauſes of theſe ſymptoms; my blood was become extremely dry, and my complexion differed little at laſt from that of a Hindoo or Arab. It is not my intention, however, to offer any theory relative to the ſtrong influence climate may be ſuppoſed to have on the external appearance of the human frame.

Having conſidered the Arab with much attention, as to his manners and principles of action, I cannot agree in the common opinion which makes a propenſity to robbery a natural ingredient in his character. I had the ſtrongeſt evidence, in various ſituations, of the honeſty and fidelity of my fellow-travellers: I ſaw them as a little commonwealth living on the moſt friendly and ſociable terms; nor, indeed, have I ever heard that an Arab would be guilty of theft or robbery againſt thoſe of his own tribe. His appetite for plunder is exerted, in concert with his clan, againſt ſtrangers, and always within the boundaries of the deſerts. In no ſhape whatever will an Arab invade the property of another man in a town or cultivated country; and hence robbery in him is plainly derived from a prejudice of education, a prejudice in all reſpects ſimilar to that of the ancient Romans, who regarded every tribe and race of men not

not in their alliance, as enemies of the republic.

The Arab pays a ſcrupulous regard to all his engagements with ſtrangers; and therefore the traveller, upon making a certain gratification, in conſideration of being ſuffered to paſs unmoleſted, or upon receiving the protection of any individual Arab, who, in this caſe, from their fraternal union, is conceived to repreſent the tribe, enjoys an entire exemption from the ordinary effects of Arabian prejudices againſt ſtrangers. In ſuch circumſtances, a foreigner may croſs the deſerts with as little apprehenſion of injuſtice from the natives, as he ever entertained in travelling a high road in his native country.

That the Arab's right to his deſerts is of a leſs perfect kind than that of other nations to the countries they reſpectively inhabit, is an argument that will hardly be maintained; ſince, if long and uninterrupted poſſeſſion, agreeably to the legal maxims of every civilized people, founds the requiſites of dominion, it is evident that his claim to the deſerts is much leſs liable to exception than that of any prince whatever to the domains of his crown. But is there a ſovereign or independent ſtate in the world which does not vindicate an excluſive right to all the uſes of its ſoil?—or is this a rule of juriſprudence, in which the Arab alone is excepted?—a prince deſtitute of authority, even on his own eſtate, and who muſt patiently give way to ſtrangers paſſing at diſcretion over his grounds? To this right of abſolute dominion, however, he has never rigidly adhered; all he requires is a certain tribute or cuſtom, proportioned to the quantity of goods or merchandize meant to be tranſported over the deſerts; a cuſtom, beſides, which every individual of the tribe, as repreſenting the community, has authority to exact or diſpenſe with at his diſcretion.

This privilege, veſted in every member of the clan, is of general notoriety; and therefore intelligent travellers take care to have an Arab in their company, for a pledge of peace and ſecurity againſt the moleſtation of his tribe.

Such is the political conſtitution of the deſert, and whoever conducts himſelf in conformity to it has nothing to dread from the depredations of the natives. But if men, acting from ignorance, or in contempt of Arabian manners, expoſe themſelves to be pillaged, they have no right to repreſent the Arabs collectively, and without diſtinction or enquiry, in the odious colours of robbers and banditti.

The peculiar circumſtances of this country muſt, no doubt, often render his life perſonally painful to the native; but his hardſhips are conſiderably counterbalanced by the ſweets of independence, and that confidence and affection which unite him to his tribe in all its intereſts and purſuits.

The freedom and equality of condition enjoyed by the natives, in ſpite of the diſmal aſpect of their deſerts, created in my mind many emotions of inſtinctive pleaſure; an admonition which I conſider as the voice of nature, and whence I am inclined to infer the real value and importance of theſe advantages. The circumſtances of the Arab by no means preclude him from the enjoyment of pleaſure; beſides an habitual and animating ſenſe of his independance, he drinks the milk of

his cattle, and regales himſelf with many palatable diſhes to which we are ſtrangers: he runs and dances with great vivacity, and practiſes many other manly and uſeful exerciſes. His dances are ſometimes gay and exhilarating, but he is more particularly addicted to ſuch as are warlike, and have a tendency to train him for the day of battle; in theſe the Arab goes through various evolutions, his lance in his hand, with the moſt dexterous agility. Theſe dances are equally in uſe among the Biſſayan and Javaneſe Indians, with this difference only, that the latter are armed with the buckler as well as the lance. The dances more peculiar to the women are of two kinds, the one ſprightly and gay, the other impaſſioned and voluptuous, the object of which is to excite certain ideas in a manner extremely expreſſive. As in theſe it is the principal intention that the ruling ſentiment be ſtrongly marked in the eye, and the expreſſion of the features be in harmony with the motions and attitudes of the body, it is neceſſary to the dancer's performing with approbation, that her imagination be highly inflamed. Of this ſpecies of dance, the Spaniſh fandango, and the calenda of America, afford a faint repreſentation; and it is probable the Spaniards, as well as the negroes of Guinea and Angola, borrowed it from the Arabians.

Their wool, the ſtaple commodity of the deſerts, ſerves as the materials of the cloth and tapeſtry of the Arabs; and theſe would by no means diſgrace the dexterity of an European manufacturer. Of their goat-ſkins they make bottles and troughs for giving water to their cattle. Their flocks, which, on account of their rapid increaſe, would ſoon become a burthen to their owners, they barter in civilized countries for articles of dreſs, corn, dates, and whatever elſe their neceſſities require. Such of the Arabian tribes as border on the Euphrates and improveable lands, cultivate a ſmall portion of ground; but as ſoon as the ſeed-time is over they betake themſelves to the roving purſuits of the deſert, and only return in autumn, in order to reap the benefit of the harveſt.

A tribe of Arabs on their march acroſs the deſert is a very curious and entertaining object. On this occaſion a vaſt extent of plain preſents itſelf to the eye, covered with herds and flocks, preceded by a troop of camels laden with tents, baggage, and poultry, animals which, at the firſt ſignal for their departure, inſtantly take wing, and perch on the back of the dromedary. Behind theſe is another ſet of camels, charged with all the lame and infirm animals, which, by their various and diſcordant cries, give ſufficient notice of the pain and hardſhips of their confinement. Upon a third ſet are groupes of women and children, whoſe painful ſcreams mix in ſtrange confuſion with the bleating and bellowing of numberleſs animals, of all humours, ages and ſpecies. It is difficult to conceive a more irkſome ſituation than that of the Arab's wife, in the midſt of her children, weeping, fighting, and ſcrambling all around her. Such of the women as are exempt from the incumbrance of infants, employ themſelves on their camels in ſpinning, or grinding corn with hand-mills. High above this ſingular maſs of tumult and diſorder, appears a foreſt of lances, at leaſt eight or ten feet in length, while the ear is ſtunned with the hoarſe voice of the Arab, chiding, expoſtulating,

expoſtulating, or commanding ſilence in his family; but whoſe chief care is to form a ſtrong rampart for the defence of the little commonwealth on its march.

Account of a cuſtom among the Hindoos, *of the widow's burning herſelf with the corpſe of her deceaſed huſband; from the ſecond volume of Sketches, chiefly relating to the hiſtory, &c. of the* Hindoos.

THE practice of burning the dead is almoſt univerſal; and that of the widow burning herſelf on the funeral pile with the body of her deceaſed huſband ſtill exiſts. It ſeems to have been the intention of the Mahomedan government to diſcourage a practice ſo ſhocking to humanity; but the governors of the provinces are accuſed of having employed the prejudice of the Hindoos to gratify their avarice, by conniving at it for a ſum of money. It at preſent prevails moſt in the Mahratta dominions, and in the countries of the ancient Rajahs, where inſtances of the kind are frequently to be met with, particularly in families of high diſtinction. In the territories belonging to the Engliſh, it has every where been oppoſed, and rarely happens there unleſs it be done ſecretly, or before thoſe who may have authority to prevent it can be ſufficiently apprized. The law rather recommends than requires it, as it only ſays: "It is *proper* for a woman "to burn herſelf with her huſband's "corpſe;"—and future bleſſings are promiſed as a reward for doing ſo. But in caſe the widow ſhould prefer to live, ſhe is enjoined to obſerve inviolable chaſtity, to cut off her hair, and not to wear jewels or any other ornament. There are nevertheleſs ſome particular caſes in which it is even forbidden. A woman is not to burn herſelf, if ſhe be with child; or if her huſband died at a diſtance from her, unleſs ſhe can procure his girdle and turban to be placed on the funeral pile. The intention of ſo barbarous a practice is ſufficiently evident; and in all Oriental countries, the ſuperiority and ſecurity of the huſband, and the preſervation of his domeſtic authority, ſeem to have been a main object with legiſlators.

Such is the influence of cuſtom, and the ſenſe of ſhame, that a woman of the higheſt birth, brought up with the care and delicacy ſuitable to her rank, and poſſeſſing that timidity and gentleneſs of manners natural to her ſex, and for which the women of Hindoſtan are ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed, will undergo this awful ſacrifice with as much fortitude and compoſure as ever were exhibited by any hero or philoſopher of antiquity.

I never was preſent at ſuch a ceremony, but a perſon of my acquaintance, who happened to ſee one, gave me the following deſcription of it:

"A funeral pile being erected "on a piece of ground that was "conſecrated to the purpoſe, the "body of the Rajah was brought "from the fort, accompanied by "many Brahmans, and others, "and followed by the widow, at"tended by relations of both "ſexes. Being arrived at the fune"ral pile, the body was placed on "it, and certain ceremonies being "performed, the widow took leave "of her relations. She embraced "thoſe of her own ſex; took off

"ſome

" ſome jewels that ſhe wore, and " diſtributed them among them, as " the laſt tokens of her affection. " The women appeared to be great- " ly afflicted; ſome ſilently weep- " ing, and others making exceſſive " lamentations. But ſhe was per- " fectly compoſed, ſmiled, and en- " deavoured to comfort them. She " then advanced to the pile, and in " a ſolemn manner walked round " it. She ſtopped; and after con- " templating the corpſe touched the " feet with her hand, and raiſed it " to her forehead, inclining her body " forwards. She then ſaluted the " ſpectators in the ſame manner; " and with the aſſiſtance of the " Brahmans mounted the pile, and " ſeated herſelf by the ſide of the " corpſe. Some who ſtood near " her with torches in their hands, " ſet fire to it, and, as it was com- " poſed of dry wood, ſtraw, and " other combuſtible materials, it was " inſtantly in a flame. The ſmoke " was at firſt ſo great, that I ima- " gine this unfortunate young vic- " tim muſt have been immediately " ſuffocated; which, I own, afforded " me a ſort of melancholy comfort, " from the idea that her ſufferings " would ſoon be ended."

The Hindoos ſometimes erect a chapel on the ſpot where one of theſe ſacrifices has been performed; both on account of the ſoul of the deceaſed, and as a trophy of her virtue.

I remember to have ſeen one of theſe places, where the ſpot on which the funeral pile had been erected was incloſed, and covered with bamboos, formed into a kind of bower, planted with flowering creepers. The inſide was ſet round with flowers, and at one end there was an image.

Diodorus Siculus gives a remarkable inſtance of a young Indian princeſs that burnt herſelf with the body of her huſband, who was killed while commanding the Indian troops that aſſiſted Antigonus againſt Eumenes.

The funeral obſequies are always performed at night, generally within twenty-four hours after deceaſe; and the heat of the climate renders it neceſſary not to delay them. As ſoon as a perſon dies, advice is ſent to all the relations, and thoſe who live in the neighbourhood repair to the houſe, to condole with the family, and attend the funeral. A Brahman preſides over the ceremony, and all the kinſmen who are to aſſiſt at it ſhave and waſh themſelves. The Brahman having likewiſe performed his ablutions, bleſſes and purifies the houſe, ſprinkling it with conſecrated water. The principal relation, or mourner, addreſſing himſelf to the dead, calls out his name, and, with thoſe preſent, joins the Brahman in praying the gods to be favourable to him. The prayer being ended, they perform a kind of ſacrifice with a fire made of the ſacred graſs, *koas*, into which they throw incenſe and the aſhes of burnt cow-dung. The Brahman again repeats ſeveral prayers; a barber ſhaves the deceaſed, and pares his nails; after which the aſſiſtants waſh the body, rub it with the duſt of ſandal wood, paint on the forehead the mark of the caſt, and cover it with a clean robe. It is then placed on a palankeen, adorned with flowers; and, preceded by perſons with large trumpets, and tam-tams, or ſmall drums, it is carried to the ground deſtined for the performance of the funeral rites, which is always at ſome diſtance from

from the towns. The relations and friends follow it, and when the proceſſion arrives near to the funeral pile, the corpſe is put down, and a ſacrifice is performed to the aërial ſpirits, or genii of the place. After the body has been examined, to ſee if there be any ſigns of life, it is placed on the pile, and one of the relations, having a torch given to him by a Brahman, ſets fire to it, with his back turned towards the corpſe. The others aſſiſt in lighting it; ſome are employed in burning perfumes; and all make lamentations, or repeat prayers, accompanied by the tam-tams and other inſtruments. A ſacrifice is afterwards performed to the manes of the deceaſed, which is repeated on the ſame ſpot for ſeveral days ſucceſſively. When the pile is burnt out, they ſprinkle the aſhes with milk and conſecrated water. The bones are gathered up with great care, and put into an earthen vaſe, which is kept until an opportunity be found of throwing it, if poſſible, into the Ganges, or, if that be at too great a diſtance, into ſome other ſacred river.

Anecdotes of Voltaire *during his viſit to the late king of Pruſſia; from the firſt vol. of the* Life of Voltaire, *by the* Marquis de Condorcet, *tranſlated from the French.*

IN the palace of the king of Pruſſia, he found peace, and even the ſemblance of freedom; feeling at firſt no kind of ſubjection, except that of paſſing ſome hours with the king to correct his works, and to teach him the art of writing. He uſually ſupped with his majeſty; and theſe ſuppers, at which there was freedom in exceſs; where every queſtion of metaphyſics and morals was diſcuſſed without reſtraint; where the moſt unbounded pleaſantry enlivened, or cut ſerious argument ſhort; and where the king generally diſappeared to give place to the man of wit, were moments of agreeable relaxation to Voltaire. The remainder of his time was conſecrated to ſtudy.

Here he improved ſome of his tragedies, finiſhed his Age of Louis the XIVth, corrected his poem of the Maid of Orleans, wrote part of his Eſſay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations, and compoſed the poem on Natural Law; while Frederic governed his eſtates without a miniſter, inſpected and improved his army, compoſed poetry and muſic, and wrote philoſophy and hiſtory.

The royal family encouraged Voltaire in his purſuits; he addreſſed verſes to the princeſſes, acted tragedy with the brothers and ſiſters of the king, and while he taught them to declaim, led them to feel the beauties of French poetry: for poetry ought to be ſpoken aloud; nor can it be underſtood, in a foreign tongue, by thoſe who are not in the habit of hearing it recited by ſpeakers, who can give it that accent and force which are its characteriſtics.

This, Voltaire called the palace of Alcina; but the enchantment was of too ſhort duration. The men of literature, who had been longer at Berlin than himſelf, were jealous of preference which was too conſpicuous, eſpecially of that kind of independence which he preſerved, that familiarity which the charms and brilliancy of his wit gave him, and

and that art of mingling truth with panegyric, and of imparting to flattery the tone of jocular eaſe.

La Métrie told Voltaire that the king, to whom he was one day mentioning thoſe marks of kindneſs he diſcovered for his chamberlain, replied, "I want him at preſent to reviſe my works; but having ſucked the orange, we throw away the rind." When Voltaire heard this, the encantation was over; and his mind felt that kind of ſuſpicion which never ſuffered him to loſe ſight of his project for eſcaping.

In the mean time the king was informed that Voltaire, being preſſed by general Manſtein to reviſe his memoirs, had anſwered, "The king has ſent me his dirty linen to waſh, yours muſt wait;" and that, another time, he had ſaid, in a fit of ill-humour, pointing to ſome poetical papers of the king, lying on the table, "That man is Cæſar and the Abbé Cottin."

Mutual inclination, however, acted on the monarch and the philoſopher. Frederic ſaid, long after their ſeparation, that he had never met with ſo amiable a man as Voltaire; and Voltaire, notwithſtanding his reſentment, which never was entirely effaced, confeſſed, that when Frederic thought proper, he was the moſt pleaſing of mankind. They likewiſe united in their open contempt for prejudice and * ſuperſtition, the pleaſure they took in making them the eternal objects of their jeſts; their common love for that philoſophy which is chearful and inviting, and their mutual diſpoſition to ſearch and to ſeize on the ridiculous in whatever pretended to ſuperior gravity, were the ſame. Hence it ſhould have ſeemed that the ſtorm muſt have ended in a calm, and that intereſt and pleaſure muſt have continued them in friendſhip; but the jealouſy of Maupertuis rendered them irreconcileable.

Maupertuis, a man of much wit, but not of too much learning, and of ſtill leſs philoſophy, was tormented by that deſire of fame which makes us chuſe trifling means when the great are wanting, utter paradoxes when we are unable to diſcover truths, generaliſe formula when we cannot invent them, and accumulate incongruities when we are deficient in new ideas. In Paris, he had been ſeen to leave the company, or hide himſelf behind a ſcreen, when he could not continue the principal ſpeaker; and in like manner at Berlin, whether at the academy of ſciences or the table of the king, he would be the firſt. He was indebted to Voltaire for a great part of his reputation, as well as for the honour of being perpetual preſident of the academy of Berlin, and of exerciſing authority there in his majeſty's name.

Some jeſts which Voltaire had indulged in, when Maupertuis, following the king to the army, was taken priſoner at the battle of Molwitz, had angered him, and he vented his complaints with ill-humour. Voltaire returned a friendly anſwer, and appeaſed him by writing four lines for his portrait. Maupertuis, ſome years afterward,

* By ſuperſtition M. de Condorcet means revealed religion. The reader muſt make allowances for the freedom of the author's religious as well as political ſentiments.

took

took it much amiss that Voltaire had not mentioned him in his discourse when elected to the French academy; and the arrival of Voltaire at Berlin completed his disgust. He saw him the friend of the sovereign, in whose presence he himself was but a courtier; and beheld him giving lessons to the man from whom he received orders.

Surrounded by enemies, and diffident of the continuance of royal friendship, Voltaire secretly regretted, and endeavoured to recover, his lost independence. He thought proper to employ a Jew to transfer a part of his property out of Prussia. The Jew betrayed his trust; and, to revenge himself on Voltaire, who, having detected him, would not suffer himself to be robbed, he brought an absurd action, knowing that hatred is not difficult in admitting evidence. The king, to punish his friend for having attempted to preserve his liberty and property, pretended to believe him guilty, to deliver him up to justice, and even to exclude him his presence till the cause should be determined.

Voltaire addressed himself to Maupertuis, who had not yet openly testified his sentiments, and requested his interference with the chief judge. Maupertuis returned a haughty refusal, and Voltaire perceived he had another enemy. This ridiculous suit, at length, ended, as it should do; the Jew was condemned, and was pardoned by Voltaire. The king then admitted Voltaire once more, and added new marks of respect to former kindness, by bestowing on him a house near Potsdam.

The eyes of hatred, however, are always open and watchful of opportunity. La Beaumelle, a protestant, and native of Languedoc, first an apprentice to a gospel minister at Geneva, and afterwards acting the French wit in Denmark, being soon dismissed from Copenhagen, came to seek his fortune at Berlin; having no other title to fame than that of having lately published a libel. He went to Voltaire, and presented the book to him, in which Voltaire himself was ill treated, and in which the men of wit, who had been invited into Prussia, among whom he was come to solicit a place, were compared to apes, or those dwarfs who had formerly been maintained at certain courts. Such a ridiculous oversight was the momentary object of pleasantry at the king's supper; but the jests were reported to La Beaumelle by Maupertuis, who, charging them all to the account of Voltaire, made La Beaumelle his irreconcileable foe, and secured to himself a tool, who aided his malice by shameful libels, without bringing the character of the president of the academy in question.

Maupertuis wanted assistance; he had lately advanced the *least possible action*, as a new mechanical principle, which was much controverted, though the illustrious Euler did it the honour of defending it, and at the same time instructed its author in its full extent and true use. Koënig not only opposed it, but asserted it was not new, and quoted the fragment of a letter from Leibnitz, in which it was contained. Maupertuis, having learnt from Koënig himself that he had only a copy of the letter from Leibnitz, thought proper formally to summons him before the academy of Berlin, to produce the original. Koënig answered,

ſwered, that he obtained his copy from the unfortunate Hienzi, who had long ſince been beheaded, for having attempted to deliver the people of the Canton of Berne from the tyranny of the ſenate. The original was not to be found among the remaining papers of Hienzi; and the academy, from motives partly of fear and partly of meanneſs, declared Koënig unworthy of the title of academician, and ſtruck him from their liſt. Maupertuis ſeemed not to have known that the general voice of the learned only could beſtow, or take from him, the honour of making a diſcovery, that this opinion muſt be free and voluntary, and that any formal act, by rendering it ſuſpicious, would but diminiſh its authority.

Voltaire had been acquainted with Koënig at Cirey, where he came to give leſſons in the doctrines of Leibnitz to Madame du Chatelet. He had preſerved a degree of friendſhip for him, though he had ſometimes indulged himſelf in jeſts to his diſadvantage, during his reſidence in France. He did not love Maupertuis, and hated perſecution, whatever form it might aſſume to torment mankind; he therefore openly took the part of Koënig, and publiſhed ſome writings, in which reaſon and juſtice were ſeaſoned by delicate and poignant wit. Maupertuis engaged the vanity of the king in behalf of the honour of his academy, and prevailed on him to exact a promiſe from Voltaire to ridicule neither it nor its preſident. The promiſe was given; but unfortunately the king, who had commanded ſilence, imagined he himſelf might ſpeak. He wrote ſeveral humorous pieces, which, but with ſome little inequality, were partly againſt Maupertuis, and partly againſt Voltaire. The latter imagined that the king, by this conduct, had releaſed him from his promiſe, and that the privilege of being the only one who ſhould laugh was not included in the royal prerogative. He, therefore, profited by a general permiſſion which he had formerly obtained, and ſent his Akakia to the preſs, in which Maupertuis was devoted to eternal ridicule.

The king laughed. He had little affection, and leſs eſteem for Maupertuis; yet, jealous of his own authority, he cauſed this piece of humour to be burnt by the hangman. This is a mode of vengeance which it is rather ſingular that a philoſophic king ſhould borrow from the inquiſition.

The inſulted Voltaire ſent the monarch his croſs, his key, and the patent for his penſion, with the four following lines—

Je les reçu avec tendreſſe,
Je les renvoie avec douleur;
Comme un amant, dans ſa jalouſe ardeur,
Rend le portrait de ſe maîtreſſe *.

He ſighed for freedom, but he could not obtain this by ſending back what he at firſt had called *ſplendid baubles*, but which he ever afterward named *marks of ſlavery*. He wrote from Berlin, where he was

* Theſe gifts I took, with joy of heart,
From them with grief, as great, I part;
The jealous lover, thus, returns
Her gifts, for whom his boſom burns.

ill,

ill, for permiſſion to depart. The king, who wiſhed to humble but not to loſe him, ſent him ſome bark, but no permiſſion. He again wrote that it was neceſſary he ſhould go and drink the waters of Plombiers; he was anſwered, thoſe of Sileſia were equally ſalutary.

Voltaire, at length, thought proper to aſk to ſee his majeſty, flattering himſelf that by his preſence he could awaken ſentiments which were rather wounded than extinct.

The baubles he had formerly poſſeſſed were returned to him. He haſtened to Potſdam, ſaw the king, and a few moments produced a total change. Familiarity revived, former chearfulneſs was recovered even at the expence of Maupertuis, and Voltaire obtained permiſſion to go to Plombiers, on giving his promiſe to return.

Voltaire haſtened to Leipſic, where he made ſome ſtay, to recover his ſtrength, which had been exhauſted by this long perſecution. Maupertuis ſent him a ridiculous challenge, the only effect of which was, that it opened a new ſource to his inexhauſtible pleaſantry. From Leipſic he went to viſit the Ducheſs of Saxe-Gotha, a princeſs, who cultivated letters, loved philoſophy, and was ſuperior to prejudice. At her requeſt he there began his Annals of the Empire.

From Gotha, he departed for Plombiers; and took the road to Frankfort. Maupertuis was determined on revenge; his challenge had been unſucceſsful, and the libels of La Beaumelle he thought inſufficient. This his contemptible ſecond had been obliged to quit Berlin, after a ridiculous adventure and ſome weeks impriſonment. He had fled to Gotha with a chamber-maid, who had robbed the miſtreſs ſhe had left; his libels had driven him from Frankfort; and he had ſcarcely arrived at Paris before he was thrown into the Baſtile. The preſident of the academy at Berlin had therefore to ſeek another avenger. He embittered the ill-humour of the king. The ſlowneſs with which Voltaire travelled, his ſtay at Gotha, and a conſiderable annuity for the lives of himſelf and his neice Madame Denis, purchaſed of the Duke of Wirtemberg, all ſpoke his determination of never returning to Pruſſia; and he had taken with him a copy of the poetical works of the king, which were then only known to the wits of the court.

A fear was excited in Frederic's mind that a ſpecies of vengeance, terrible even to a royal poet, would be taken. It was poſſible, at leaſt, that Voltaire ſhould imagine he had a right to reclaim the verſes he had given, and to ſpecify thoſe he had corrected. The king gave a knave, whom he kept in his pay at Frankfort, an order to arreſt Voltaire, and not to releaſe him till he ſhould have yielded up his croſs, his key, and the grant of his penſion, together with the poems which Freitag called "the work of Poeſhys of the king his maſter." Theſe volumes had unfortunately been left at Leipſic, and Voltaire was kept in cloſe confinement for three weeks. Madame Denis, his neice, who had come to meet him, was treated with like rigour. Guards were placed at the door, and a ſoldier continued in each of their chambers, who never ſuffered them to leave his ſight, ſuch fears were entertained leaſt the work of Poeſhys ſhould eſcape. This precious pledge was at length reſtored to Freitag, and Voltaire

was releaſed; but not however till he had been obliged to beſtow money on certain adventurers who took that opportunity to commence litigious ſuits: having eſcaped from Frankfort he went to Colmar.

The king of Pruſſia, aſhamed of his ridiculous anger, diſavowed the proceedings of Freitag, but he had ſo much morality as not to puniſh him for having obeyed. During the period of his friendſhip for Voltaire, Frederic, in the tranſports of enthuſiaſm, has often kiſſed his hands; and Voltaire, after his impriſonment, comparing the two periods, ſaid to his friends—"He has a hundred times kiſſed the hand he ſo lately manacled."

Life of the late Mr. Duval, *ſuperintendant of the imperial library and collection of medals at Vienna; from the* European Magazine *for October* 1791.

VALENTINE Jameri Duval was born in 1695, in the little village of Artonay, in Champagne. At the age of ten years he loſt his father, a poor labourer, who left his wife in a ſtate of poverty, and burthened with children, at a time when war and famine deſolated France.

In this ſtate of poverty, the young Duval accuſtomed himſelf from his infancy to a rude life, and to the privation of almoſt every neceſſary. Miſery, far from extinguiſhing the happy diſpoſitions with which he was born, ſerved on the contrary to develope that maſculine courage which he retained to the laſt moment of his life. He had ſcarcely learned to read, when, at the age of twelve years, he entered into the ſervice of a peaſant of the ſame village, who appointed him to take care of his poultry. The uniformity of ſuch an employment did not agree with the natural vivacity of his diſpoſition, but he found the means of relieving it by his ſports and frolics, which attracted about him all the boys of the village. He preſided in their amuſements, invented new ones, and his joviality and good-humour made him the delight of all his aſſociates.

It was at the commencement of the ſevere winter of 1709 that he quitted his native place, and travelled towards Lorraine; but after a few days journey he was ſeized by an exceſſive cold, and even attacked by the ſmall-pox. He muſt have died but for the care of a poor ſhepherd in the environs of the village of Monglat, who placed him in a ſtable, or rather a ſheep-pen, and whoſe poverty could ſupply him with no other articles of ſubſiſtence than coarſe bread and water, and no other bed than a truſs of ſtraw. The breath of the ſheep ſoon diſpelled his cold, and occaſioned a perſpiration that aſſiſted the diſorder with which he was infected. His horrible deformity, which ſcarcely left a trace of the human figure, did not prevent the ſheep from frequently viſiting him.

"As I had not the ſtrength," ſays he, "to drive them away, they frequently took the liberty of licking my face; but the roughneſs of their tongues made me experience the torments of Marſyas. I did all I could to avoid theſe cruel careſſes, as much on my own account, as from the apprehenſion that the venom with which my face was

covered might be infectious to these poor animals, not knowing then that this poison was the peculiar lot of beings of my own species."

From the cares he received, aided by the strength of his constitution, he recovered, and quitted his benefactor to continue his route as far as Clezantine, a village situated on the borders of Lorraine, where he entered into the service of another shepherd, with whom he remained two years; but taking a disgust to this kind of life, chance conducted him to the Hermitage of La Rochette, near Deneuvre. The hermit, known by the name of Brother Palemon, received him, made him partake his rustic labours, and embrace his mode of life.

The abode of Duval at La Rochette was not of long duration; he saw himself obliged to resign his place to a hermit sent to Brother Palemon by his superiors, who, to console him, gave him a letter of recommendation to the hermits of St. Anne, at some distance from La Rochette, and a mile or two beyond Luneville.

Our young recluse, forced to abandon his retreat, felt the utmost astonishment in passing through Luneville, which was the first town he had ever seen, and which he regarded as the center of magnificence and pleasure.

It was in the year 1713 that he arrived at the Hermitage of St. Anne. Its four solitary inhabitants received him with kindness, and entrusted him with the care of six cows, which served them for the culture of a piece of arable land of about a dozen acres; the produce of which, together with the milk and fruits of their little farm, were appropriated to their own subsist-ence, and to the distribution of charity.

He had always discovered an ardour for books, and greedily devoured all that fell in his way, whatever might be their subjects. It was at St. Anne's that he began to learn to write. One of the old men traced for him, with a trembling and decrepit hand, the elements of this ingenious art. So defective a model could produce but very wretched copies; by his zeal and ingenuity, however, he was soon able to write an indifferent hand with tolerable readiness.

One day as he was employing himself, according to custom, in laying snares for game, that he might be able to purchase books and maps of geography, he perceived upon a tree in the forest a large wild cat, whose sparkling eyes and rich fur strongly excited his avarice. Resolved at all events to catch it, he climbed the tree, and perceiving that the animal kept at the extremity of the branches to avoid him, he cut a stick in order to drive it from its station. He gave it a violent blow on the head, and it fell to the ground, but was so little injured as to be able to run away. Our Acteon, enraged at the idea of losing his prey, made a similar leap, pursued it, and pressed it so closely, that the animal, upon the point of being taken, took refuge in a hollow tree. Duval, redoubling his ardour, manœuvred so well with his stick at the bottom of the tree, that the cat, finding itself warmly attacked, bolted from its retreat to make a new escape, and threw itself directly in the arms of its enemy. He exerted all his efforts to stifle the animal, which became furious to an excess; and find-

ing its head and fore-claws free, it faſtened its talons and teeth to the head of the hero. Duval reſolved not to let it eſcape, and, in defiance of the pain he felt, he tore it by its hind feet from his head, which was as it were ſcalped, and killed it againſt a tree. Elate with his victory, he faſtened the cat to his ſtick, and returned home. His maſters, ſeeing him covered with blood, were terrified; but he ſaid to them with the utmoſt indifference, "It is a mere trifle; be ſo good as to waſh my head with a little warm wine, and it will ſoon be well; and here," ſhewing the cat, "here is my recompence." Nothing can better depict the firm and determined character of this young recluſe, than his conduct in this little adventure.

His perſevering zeal in the chace, and the money he procured for his game, had already enabled him to make a ſmall collection of books; when an unexpected occaſion furniſhed him with the means of adding to it ſome conſiderable works. Walking in the foreſt one day in autumn, and ſtriking the dry leaves before him, he perceived ſomething ſplendid on the ground, and on taking it up, found it to be a gold ſeal, with a triple face well engraved on it. He went the following Sunday to Luneville, to intreat the vicar to publiſh it in the church, that the perſon who had loſt it might recover it again by applying to him at the Hermitage. Some weeks after a man on horſeback, of genteel appearance, knocked at the gate of St. Anne's, and aſked for the hermits' boy.—Duval appeared.—"You have found a ſeal?" ſaid the ſtranger to him.—"Yes, Sir."—"I will thank you for it; it belongs to me."—"A moment's patience; before I give it you, you will be ſo good as to blazon your arms."—"You are laughing at me, young man; you can ſurely know nothing of heraldry *."—"Be that as it may, Sir, you ſhall not have the ſeal till you have blazoned your arms." The gentleman †, ſurpriſed at the firm and decided tone of Duval, aſked him a variety of queſtions upon different ſubjects; and finding him equally informed in all, he deſcribed his arms, and gave him two guineas as a recompence. Deſirous of being better acquainted with this young lad, he made him promiſe to come and breakfaſt with him at Luneville every holiday. Duval kept his word, and received a crown-piece at every viſit.

The generoſity of Mr. Foſter continued during his abode at Luneville, and he added to it his advice reſpecting the choice of books and maps. The application of Duval, ſeconded by ſuch a guide, could not fail of being attended with improvement, and he acquired a conſiderable ſhare of various kind of knowledge.

The number of his books had gradually encreaſed to four hundred volumes, but his wardrobe continued the ſame. A coarſe linen coat for ſummer, and a woollen one for winter, with his wooden ſhoes, conſtituted nearly the whole of it. His frequent viſits at Luneville, the

* Among other books, Duval had fallen by chance upon the Elements of Heraldry, by Father Meneſtier.

† It was Mr. Foſter, an Engliſhman of merit, who was then at Luneville.

opulence

opulence and luxury that prevailed there, and the ſtate of eaſe he began to feel, did not tempt him to quit his firſt ſimplicity; and he would have conſidered himſelf as guilty of robbery, if he had ſpent a farthing of what was given him, or what he gained, for any other purpoſe than to ſatisfy his paſſion for ſtudy and books. Economical to exceſs as to all phyſical wants, and prodigal in whatever could contribute to his inſtruction, and extend his knowledge, his privations gave him no pain. In proportion as his mind ripened, and the circle of his ideas enlarged, he began to reflect upon his abject ſtate. He felt that he was not in his proper place, and he wiſhed to change it. From this inſtant a ſecret inquietude haunted him in his retreat, accompanied him in the foreſt, and diſtracted him in the midſt of his ſtudies.

Seated one day at the foot of a tree, abſorbed in his reflections, and ſurrounded by maps of geography, which he examined with the moſt eager attention, a gentleman ſuddenly approached him, and aſked with an air of ſurprize what he was doing.—"Studying geography," ſaid he.—"And do you underſtand any thing of the ſubject?"—"Moſt aſſuredly; I never trouble myſelf about things I do not underſtand."—"And what place are you now ſeeking for?"—"I am trying to find the moſt direct way to Quebec."—"For what purpoſe?"—"That I might go there, and continue my ſtudies in the univerſity of that town *."—"But why need you go for this purpoſe to the end of the world? There are univerſities nearer home, ſuperior to that of Quebec; and if it will afford you any pleaſure, I will point them out to you." At this moment they were joined by a large retinue belonging to the young princes of Lorraine, who were hunting in the foreſt with Count Vidampiere and Baron Pfutſchner, their governors. A variety of queſtions were put to Duval, which he anſwered with equal preciſion and good-ſenſe, and without being out of countenance. It was at length propoſed by Baron Pfutſchner and Count Vidampiere, the perſon who firſt accoſted him, that he ſhould continue his ſtudies in form in the college of Jeſuits of Pont-à-Mouſſon. Duval felt the importance of this propoſal, but deſired time to conſider of it; adding, that he valued his liberty, and would never quit his retreat without being ſure of preſerving this precious gift of nature. They diſpelled his apprehenſions on this ſubject, and Baron Pfutſchner promiſed to call upon him in a few days.

The Baron kept his word, and came to inform him, that Leopold Duke of Lorraine would take him under his protection, and furniſh him with the means of purſuing and finiſhing his ſtudies. He invited him at the ſame time to go with him to court at Luneville. Our young recluſe was attached to the Hermitage, and could not quit it without tears. Having vowed an eternal gratitude to his benefactors, he ſet off in a chariot and ſix with the Baron. On his arrival at Luneville he was preſented to the Duke, who received him in the midſt of a numerous court, whom this ſingular event had contributed to aſſemble. He

* He had read in one of his books of this univerſity, which gave riſe to his deſire.

anſwered every queſtion that was put to him without being confuſed or at a loſs, notwithſtanding the novelty of the ſcene to him, and the important part he had to act. Some ladies having expreſſed their ſurprize at the beauty of his teeth, he ſaid very ingeniouſly, "What, ladies, can there be aſtoniſhing in this? It is an advantage which I enjoy in common with all the canine ſpecies." The Duke, charmed with his ſimplicity and his happy phyſiognomy, renewed his promiſe of protection, and committed the care of his eſtabliſhment at the college of Pont-à-Mouſſon to Baron Pfutſchner. His books and effects were conveyed thither; he was clothed, and an annual penſion aſſigned him.

Duval's natural taſte for ſtudy, added to his deſire of anſwering the expectations of his illuſtrious patron, made him redouble his zeal. Hiſtory, geography, and antiquities, were the ſtudies he preferred, and in which his new guides were peculiarly qualified to aſſiſt him.

The ſedentary life he now led being no longer balanced as heretofore by frequent bodily exerciſes, his conſtitution ſoon felt the effects.

His animal ſpirits, heated by his cloſe application and his ſittings-up, diſordered his imagination; and it was in this ſtate that the accidental ſight of a young beauty kindled in his heart a ſudden and violent love. Fatigued by his repeated ſtruggles with the moſt impetuous of the human paſſions, he read one day in St. Jerôme, that hemlock was a certain cure for it. Charmed with this important diſcovery, he immediately procured a conſiderable quantity of this herb, and eat it as a ſallad. The imprudence nearly coſt him his life. The poiſon having chilled his blood and dried up his lungs, he was ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, the fatal effects of which were long felt by him. Weakened however as he was by ill health, his ſtudies were unremitted: conſtantly attached to his books, he never quitted them but to breathe ſometimes a pure air in the woods and foreſts. Theſe ſolitary rambles recalled to his mind the paſtoral life he had led; and the remembrance was ſo pleaſing, that they became to his death his favourite recreation.

He continued alſo to find pleaſure in taking game, as well as in fiſhing. Having one day obſerved that there were eels in the ſtream that flowed at the foot of the convent in which he reſided, he contrived the following means to catch them: He paſſed a rod through one of the panes of the window, which he balanced on a pivot. To one end of the rod he fixed a line with a hook, and the other communicated to a bell that hung by his bed-ſide, in ſuch a manner that on the leaſt motion of the rod the bell would ring and awake him. On hearing the bell one night he leaped from his bed, ran to the window, and on drawing the line he found himſelf ſcarcely able to ſupport the weight that hung to it. It was an enormous eel, which, the moment he was laying hold of it, eſcaped from his hands, fell into the room, and became inſtantly inviſible. Having a long time ſought for it to no purpoſe, he at laſt heard a great buſtle in the bake-houſe under him. The eel, having found a hole in the floor, had fallen into the trough at the very moment the baker was kneading his dough. Terrified at ſeeing this creature

writhe

writhe and twiſt, and flounce about in the tub, and fear magnifying the object ten-fold, the baker conceived that he ſaw the Devil himſelf in this enormous and frightful ſhape. He took to his heels, ſhrieking to ſuch a degree as to alarm the whole convent. The reverend fathers ran from all ſides, ſome agitated themſelves by terror, and others trying in vain to diſcover the cauſe of this ſingular event. The enigma muſt have remained inexplicable, if Duval had not come to their ſuccour.

He lived two years in this houſe, and the improvement he made was ſo great, that Duke Leopold, as a recompence, and to give him an opportunity of ſtill further progreſs, permitted him in 1718 to make a journey to Paris in his ſuite. On his return the next year, the Duke appointed him his Librarian, and conferred on him the office of Profeſſor of Hiſtory in the Academy of Luneville.

He ſhortly after read public lectures on Hiſtory and Antiquities: they were attended with the greateſt ſucceſs, and frequented by a number of young Engliſhmen, among whom was the immortal Chatham. Duval, ſtruck with the diſtinguiſhed air, as well as with the manly and ſonorous voice, of this young man, predicted more than once a part of his fate. The generoſity of Duval's pupils, added to his own œconomy, ſoon enabled him to ſhew his gratitude to the Hermits of St. Anne. He formed the project of building this Hermitage, the cradle of his fortune, anew, and of conſecrating to it all his ſavings. A handſome ſquare building, with a chapel in the middle of it, and ſurrounded with a conſiderable quantity of land, conſiſting of a garden, an orchard, a vineyard, a nurſery of the beſt fruit-trees, and ſome arable ground, were the reſult of this generous intention. His principles of beneficence and humanity led him to render this inſtitution uſeful to the public. The hermits of St. Anne were ordered to furniſh gratuitouſly, and at the diſtance of three leagues round, the produce of their nurſery, and every kind of tree that ſhould be demanded of them, and to every perſon without exception. They were further obliged to go and plant them themſelves, if it were required, without exacting any reward, or even taking refreſhment, unleſs they found themſelves at too great a diſtance from the Hermitage to return to dinner.

Duval, occupied by his ſtudies and the inſpection of the Hermitage of St. Anne, had ſpent many years in perfect content, when an unexpected accident interrupted his felicity. Duke Leopold died in 1738, and his ſon Francis exchanged the Duchy of Lorraine for the Grand Duchy of Tuſcany. King Staniſlaus, the new poſſeſſor of Lorraine, uſed indeed the moſt urgent entreaties to prevail on Duval to continue in the office of Profeſſor in the Academy of Luneville; but his attachment to his old patron would not permit him to liſten to the propoſal. He went to Florence, where he was placed at the head of the ducal library, which was transferred thither. Notwithſtanding the charming climate of Italy, Lorraine, to which he had ſo many reaſons to be attached, did not ceaſe to be the object of his regret. His regret was conſiderably increaſed by his ſeparation from the young Duke Francis, who on his marriage with the

heireſs of the Houſe of Auſtria was obliged of courſe to reſide at Vienna. The ſcience of Medals, upon which Duval had already read lectures in Lorraine, became now his favourite amuſement, and he was deſirous of making a collection of ancient and modern coins. He was deeply engaged in this purſuit when the Emperor Francis, who had formed a ſimilar deſign, ſent for him, that he might have the care and management of the collection.

During his abode at Vienna it was cuſtomary with him to wait upon the King after dinner. One day he quitted him abruptly, without waiting till he ſhould be diſmiſſed. "Where are you going?" ſaid the Prince.—"To hear Gabrieli, Sire."—"But ſhe ſings ſo wretchedly."—"Let me entreat your majeſty not to ſay this aloud."—"Why not?"—"Becauſe it is of importance to your majeſty, that every one ſhould believe what you ſay; but in this no one will believe you." The Abbe Marcy, who was preſent at this converſation, ſaid to him, as they came out together, "Do you know, Duval, that you have ſpoken to the Emperor a bold truth?"—"So much the better," replied he; "I hope he will profit by it." In 1751 he was appointed Sub-Preceptor to the Archduke Joſeph, the late Emperor; but he refuſed this office, flattering as it was to vanity, and gave the reaſons of his refuſal in writing. He preſerved nevertheleſs the friendſhip of their majeſties, and continued to receive new proofs of it.

Once during the Carnival, the queen laid a bet with his majeſty, who piqued himſelf on being able to find out all the maſks, that ſhe would give her arm at the ball to a maſk that he ſhould not diſcover. Duval, who had never been at a ball in his life, was entreated to wait upon the maids of honour, that he might be dreſſed for the occaſion. He went, and endeavoured to excuſe himſelf, alledging his extreme aukwardneſs, and entire ignorance how to conduct himſelf: but he was obliged to yield; and every thing being ready, he was introduced to her majeſty. The Empreſs gave him her arm; and aſſuming a tone of gaiety to encourage him, ſhe ſaid among other things, as they went to the ball, "Well, Duval, I hope at leaſt you will dance a minuet with me."—"I, Madam! I have learned in the woods no other dance than that of tumbling head over heels." The Empreſs laughed heartily at his reply, and preſently they arrived at the formidable aſſembly-room. The Emperor, anxious to win his bet, was already there; but his efforts were vain to diſcover the maſk, which, after two hours ſtay, was ſuffered to depart. The diſguiſe of Duval, and the conſtraint he experienced in ſo great a croud, had made him very warm; and in returning from the ball he caught a violent cold, which, as he pleaſantly ſaid himſelf, preſerved him from the danger of being elated with pride at the diſtinction conferred upon him.

He was beloved by all the imperial family; but from his extreme modeſty he was ſcarcely acquainted with the perſons of many individuals of it. The eldeſt Archducheſſes paſſing him one day without his appearing to know them, the king of the Romans, who was a little behind

behind them, and who perceived his abſence, aſked him, if he knew thoſe ladies? "No, Sir," ſaid he ingenuouſly.—"I do not at all wonder at it," replied the Prince; "it is becauſe my ſiſters are not antiques."

A philoſopher in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word, Duval thus lived, in the midſt of luxury and human greatneſs, a life truly paſtoral, never deviating from his firſt plan, and never more happy than in the depth of his retreat. The perſon of whoſe ſociety he was moſt fond, was Mademoiſelle du Guttenberg, firſt *femme de chambre* of the Empreſs. She had a cultivated underſtanding, and a heart ever ready to compaſſionate and relieve the ſufferings of humanity. This character, perfectly analogous to his own, inſpired him with the greateſt confidence. He not only ſaw her regularly when at court, but in the frequent abſences which ſhe was obliged to make, he wrote to her very aſſiduouſly. A conſiderable part of this correſpondence was found among the papers of the deſunct, collected together and placed in order by himſelf.

His health being again impaired by his cloſe application to ſtudy, he was adviſed to take a ſecond journey to re-eſtabliſh it. He returned into France, and arrived at Paris in 1752, where he found a number of perſons who were deſirous of ſhewing him civilities, and rendering his abode agreeable. The Abbé Lenglet du Freſnoy, M. du Freſne d'Aubigny, the Abbé Barthelemi, M. de Boze, M. Duclos, and Madame de Graffigny, were among the friends whoſe ſociety he cultivated moſt. Notwithſtanding the diſtractions of this new kind of life, his friends at Vienna were not forgotten. Mademoiſelle de Guttenberg frequently heard from him; he aſſumed even in his correſpondence with her the ſtyle and manners of a *petit-maitre*, and never wrote to her but upon roſe-coloured paper.

On his return he paſſed by Artonay, his native village. He purchaſed his paternal cottage, which one of his ſiſters had ſold from indigence; and having cauſed it to be pulled down, he built on the ſpot a ſolid and commodious houſe, which he made a preſent of to the community for the abode of the ſchoolmaſter of the village. His beneficence diſtinguiſhed itſelf alſo in a hamlet ſituated near Artonay, where, finding that there were no wells, he had ſome dug at his own expence.

From his good conſtitution, hardened by fatigue, he lived to the age of 79 years, without feeling the infirmities of old age. In his eightieth year he was all at once attacked with the gravel, which brought him to the brink of the grave. In this painful ſtate his philoſophy gave him a ſuperiority over common minds: a prey to the moſt excruciating pains, his firmneſs and intrepidity were invincible, and he preſerved all his preſence of mind. By the cares, however, of the Empreſs, his diſorder took a favourable turn, and he was ſnatched from the arms of death; but in the following year he was ſeized with a fever, occaſioned by indigeſtion, which weakened him every day, and ſpeedily put an end to his exiſtence.

A few days before his death a friend who attended him perceiving a book in his hand, aſked him what

it was? "M. de St. Lambert's Poem of the Seaſons," he replied. "You are ſurprized, perhaps, to ſee the attention of a dying man employed on a book of this nature. A book of devotion may be more ſuitable to the ſtate in which I am; but tortured with pain, I cannot bear ſerious reading. Beſide, I have reflected with myſelf, and, having recapitulated with impartiality the actions of my life, I have found my intentions to have been upright and good. As to faults that are involuntary and inſeparable from human weakneſs, God will (I know) pardon them; and I rely without the ſmalleſt apprehenſion upon his ſupreme goodneſs." This perfect tranquillity of ſoul, the reſult of innocence and candour, never quitted him to his lateſt breath. He died November 3, 1775, aged 81 years. Let his aſhes repoſe in peace;—and may Poſterity, the arbiter of true merit, never forget a man who, to raiſe himſelf from the ſtate of obſcurity to which his birth ſeemed to have condemned him, opened himſelf a way, and overcame difficulties which the perſeverance of genius alone was capable of ſurmounting!

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY.

On the production of Ambergris. A communication from the Committee of Council appointed for the conſideration of all matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations. From the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. lxxxi. part 1.

To Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart.

Office of committee of privy council for trade, Whitehall, 15th January, 1791.

SIR,

LORD Hawkeſbury, preſident of the committee of privy council appointed for the conſideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations, having received a letter from Mr. Champion, a principal merchant concerned in the Southern whale-fiſhery, informing him that a ſhip belonging to him had lately arrived from the ſaid fiſhery, which had brought home 362 ounces of ambergris, found by Mr. Coffin, captain of the ſaid ſhip, in the body of a female ſpermaceti whale, taken on the Coaſt of Guinea; his lordſhip thought fit to deſire captain Coffin, as well as Mr. Champion, to attend the lords of the committee, that they might be examined concerning all the circumſtances of the fact before mentioned; and I am directed by their lordſhips to tranſmit to you a copy of the examination of theſe two gentlemen, that you may communicate the ſame to the Royal Society, if you ſhould think that any of the circumſtances ſtated in this examination will contribute to remove the doubts hitherto entertained concerning the natural hiſtory and production of this valuable drug. I ſend you alſo a piece of the ambergris ſo taken out of the whale, and ſome of the bills of the fiſh called ſquids (which are ſuppoſed to be the food of ſpermaceti whales), and which were found partly in the ambergris taken from this female whale, and partly on the outſide of it, and adhering to it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. FAWKENER.

At the Council Chamber, Whitehall, the 12th January, 1791.

By the right honourable the lords of the committee of council appointed for the conſideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations.

Read—Letter from Mr. Alexander Champion, a principal merchant concerned in the Southern whale-fiſhery, to lord Hawkeſbury, dated the 2d inſtant, acquainting his lordſhip, that captain Joſhua Coffin, of the ſhip The Lord Hawkeſbury, is lately arrived from the Southern whale-fiſhery; and that the ſaid

ſhip,

ſhip, beſides a cargo of 76 tons of ſpermaceti oil and head-matter, has brought home about 360 ounces of ambergris, which the ſaid captain took out of the body of a female ſpermaceti whale on the Coaſt of Guinea.

Meſſrs. Champion and Coffin attending, were then called in, and the following queſtions were put to Mr. Coffin, viz.

Q. Have any of the whales taken before by ſhips ſailing from Great-Britain, to your knowledge, contained any ambergris?

A. None, that ever I heard of. The American ſhips have, at times, found ſome.

Q. Was the ambergris, found by you, in a bull or cow fiſh?

A. It was found in a cow fiſh.

Q. Is it uſual to look for ambergris in whales that are killed?

A. It has not hitherto been much the practice to do ſo.

Q. How happened it that you diſcovered this?

A. We ſaw it come out of the fundament of the whale; as we were cutting the blubber, a piece of it ſwam upon the ſurface of the ſea.

Q. In what part of the whale did you find the remainder?

A. Some more was in the ſame paſſage, and the reſt was contained in a bag a little below the paſſage, and communicating with it.

Q. Did the whale appear to be in health?

A. No; ſhe did not. She ſeemed ſickly, had no fleſh upon her bones, and was very old, as appears by the teeth, two of which I have. Though ſhe was about thirty-five feet long, ſhe did not produce above one ton and a half of oil. A fiſh of the ſame ſize, in good health, would have produced two tons and a half.

Q. Have you obſerved the food that whales generally feed upon?

A. The ſpermaceti whale feeds, as I believe, almoſt wholly upon a fiſh called ſquids. I have often ſeen a whale, when dying, bring up a quantity of ſquid, ſometimes whole, and ſometimes pieces of it. The bills of the ſquid (ſome of which Mr. Coffin produced) were found, ſome in the inſide, and ſome on the outſide of the ambergris, ſticking to it.

Q. Did you ever find any ambergris floating on the ſea?

A. I never did, but others frequently have.

Q. How long have you been engaged in the whale-fiſhery?

A. It is about ſixteen years ſince I firſt entered into it.

Q. What is the general proportion of bull and cow whales you have met with?

A. I believe the proportion to be nearly equal. In my laſt voyage, however, I found only four bulls out of thirty-five whales. I fiſhed upon the Coaſt of Africa between five north and ſeven ſouth degrees of latitude. I am inclined to think, that the cow whale goes to calve in the low latitudes, which accounts for more cows being found in thoſe latitudes.

Q. Is there any particular ſeaſon when the cow whales calve?

A. I do not know that there is.

Q. Does the bull or cow whale, in proportion to their ſize, produce moſt oil?

A. The cow whale, when big with calf, produces more oil than a bull whale of the ſame ſize; when ſuckling, ſhe produces leſs.

Q. Are

Q. Are the whales usually found singly, or in pairs, or in larger numbers?

A. Usually in large numbers, which we call scools, and particularly in the low latitudes. I have seen from fifteen to perhaps a thousand together.

Q. Have you any further information on this subject to give the committee?

A. We have generally observed, that the spermaceti whale, when struck, voids her excrement; if she does not, we conjecture that she has ambergris in her. I think ambergris most likely to be found in a sickly fish; for I consider it to be the cause or the effect of some disorder.

Questions put to Mr. Champion.

Q. At what price does ambergris usually sell; and at what price did that taken by your ship sell?

A. A small quantity had lately sold at 25*s. per* ounce; but it was then very scarce. Mine sold for 19*s.* 9*d. per* ounce. The whole quantity, found in this whale, was 362 ounces Troy. The people who bought it told me, this was a larger quantity than was ever before brought at once to market. It has been generally sold at about four or five pounds at a time.

Q. For the use of what country was this ambergris bought?

A. I do not exactly know. It was bought by a broker, who told me, that his principal, who purchased about one half, bought it for exportation to Turkey, Germany, and France. The other half was purchased by the druggists in town.

Observations on certain horny excrescences of the human body. By Everard Home, *Esq*; *F.R.S. From the same.*

THE history of diseases belongs not properly to the province of the naturalist or philosopher; it is intimately connected with the inquiries of the physician and anatomist; but when disease becomes a cause of the formation of parts similar to others existing in nature, but rendered uncommon by novelty of situation, or produced in animals to which they are not naturally appropriated, it may be considered as having instituted a monstrous variety, highly deserving of attention from the naturalist.

To describe such varieties is indeed more fully the office of natural history than of medicine; but the investigation of diseases which are found to subvert the ordinary laws of nature, respecting the situation or production of parts in an animal body, undoubtedly belongs to the medical practitioner.

By these considerations, I have been induced to lay before the Royal Society the following account of a disease which occurs sometimes in the human body, very remarkable in its effects, but very little understood as to its cause; namely, the production of an excrescence similar to a horn. So curious a phænomenon has naturally attracted the attention of the ignorant as well as the philosopher; and the individuals who have had the misfortune to be subject to this disease have been considered as monsters.

Horny excrescences arising from the human head have not only occurred in this country, but have been

been met with in ſeveral other parts of Europe; and the horns themſelves have been depoſited as valuable curioſities in the firſt collections in Europe.

In giving the hiſtory of a diſeaſe ſo rare in its occurrence, and in its effects ſo remarkable as almoſt to exceed belief, it might be thought right to take ſome pains in bringing proofs to aſcertain that ſuch a diſeaſe does really exiſt: I conſider the doing ſo as leſs neceſſary at preſent, there being two women now alive, and reſiding in England, who are affected by the complaint. I ſhall, however, in the courſe of this paper, bring other evidence from the teſtimony of the moſt reſpectable authors who have conſidered this ſubject.

The two following caſes contain a very accurate and diſtinct hiſtory of the progreſs of the diſeaſe through its different ſtages, and make any further detail of the ſymptoms intirely unneceſſary.

Mrs. Lonſdale, a woman 56 years old, a native of Horncaſtle in Lincolnſhire, fourteen years ago, obſerved a moveable tumor on the left ſide of her head, about two inches above the upper arch of the left ear, which gradually increaſed in the courſe of four or five years to the ſize of a pullet's egg, when it burſt, and for a week continued to diſcharge a thick, gritty fluid. In the center of the tumor, after the fluid was diſcharged, ſhe perceived a ſmall ſoft ſubſtance, of the ſize of a pea, and of a reddiſh colour on the top, which at that time ſhe took for proud fleſh. It gradually increaſed in length and thickneſs, and continued pliable for about three months, when it firſt began to put on a horny appearance. In two years and three months from its firſt formation, made deſperate by the increaſed violence of the pain, ſhe attempted to tear it from her head; and with much difficulty, and many efforts, at length broke it in the middle, and afterwards tore the root from her head, leaving a conſiderable depreſſion which ſtill remains in the part where it grew. Its length altogether is about five inches, and its circumference at the two ends about one inch; but in the middle rather leſs. It is *curled* like a ram's horn contorted, and in colour much reſembling iſinglaſs.

From the lower edge of the depreſſion another horn is now growing, of the ſame colour with the former, in length about three inches, and nearly the thickneſs of a ſmall gooſe quill; it is leſs contorted, and lies cloſe upon the head.

A third horn, ſituated about the upper part of the lambdoidal ſuture, is much curved, above an inch in length, and more in circumference at its root: its direction is backwards, with ſome elevation from the head. At this place two or three ſucceſſive horns have been produced, which ſhe has conſtantly torn away; but as freſh ones have ſpeedily followed, ſhe leaves the preſent one unmoleſted, in hopes of its dropping off.

Beſides theſe horny excreſcences, there are two tumors, each the ſize of a large cockle; one upon the upper part, the other about the middle of the left ſide of the head; both of them admit of conſiderable motion, and ſeem to contain fluids of unequal conſiſtence; the upper one affording an obſcure fluctuation, the other a very evident one.

The four horns were all preceded by

by the ſame kind of incyſted tumours, and the fluid in all of them was gritty; the openings from which the matter iſſued were very ſmall, the cyſts collapſed and dried up, leaving the ſubſtance from which the horn proceeded diſtinguiſhable at the bottom. Theſe cyſts gave little pain till the horns began to ſhoot, and then became very diſtreſſing, and continued with ſhort intervals till they were removed.—This caſe is drawn up by the ſurgeon who attended the woman for many years, which gave him frequent opportunities of ſeeing the diſeaſe in its different ſtages, and acquiring an accurate hiſtory of its ſyſtoms.

Mrs. Allen, a middle-aged woman, reſident in Leiceſterſhire, had an incyſted tumor upon her head, immediately under the ſcalp, very moveable, and evidently containing a fluid. It gave no pain unleſs preſſed upon, and grew to the ſize of a ſmall hen's egg. A few years ago it burſt, and diſcharged a fluid; this diminiſhed in quantity, and in a ſhort time a horny excreſcence, ſimilar to thoſe above mentioned, grew out from the orifice, which has continued to increaſe in ſize; and in the month of November 1790, the time I ſaw it, was about five inches long, and a little more than an inch in circumference at its baſe. It was a good deal contorted, and the ſurface very irregular, having a laminated appearance. It moved readily with the ſcalp, and ſeemed to give no pain upon motion; but, when much handled, the ſurrounding ſkin became inflamed. This woman came to London, and exhibited herſelf as a ſhow for money; and it is highly probable, that ſo rare an occurrence would have ſufficiently excited the public attention to have made it anſwer her expectations in point of emolument, had not the circumſtance been made known to her neighbours in the country, who were much diſſatisfied with the meaſure, and by their importunity obliged her huſband to take her into the country.

That the caſes which I have related may not be conſidered as peculiar inſtances from which no concluſions can be drawn, it may not be amiſs to take notice of ſome of the moſt remarkable hiſtories of this kind, mentioned by authors, and ſee how far they agree with thoſe I have ſtated, in the general characters that are ſufficiently obvious to ſtrike a common obſerver; for the vague and indefinite terms in which authors expreſs themſelves on this ſubject ſhew plainly, that they did not underſtand the nature of the diſeaſe, and their accounts of it are not very ſatisfactory to their readers.

In the *Ephemerides Academiæ Naturæ Curioſorum*, there are two caſes of horns growing from the human body. One of theſe inſtances was a German woman *, who had ſeveral ſwellings, or ganglions, upon different parts of her head, from one of which a horn grew. The other was a nobleman †, who had a ſmall tumor, about the ſize of a nut, growing upon the parts covering the two laſt or lowermoſt vertebræ of the back. It continued

* Ephem. Acad. Nat. Cur. Dec. iii. An. V. Append. p. 148.
† Ibid. Dec. i. An. I. Obſervat. 30.

for

for ten years, without undergoing any apparent change; but afterwards enlarged in ſize, and a horny excreſcence grew out from it.

In the Hiſtory of the Royal Society of Medicine *, there is an account of a woman, 97 years old, who had ſeveral tumors on her head, which had been 14 years in growing to the ſtate they were in at that time: ſhe had alſo a horn which had originated from a ſimilar tumor. The horn was very moveable, being attached to the ſcalp, without any adheſion to the ſcull. It was ſawn off, but grew again; and although the operation was repeated ſeveral times, the horn always returned.

Bartholine, in his Epiſtles †, takes notice of a woman who had a tumor under the ſcalp, covering the temporal muſcle. This gradually enlarged, and a horn grew from it, which had become twelve inches long in the year 1646, the time he ſaw it. He gives us a repreſentation of it, which bears a very accurate reſemblance to that which I have mentioned to have ſeen in November 1790. No tumor or ſwelling is expreſſed in the figure; but the horn is coming directly out from the ſurface of the ſkin.

In the Natural Hiſtory of Cheſhire ‡, a woman is mentioned to have lived in the year 1668, who had a tumor or wen upon her head for 32 years, which afterwards enlarged, and two horns grew out of it; ſhe was then 72 years old.

There is a horny excreſcence in the Britiſh Muſeum, which is eleven inches long, and two inches and a half in circumference at the baſe, or thickeſt part. The following account of this horn I have been favoured with by Dr. Gray, taken from the records of the Muſeum. A woman, named French, who lived near Tenterden, had a tumor or wen upon her head, which increaſed to the ſize of a walnut; and in the 48th year of her age, this horn began to grow, and in four years arrived at its preſent ſize ||.

There are many ſimilar hiſtories of theſe horny excreſcences in the authors I have quoted, and in ſeveral others; but thoſe mentioned above are the moſt accurate and particular with reſpect to their growth, and in all of them we find the origin was from a tumor, as in the two caſes I have related; and although the nature of the tumor is not particularly mentioned, there can be no doubt of its being of the incyſted kind, ſince in its progreſs it exactly reſembled them, remaining ſtationary for a long time, and then coming forwards to the ſkin; and the horn being much ſmaller

* Hiſtoire de la Société Royale de Medécine, 1776, p. 316.

† Epiſtol. Thom. Barthol.

‡ Lee's Natural Hiſtory of Lancaſhire and Cheſhire.

|| The following extract is taken from the minutes of the Royal Society, Feb. 14, 1704-5.

"A letter was read from Dr. Chariere, at Barnſtaple, concerning a horn, "ſeven inches long, cut off the ſecond vertebra of the neck of a woman in that "neighbourhood.

"Dr. Gregory ſaid, that one of ſeven inches long, and of a dark brown colour, "was cut off from a woman's temple at Edinburgh.

"Dr. Norris ſaid, that two horns had been cut off from a woman's head in "Cheſhire."

than

than the tumor previouſly to the formation of the horn, is a proof that the tumor muſt have burſt, and diſcharged its contents.

From the foregoing account it muſt appear evident, that theſe horny excreſcences are not to be ranked among the appearances called *luſus naturæ*: nor are they altogether the product of diſeaſe, although undoubtedly the conſequence of a local diſeaſe having previouſly exiſted; they are, more properly ſpeaking, the reſult of certain operations in the part for its own reſtoration; but the actions of the animal œconomy being unable to bring them back to their original ſtate, this ſpecies of excreſcence is formed as a ſubſtitute for the natural cuticular covering.

Obſervations on the Decompoſition of Fixed Air, tending to prove that Charcoal is one of the conſtituent principles. *By* Smithſon Tennant, Eſq. *F.R.S. From the ſame, part* ii.

AS fixed air is produced by the combuſtion of charcoal, it has long been thought highly probable that vital air and charcoal are its conſtituent ingredients. This opinion is confirmed by the experiments of M. Lavoiſier, from which he diſcovered that the weight of the fixed air which is formed during the combuſtion is nearly equal to that of the vital air and charcoal conſumed in the proceſs; and that the ſmall difference of weight may, with great reaſon, be attributed to the production of water ariſing from inflammable air contained in the charcoal. The compoſition of fixed air therefore ſeems to be determined, by uniting its conſtituent parts, with as much certainty as by that mode of proof alone it is poſſible to obtain. But as vital air has a ſtronger attraction for charcoal than for any other known ſubſtance, the decompoſition of fixed air has not hitherto been attempted. By means, however, of the united force of *two* attractions, I have been able to decompoſe fixed air, and thus to determine its conſtituent parts in conſequence of their ſeparation.

It has long been known, that when phoſphoric acid is combined with calcareous earth, it cannot be decompoſed by diſtillation with charcoal: for though vital air is more ſtrongly attracted by charcoal than by phoſphorus, yet in this compound it is retained by two attractions, by that which it has for phoſphorus, and by that which the phoſphoric acid has for lime, ſince the vital air cannot be diſengaged unleſs both theſe attractions are overcome. As theſe attractions are more powerful than that which charcoal has for vital air, if phoſphorus is applied to fixed air and calcareous earth, the vital air will unite with the phoſphorus, and the charcoal will be obtained pure. Theſe ſubſtances, in order to act upon each other, muſt be brought into contact when red-hot; and this may be eaſily effected in the following manner. Into a glaſs tube, cloſed at one end, and coated with ſand and clay to prevent the ſudden action of the heat, a little phoſphorus ſhould be firſt introduced, and afterwards ſome powdered marble. The experiment ſucceeds more readily if the marble is ſlightly calcined, probably becauſe that part which is reduced to lime, by immediately uniting with the phoſpho-

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rus, detains it to act upon the fixed air in the other part. After the ingredients are introduced, the tube ſhould be nearly, but not entirely, cloſed up; by which means ſo free a circulation of air as might inflame the phoſphorus is prevented, whilſt the heated air within the tube is ſuffered to eſcape. When the tube has remained red-hot for ſome minutes, it may be taken from the fire, and muſt be ſuffered to grow cold before it is broken. It will be found to contain a black powder, conſiſting of charcoal intermixed with a compound of lime and phoſphoric acid, and of lime united with phoſphorus. The lime and phoſphoric acid may be ſeparated by ſolution in an acid, and by filtration, and the phoſphorus by ſublimation.

Charcoal, thus obtained from fixed air, appears in no reſpect to differ from the charcoal, of vegetable matters. On deflagrating a little of it in a ſmall retort with nitre, fixed air was immediately re-produced.—Since, therefore, charcoal, by its ſeparation from fixed air, is proved to be one of its conſtituent principles, it can hardly be doubted, that this ſubſtance is preſent whenever fixed air is produced; and that thoſe experiments, from which it is ſuppoſed that this acid may be formed without the aid of charcoal, have not been conducted with the requiſite caution.

As vital air is attracted by a compound of phoſphorus and calcareous earth more powerfully than by charcoal, I was deſirous of trying their efficacy upon theſe acids, which may from analogy be ſuppoſed to contain vital air, but which are not affected by the application of charcoal. With this intention I made phoſphorus paſs through a compound of marine acid and calcareous earth, and alſo of fluor acid and calcareous earth, but without producing in either of them any alteration. Since the ſtrong attraction which theſe acids have for calcareous earth tends to prevent their decompoſition, it might be thought that in this manner they were not more diſpoſed to part with vital air than by the attraction of charcoal. But this, however, does not appear to be the fact. I have found, that phoſphorus cannot be obtained by paſſing marine acid through a compound of bones and charcoal, when red-hot. The attraction, therefore, of phoſphorus and lime for vital air exceeds the attraction of charcoal by a greater force than that ariſing from the attraction of marine acid for lime.

Account of Chermes Lacca. *By* William Roxburgh, M. D. *of* Samulcotta. *From the ſame.*

SOME pieces of very freſh-looking lac, adhering to ſmall branches of Mimoſa cinerea *, were brought me from the mountains, on the 20th of November, 1789. I kept them carefully in wide-mouthed cryſtal bottles, ſlightly covered; and this day, the 4th of December, fourteen days from the time they came from the hills, thouſands of exceeding minute red animals were

* Lac, on this coaſt, is always found upon the three following ſpecies of Mimoſa; 1ſt, a new ſpecies, called by the Gentoos Conda corinda; 2d, Mimoſa glauca of Kœnig; and, 3dly, Mimoſa cinerea of LINNÆUS.

obſerved

observed crawling about the lac and the branches it adhered to, and still more were issuing from small holes on the surface of the cells. By the assistance of glasses, small imperforated excrescences were also observed, interspersed among these holes, two, regularly, to each hole, crowned with some very fine white hairs, which being rubbed off, two white spots appeared. The animals, when single, ran about pretty briskly; but, in general, on opening the cells, they were so numerous as to be crowded over one another. The substance of which the cells were formed cannot be better described, with respect to appearance, than by saying it is like the transparent amber that beads are made of. The external covering of the cells may be about half a line thick, is remarkably strong, and able to resist injuries: the partitions are much thinner. The cells are in general irregular squares, pentagons, and hexagons, about an eighth of an inch in diameter, and a quarter of an inch deep: they have no communication with each other. All those I opened, during the time the animals were issuing from them, contained in one side, and which occupied half the cell, a small bag, filled with a thick red jelly-like liquor, replete with what I take to be eggs. These bags, or utriculi, adhere to the bottom of the cells, and have each two necks, which pass through perforations in the external coat of the cells, forming the before-mentioned excrescences, ending in some very fine hairs.

The other half of the cells have a distant opening, and contain a white substance, like some few filaments of cotton rolled together, and a number of the little red insects themselves crawling about, ready to make their exit. Their portion of each cell is about a half; and, I think, must have contained near one hundred of these animals. Other cells, less forward, contained in this half with one opening, a thick, red, dark blood-coloured liquor, with numbers of exceedingly minute eggs, many times smaller than those found in the small bags which occupied the other half of the cells. Several of these insects I observed to have drawn up their legs, and to lie flat; they did not move on being touched; nor did they shew any signs of life upon the greatest irritation *.

Dec. 5. The same minute hexapodes continue issuing from their cells in numbers.

Dec 6. The male insect I have found to-day, at least what I think is such. A few of them are constantly running about, and over the little red insects, (which I shall now call the female) most actively: as yet they are scarce, not more, I imagine, than 1 to 5,000 females, but they are four or five times their size.

To-day the female insects continue issuing in great numbers, and move about as before.

Dec. 7. The small red or female insects, are still more numerous, and move about as before. The winged or male insects, are still very few, but continue active. There have been fresh leaves and bits of the branches of Mimosa ci-

* It will appear in the sequel, that these were on the point of transformation into the pupa state.

nerea, and Mimoſa intſia, put in to them. They go over them indifferently, without ſhewing any preference or inclination to work, or to copulate. I opened a cell, from whence I thought the winged flies had come, and found ſeveral (eight or ten) ſtruggling to ſhake off their incumbrances. They were in one of thoſe utriculi mentioned before, which end in two mouths, ſhut up with fine white hairs; but one of them was open for the exit of the flies; the other would, no doubt, have opened in due time. This utriculus I found now perfectly dry; and could plainly ſee it was divided into minute cells, by exceedingly thin membraneous partitions. I imagine, before any of the flies made their eſcape, it might have contained about ſixteen or twenty. In the minute cells, with the living flies, or from whence they had made their eſcape, were ſmall dark-coloured compreſſed grains.

March 26, 1790, I found ſome branches of the ſame ſort of Mimoſa, with numbers of the minute red hexapodes, mentioned in December (ſeemingly in their pupa ſtate), adhering to them. They are of various ſizes, from half a line to a line and a half in length. I found many of the large ones empty. They have a round opening at the lower end, with a ſmall round operculum, or lid, which now looſely covers the empty huſk or ſhell: the inſide of theſe is lined with a ſmall white membrane; others were ſtill ſhut, ſome were opening, and ſome half open, with the inſects projecting more or leſs, and ſoon extricating themſelves entirely.

I opened ſome of the middle-ſized, and found they contained a thick deep blood-coloured liquid; others, ſtill larger, put on the appearance of the fly, which was ſoon to iſſue, retrograde.

Deſcription of the male lac inſect in its perfect ſtate.

It is then about the ſize of a very ſmall fly, and exceedingly active; the larva and pupa ſtate, I am as yet unacquainted with.

Head obtuſe; between the eyes a beautiful, ſhining green.

Eyes, black, very large in proportion to the animal.

Antennæ, clavated, feathered, about two-thirds the length of the body; below the middle an articulation, ſuch as thoſe in the legs.

Mouth: I could not diſtinctly ſee it.

Trunk, oval, brown.

Abdomen, oblong, length of the trunk and head.

Extremities. (See next page.)

Legs, ſix; with them it runs briſkly, and jumps actively.

Wings, four, membranaceous, longer than the abdomen, incumbent; the anterior pair twice the ſize of the poſterior.

Tail, none.

Deſcription of the female lac inſect.

Larva, red, very minute, requiring a good lens to diſtinguiſh its parts.

Head, ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed from the trunk.

Antennæ, filiform, bifid, hairy, length of the inſect.

Eyes: in the back part of the trunk are two minute elevations, which may be they.

Mouth, on the middle of the breaſt, between the firſt pair of legs, which the little ani-

mal

mal projects on being injured, otherwise it cannot be seen.

Trunk and *Abdomen*, oblong, compressed, tapering equally towards each end, crossed with twelve annular segments, margins very flat, and seem to be marked with a double line.

Extremities.

Legs, six, running, does not jump.

Wings, none.

Tail, two slender white hairs, as long as the antennæ, with a white point, which may be called the rump, between them.

Pupa: the duration and peregrinations of the larvæ seem very short and confined; for, in a few days after issuing from their cells they fix themselves on the small, but hard, woody branches of the tree they were produced on; it seeming impossible that they can in this state transport themselves to any other. About the end of December, or beginning of January, they have done issuing from their cells, and are sticking fast to the branches, regularly with their heads towards the extremity of the branch. The legs, antennæ, and tail, are now entirely gone. Their progress through this state is slow, requiring about three months. Soon after they have settled themselves, they become covered with a hard, brittle, garnet-coloured crust, similar to the lac of which the cells are made, but of a brighter colour. They retain only a rude resemblance of their former shape. About the end of March they have acquired three or four times their original size; a small round lid or cover is now observed at the lower part, which opens, but does not always fall off, and gives a retrograde passage for the fly, now in its perfect state.

The insect in its perfect state is rather smaller than the male, of a brighter red colour, and less active.

Head, small in proportion to the body, pointed.

Eyes, very minute.

Antennæ, filiform, not articulated as in the male, spreading, somewhat shorter than the insect.

Mouth: I could not discover it distinctly.

Trunk, red, almost orbicular.

Abdomen, red, oblong, composed of twelve annular segments.

Extremities.

Legs, six, for running or jumping.

Wings, two, incumbent, longer than the abdomen, transparent.

Tail, two white hairs as long as the insect.

With regard to the œconomy of these little animals, I must, for the present, be silent; having little more than conjecture to offer on that head.

The eggs, and dark-coloured glutinous liquor they are found in, communicate to water a most beautiful red colour, while fresh. After they have been dried, the colour they give to water is less bright; it would therefore be well worth while for those, who are situated near places where the lac is plentifully found, to try to extract and preserve the colouring principles by

ſuch means as would prevent them from being injured by keeping. I doubt not but in time a method may be diſcovered to render this colouring matter as valuable as cochineal.

Obſervations on the Leproſy, its Cauſe and Cure. By William Falconer, *M.D. F.R.S. and C.M.S. From the Memoirs of the Medical Society of* London, vol. iii.

THE Lepra Græcorum, although in this part of England (at leaſt) it be no uncommon diſeaſe, is ſeldom deſcribed by medical writers from their own experience. Doctor Cullen * ſays he never ſaw it; and ſcarcely any other modern accounts that I have met with, appear to be taken from actual obſervation. The Bath Hoſpital affords numerous opportunities of ſeeing this diſeaſe, as the waters have been famous from the earlieſt times for the relief they give; and it is from the patients of the Bath Hoſpital that the following account is principally, though not altogether derived.

Deſcription of the Leproſy.

The appearance which the leproſy puts on, is that of large blotches on the ſkin, generally of a round or elliptical form, which appear in various parts of the body, but principally on the legs, arms, forehead, and breaſt.

Theſe blotches are of different ſizes, from that of a ſhilling to one conſiderably exceeding that of the hand. Theſe are covered with a rough eruption, which is at firſt red, and in its progreſs becomes white, at leaſt it is ſo in ſome parts, and ſcaly; though in ſome patients it becomes ſcaly ſooner, and to a greater degree than in others. This eruption is, in ſome, nearly level with the ſkin, and in others it is more prominent, even to nearly half an inch above the ſurface; which laſt is more common when the leprous eruptions put on a white ſcaly appearance, than when they remain of a red colour. It is in general dry, though not uncommonly moiſt, and oozing a thin ſerous fluid. The parts affected are ſometimes rather ſwelled, but not to any conſiderable degree, nor are they in an œdematous ſtate. The ſwelling is moſt common when the eruption is of the moiſt kind. When it puts on a ſcaly appearance, it is often very uneaſy to the feeling, and even rather painful; but this ſeems to ariſe principally, if not altogether, from the hardneſs and ſtiffneſs of the ſkin, which renders motion troubleſome. The ſame circumſtance cauſes the outſide of the ſkin to be inſenſible to ſlight impreſſions of the touch, but no real inſenſibility of the part affected, or of thoſe adjacent to it, has been obſerved. The breath has been remarked to be rather ſhort in the moiſt kinds, eſpecially in perſons advanced in years; but I am not certain that this was produced by the diſeaſe. The appetite, ſleep, and ſtrength of the patients have not been apparently affected; and there is very rarely any thirſt or fever attending it. The

* De Elephantiaſe Leprâ Framboeſiâ a Trichomate utpote morbis a meipſo nunquam viſis amplius ſtatuere non auſus ſum. *Genera Morb. Cullen*, p. 295. Note. Edit. 1780.

body is in general coſtive, but not to any great degree, and what ſoon yields to common cathartics. This complaint we have no opportunity of ſeeing in its firſt ſtage; but it is ſaid to begin with ſickneſs, and a ſenſation of weight and oppreſſion at the ſtomach, which is relieved by vomiting; after which, in a few days, the eruption appears in different parts of the body, and ſometimes on the head, in form of pimples with white heads, attended with great itching. Theſe ſometimes ſpread, and diſcharge a thin corroſive humour; at others they riſe and incruſt the parts over with a rough ſcaly coat, not unlike the bark of a decayed tree. Nothing very particular appears to attend the amendment of the patients. The ſcaly and rough parts fall off gradually, and are not ſucceeded by freſh eruptions; the itching abates, and in time the ſkin appears again in a natural ſtate, as before the diſorder commenced.

Cauſe of the Leproſy.

I have been able in numerous inſtances to trace the cauſe of this diſeaſe to a circumſtance ſo general, that I doubt not it is, if the truth could always be diſcovered, univerſal. I mean here the ſudden application of cold to the body when in a heated ſtate. This commonly happens from the drinking ſome cold liquor; but this is not peculiarly neceſſary to produce the diſeaſe, as I have ſeen it ariſe from the external application of cold. It matters not in what manner the body be heated, whether by heat of fires, rooms, or by exerciſe, as cold produces the ſame effects in all the above caſes. Hence ſuch perſons are eſpecially liable to it whoſe ways of life ſubject them to ſuch viciſſitudes; as ſmiths and other trades, that oblige thoſe who work at them to be near fires, or in heated rooms; and ſuch as uſe violent exerciſe or labour, as huntſmen, porters, and ſuch like, who are too apt to indulge their appetites without caution.

Women, in ſituations where they are expoſed to the ſame ſudden changes of temperature, are liable to the ſame diſeaſe, as cooks, laundreſſes, &c. ſeveral of whom I have ſeen in the Bath Hoſpital affected as above deſcribed. It is proper to obſerve, that the danger is much leſs in thoſe who take cold liquors at the time they are heated with exerciſe or labour, if they continue to purſue their labour for ſome time after drinking, than if they leave off their work immediately. Thoſe caſes that I have ſeen were of perſons who expoſed themſelves when at reſt to the effects of cold. The ſame obſervation holds equally true of cold externally applied. The quality of the liquor drank is, I believe, of leſs importance than the temperature. I have known the diſeaſe to have been produced by the drinking of water, milk, and beer, and I doubt not many other liquors, if cold, would do the ſame. Whether ſtronger liquors of the fermented kind, or ſuch as are warmed by aromatics, would be equally dangerous, if drank cold in ſuch circumſtances, I cannot determine.

Of the Cure of the Leproſy.

I wiſh I were able to point out a remedy with as much certainty as I think I have diſcovered the cauſe of the diſeaſe. The Bath waters, indeed, externally applied, ſeem to be of more ſervice than any other

remedy; but even theſe ſometimes fail, and, when they ſucceed in apparently clearing the body of all marks of the diſeaſe, it is found by experience, that no abſolute dependence can be had on ſuch ſeeming abatement of the diſeaſe, as it is apt to recur after ſome time; and upon this account it is cuſtomary, in regiſtering ſuch patients, not to put them down as *cured*, but as *cleanſed* only. Inſtances however often happen, wherein ſuch patients remain free from the leprous eruption for ſeveral years, and ſome have never experienced any return of it at all, though they lived many years afterwards. The obſtinacy of the diſeaſe is by no means proportioned to the quantity of the eruption. I have often ſeen patients with the face, and many parts of the body, almoſt covered with a white prominent ſcaly cruſt, that have been perfectly cleanſed in a few weeks; whilſt others, that had only a few red blotches that projected but little from the ſkin, found no alteration of much conſequence in a trial of ſeveral months.

I have ſeen many medicines given internally in this diſeaſe to aſſiſt the efficacy of the Bath water; but I am rather doubtful if the efficacy of *any* is much to be depended upon, farther than as regards the relief of ſome of the concomitant ſymptoms.

Mercurials, as calomel, have been given to two, three, four, and five grains at night for three days ſucceſſively, and carried off by a purgative given on the fourth day, and this courſe repeated every week for ſeveral weeks together, but, as far as I can find, without any remarkable good effect. Decoctions of the woods of ſarſaparilla and of mezereon have been given at the ſame time, but without much effect. Plummer's pill and the pilul. Æthiopicæ have alſo been adminiſtered, but I believe with little advantage. The acrid mercurial preparations have been much in uſe in this diſeaſe. The ſolution of corroſive ſublimate, both that in water and that in ſpirits, have been given and continued a long time, and joined with decoction of the woods and of ſarſaparilla. I am inclined to think that ſome conſiderable advantage muſt formerly have been believed, at leaſt, to have been produced by the uſe of ſuch preparations, as the name of *guttæ ad lepram* was affixed to a ſolution of this kind in the old Pharmacopœia of the hoſpital; and I have been told by perſons whoſe obſervation I could not but reſpect, that in the ſame obſtinate caſes they had ſeen much advantage from ſuch a courſe continued for ſome time. I cannot however affirm the ſame from my own experience, though I do not mean to deny it altogether. Mercurius calcinatus, joined with an opiate, and given at night for ſome time, has alſo been tried, and I believe with much the ſame ſucceſs.

Mercury is alſo uſed in external applications, as in the unguentum e mercurio precipitato, and in the unguentum citrinum; but I have not ſeen any good effects they have produced.

Antimony has been often uſed, as in the form of eſſentia antimonii, and in a powder compoſed of crude antimony and the compound powder of gum tragacanth, but with no advantage as far as I can learn.

Sulphur alſo has been uſed internally, as in the aqua ſulphurata, which indeed is no other than the phlogiſticated vitriolic acid combined

bined with water, and in form of flowers made up into an electuary, but with no effect worth recording.

Sulphur alſo has been uſed externally, made up into an ointment with hog's lard, and ſometimes with tar; but I think that the ſimple tar ointment ſucceeds better, and in ſome caſes appears to be of real uſe in ſoftening the ſtiffneſs of the ſkin, and promoting the ſeparation of the ſcaly eruptions. Elm bark in decoction, ſo juſtly recommended by Dr. Lyſons, in a diſeaſe that reſembles this ſo nearly as to appear to external view to be only a lower degree of it, is in this diſeaſe of little efficacy. The tincture of cantharides, ſo highly commended by Dr. Mead for its efficacy in the leproſy, has not anſwered to ſuch a character in the trials I have ſeen made of it. I have ſeveral times tried it without being able to perceive any effect worth remarking from it. It never, in my experience, ſeemed to ſhow any effect as a diuretic.

The method in general purſued is, to order the patients to bathe twice or thrice a week, according to their age, ſtrength, and other circumſtances. This, after a few times trial, commonly cauſes an abatement of the itching, and an incipient deſquamation of the leprous eruption, and of conſequence renders the ſkin ſofter and more pliable. This courſe is accompanied with a direction to drink the waters, which at a medium are taken in the quantity of about a pint daily, which are thought to ſecond the good effects of the bath, by promoting an eaſy and gentle perſpiration. If the amendment appears to proceed according to expectation, no other medicines are given, but ſuch as are ſomewhat gently opening occaſionally, if the body ſhould be coſtive.

In caſes where the eruption either ſhews no ſigns of abatement, or where, after being removed in one part, it breaks out in another, and a ſucceſſion of the eruptions is kept up, though in general in no great quantity, recourſe is had to the acrid mercurial preparations before mentioned, which, it muſt be owned, coincide very well with the uſe of the warm bath, which aſſiſts their diaphoretic powers, and obviates any tendency towards a ſalivation; but whether ſuch medicines act ſpecifically on the diſeaſe, or really contribute to its cure or abatement, I cannot take upon me to decide with poſitive certainty.

It now and then happens that this complaint, although from appearance almoſt entirely removed, will continue in that ſtate without any farther amendment, reſiſting every remedy for a long time, and at laſt oblige us to diſmiſs our patients, generally indeed in a much better ſtate than at their coming in, but ſtill without even a temporary removal of the diſeaſe. It ſometimes (though I believe but ſeldom) happens that the ſame cauſe (the ſudden application of cold), which originally produced the leprous eruption, will cauſe it to ſtrike in; and when this occurs, it produces great diſturbance in the ſyſtem. I have before mentioned that vomiting was a ſymptom that generally, if not always, preceded the eruption at the commencement of the diſeaſe; and when the eruption is ſtruck in, this ſymptom again makes its appearance. A profeſſional gentleman of eminence, who attends this

hoſpital, mentioned to me a caſe of this kind, that fell under his own inſpection; and a very remarkable inſtance occurred to my own obſervation: A girl about ſixteen years of age, who had at the time a leprous eruption upon her, drank, when violently heated, a large draught of cold water, preſently afterwards the leprous eruption ſuddenly diſappeared, on which ſhe was ſeized with a perpetual diſpoſition to vomiting; every thing ſhe ſwallowed was in a few minutes rejected. For this complaint ſhe was ſent to the Bath Hoſpital. Her health in other reſpects was not much affected, ſave what the fatigue of ſtraining, and loſs of ſtrength by the want of ſufficient ſuſtenance, produced. A variety of remedies were tried, both external and internal. Beſides the Bath waters, both drank and uſed as baths, ſhe tried opiates, bitters, aromatics, elix. aloes, the effervescing ſaline draught, ipecacuanha in ſmall doſes, and a multitude of other medicines. Opiates alſo were externally applied to the ſtomach, and bliſters, but all without the leaſt effect.

After a ſtay of ſeveral months ſhe was diſcharged no better; and about eight months afterwards was again re-admitted, the diſorder having then taken a different turn. The vomiting had ceaſed; but her limbs and body were almoſt univerſally convulſed, though without loſs of the ſenſes. She again uſed the waters in every form, and a great number of other medicines and local applications; but after ſeveral months was again diſcharged without receiving any benefit.

It appears probable to me, that the ſcurfy redneſs of the face which we ſometimes ſee among females, and which is to them ſo great an object of dread, is nearly allied to this diſeaſe. We know that it generally, if not always, owes its origin to the ſame cauſe, the drinking of ſome cold liquor when the body is violently heated, which often happens from dancing and public amuſements. We alſo know how dangerous it is to the health to repel ſuch eruptions; and I recollect a caſe that fell under my care about twelve years ago, wherein an almoſt perpetual vomiting was induced by the uſe of an external application, adviſed to repel an eruption of this kind that appeared on the face. This however, after continuing above ſix weeks, was at laſt cured. Other diſorders of a dangerous nature have been brought on by remedies uſed for the ſame purpoſe. I once ſaw a dropſy of the breaſt produced by the uſe of a mercurial remedy for a redneſs of the face, which it effectually removed, but inſtantly produced a dropſy of the cheſt, terminating in death.

The number of perſons admitted into the Bath Hoſpital for this diſeaſe in the ſpace of four years, viz. from June 12, 1771, to June 12, 1775, and their ſtate when diſcharged, is as follows:

Whole number admitted -	83
Of whom were cleanſed -	52
Much better - - -	24
Died of the ſmall pox -	1
Irregular in behaviour, and diſcharged without a ſufficient trial of the waters	2
State in which they were diſcharged omitted in the regiſter - - - -	4
	83

Short

Short explanation of the principles of Dyeing; from the first vol. of Berthollet's *Elements of the Art of Dyeing, translated from the French by* William Hamilton, M.D.

BERGMAN seems to have been the first who referred phenomena of dyeing, entirely to chemical principles *; having dyed some wool and some silk in a solution of indigo, in very dilute sulphuric acid, he explains the effects he observed in the operation, by attributing them to the precipitation occasioned by the blue particles having a stronger attraction for the particles of the wool and silk, than for those of the acidulated water. He remarks, that this attraction of the wool is so strong, as to deprive the liquor entirely of the colouring particles; but that the weaker attraction of the silk, can only diminish the proportion of these particles in the bath; and he shews, that both the durability of the colour, and the degree of intensity it is capable of acquiring, depend on these different attractions. This is, in fact, the true light in which the phenomena of dyeing should be viewed; they are real chemical phenomena, which ought to be analyzed in the same way as all those dependant on the actions which bodies exert in consequence of their peculiar nature.

The colouring particles possess chemical properties, that distinguish them from all other substances; they have attractions peculiar to themselves, by means of which they unite with acids, alkalis, metallic oxyds, and some earths, principally alumine. They frequently precipitate oxyds and alumine, from the acids which held them in solution; at other times they unite with the salts, and form supracompounds †, which combine with the wool, silk, cotton, or linen. And with these, their union is rendered much more close by means of alumine or a metallic oxyd, than it would be without their intervention.

The difference in the attractions of the colouring particles for wool, silk, and cotton, is sometimes so great, that they will not unite with one of these substances, while they combine very readily with another; thus cotton receives no colour in a bath which dyes wool scarlet. Dufay got a piece of stuff made, the warp of which was wool, and the woof cotton, which went through the process of fulling, that he might be certain that the wool and the cotton received exactly the same preparation; but the wool took the scarlet dye, and the cotton remained white. It is this difference of attraction which renders it necessary to vary the preparation and the process, according to the nature of the substance which we wish to dye of a particular colour.

These considerations ought to determine the road to be pursued, for the purpose of improving the art of dyeing.

* Analyse de l'indigo. Mem. des Sav. etran. tom. ix. and in the notes on Scheffer's treatise.

† In the original *surcompositions*, by which is to be understood compounds of more than two ingredients. I have rendered it by the above word, as the idea seems borrowed from Beecher and Stahls mixts, compounds, decompounds, and supradecompounds, though the application of the term is more vague. T.

Observations

Observations on the effects produced by the action of Light on Colours; from the same.

THE light of the sun considerably accelerates the destruction of colours; it ought therefore (if the theory I have proposed be well founded) to favour the combination of oxygen, and the combustion thereby produced.

Mr. Sennebier has given us a great number of interesting observations on the effects of light on different substances, and particularly on their colours; he attributes these effects to a direct combination of light with the substances *.

The effects of light on the colour of wood, have been long since observed; it preserves its natural appearance while kept in the dark, but when exposed to the light, it becomes yellow, brown, or of other shades. Mr. Sennebier has remarked the varieties which occur in this particular, in different kinds of wood, and has found, that the changes were proportioned to the brightness of the light, and that they take place even under water, but that wetted wood underwent these changes less quickly than that which was dry; that several folds of ribband were required to defend the wood completely; that a single leaf of black paper was sufficient, but that when paper of any other colour was substituted, the change was not prevented; a single covering of white paper was insufficient, but two intercepted the action of the light.

That philosopher has extended his experiments to a great number of vegetable substances, in a manner which may serve to illustrate many phenomena of vegetation, which I do not enter into at present. But to shew in what manner the sun acts upon colours, it may be sufficient to examine the appearances, presented by a solution of the green part of vegetables in alcohol.

If such a solution, which is of a fine green colour, be exposed to the light of the sun, it very soon acquires an olive hue, and loses its colour in a few minutes. If the light be weak, the effect is much more slow: and in perfect darkness, the colour remains without alteration, or if any change does take place, it requires a great length of time. Mr. Sennebier asserts that an alkali restores the green colour; but if the change of colour in the liquor has been completed, the alkali has no effect. He has observed that no change of colour takes place in azotic gas (phlogisticated air) nor in a bottle which is quite full.

I inverted over mercury a bottle half full of this green solution, and exposed it to the light of the sun; when the colour was discharged the mercury was found to have risen in the bottle, and consequently, vital air had been absorbed, the oxygen having united with the colouring matter. I did not observe that precipitate which Mr. Sennebier mentions; the liquor had continued transparent, and retained a slight yellow tinge.

I evaporated this liquor; its colour was immediately rendered darker, and became brown; the residuum was black, and in the state of charcoal.

The light therefore produced its

* Mem. physico-chymiques sur l'influence de la lumiere solaire, &c. vol. ii. & iii.

effect,

effect by favouring the abſorption of oxygen, and the combuſtion of the colouring matter; at firſt, the marks of combuſtion are not evident; the liquor retains only a ſlight yellow tinge, but by the aſſiſtance of heat, the combuſtion is completed, the liquor becomes brown, and leaves a black reſiduum. If the veſſel in which the liquor is, contains no oxygenous gas, the light has no effect on the colouring matter; azotic gas in this ſituation ſuffers no diminution.

The above obſervation, that ribbands, or a ſingle leaf of white paper, do not prevent the action of light, merits attention, by proving that light can paſs through coverings which appear to be opake, and exert its energy at ſome diſtance within.

Beccaria, and afterwards Mr. Sennebier, have compared the effects of light on ribbands of various colours; but the differences they have obſerved, are rather to be attributed to the nature of the colouring matters, than to the colours; for a ribband dyed with brazil wood will loſe its colour much ſooner than one dyed with cochineal, though the ſhade ſhould be perfectly the ſame in both.

Although light greatly accelerates the combuſtion of colouring matter, and appears even neceſſary to its deſtruction in ſome caſes, yet in others it is not required. Having put ſome plants into a dark place, in contact with vital air, I found that it was abſorbed by ſome. I alſo remarked that the roſe ſuffers a change, and becomes of a deeper hue, when it is not in contact with vital air; doubtleſs, becauſe it contains a little oxygen, the combination of which becomes more intimate; but many flowers retain their colour perfectly in azotic gas.

I placed tincture of turnſole in contact with vital air over mercury, both in the dark, and expoſed to the light of the ſun; the former continued unchanged for a conſiderable length of time, and the vital air had ſuffered no diminution; the other loſt much of its colour, became red, and the air was in a great meaſure abſorbed, and a ſmall quantity of carbonic acid was produced, which no doubt had occaſioned the change of colour from blue to red.

This obſervation may lead us to form an idea of ſome of the changes of colour, produced by a particular diſpoſition of the component principles of vegetable ſubſtances, when by their combination with oxygen, they undergo the effects of a ſlight combuſtion, which may generate an acid, as in the leaves in autumn, which grow red, before they become yellow, and in the ſtreaks (panachures) obſervable in flowers, the vegetation of which is growing languid.

It is therefore proved, that light promotes the abſorption of oxygen by the colouring matter, and that thence ariſes a combuſtion, the common effect of which is, the predominance of carbonic particles.

Account of the three ſpecies of the Palm Tree; from the firſt vol. of Sketches chiefly relating to the Hiſtory, &c. of the Hindoos.

THE three ſpecies of the palm-tree that I have mentioned, are in great abundance over almoſt the whole peninſula and iſlands of India.

The

The *cocoa*, which is the firſt in rank, is perhaps of more univerſal uſe to man, than any other tree the earth produces. It generally grows almoſt perfectly ſtraight, is from thirty to forty feet high, and about a foot in diameter. It has no branches; but about a dozen leaves ſpring immediately from the trunk near the top, which are about ten feet long, and, at the bottom of the leaf, from two to three in breadth. Theſe leaves ſerve to cover the houſes of the common claſſes of the natives, to make mats for them to ſit and lie upon; with the fineſt fibres of the leaf, very beautiful mats are made, that are bought by the rich; the coarſe fibres are made into brooms; and the ſtem of the leaf, which is about as thick as a man's ankle, is uſed for fuel. The wood of the tree, when freſh cut, is ſpongy; but this, as well as that of the *palmyra* tree, becomes hard by being kept, and attains a dark brown colour.—On the top of the tree, a large ſhoot is found, which, when boiled, reſembles brocoli, but is perhaps of a more delicate taſte, and though much liked, is ſeldom eat by the natives, as, on cutting it, the pith being left expoſed, the tree dies. Between this ſhoot and the leaves ſpring ſeveral buds, from which, on making an inciſion, diſtils a juice, differing little either in colour or conſiſtence from water. Men, whoſe buſineſs it is, climb to the tops of the trees in the evening, with earthen pots tied round their waiſte, which they fix to receive this juice, and take away early in the morning, before the ſun has had any influence on it. The liquor thus drawn is generally called *Vary*, and by the Engliſh *Toddy*. It is in this ſtate cooling, and of a ſweet agreeable taſte—after being kept a few hours, it begins to ferment, acquires a ſharper taſte, and a ſlighter intoxicating quality. By boiling it, a coarſe kind of ſugar is made; and by diſtillation it yields a ſtrong ſpirit, which being every where ſold, and at a low price, contributes not a little to ruin the health of our ſoldiers. The name given to this ſpirit by the Engliſh is *Parriar arrack*, as it is drank by the Parriars or outcaſts.—The trees from which the *toddy* is drawn do not bear any fruit; but if the buds be left entire, they produce cluſters of the *cocoa-nut*. This nut, in the huſk, is full as large as a man's head; and, when once ripe, falls with the leaſt wind.—When freſh gathered it is green on the outſide; the huſk and the ſhell are tender. The ſhell, when diveſted of the huſk, may be about the ſize of an oſtrich's egg; it is lined with a white pulpy ſubſtance, and contains about a pint, or a pint and a half, of liquor like water; and though the taſte be ſweet and agreeable, it is different from that of the *toddy*.

In proportion as the fruit grows old, or is kept, the ſhell hardens, the liquor diminiſhes, and is at laſt entirely abſorbed by the white pulpy ſubſtance, which gradually attains the hardneſs of the kernel of the almond, and is almoſt as eaſily detached from the ſhell. The Indians uſe this nut in their cookery.—From it great quantities of the pureſt and beſt lamp oil is preſſed; and the ſubſtance, after it has been preſſed, ſerves to feed poultry and hogs, and is found an excellent nouriſhment for them. Cups, and a variety of ſmall utenſils, are made of the ſhell.—The huſk is at leaſt an inch in thickneſs, and being compoſed

poſed of ſtrong fibres that eaſily ſeparate, it furniſhes all the Indian cordage.

The *palmyra*, or as it is called by the Portugueſe (from whom the Engliſh, as in many other inſtances, have borrowed the name) the *palmeiro-árabo*, is taller than the *cocoa*, greater quantities of toddy are drawn from it; for though a ſmall fruit which it yields be ſometimes eat, and is thought wholeſome, yet it is but little ſought after. This tree, like the *cocoa*, has no branches, but only a few large leaves quite at the top, which are alſo employed to thatch houſes, and to make mats and umbrellas. The timber of this tree is much uſed in building.

The *date-tree* is not ſo tall as the *cocoa*. The fruit never arrives to maturity in India; toddy is drawn from it, but neither in ſuch quantity, nor of ſo good a quality, as that which is procured from the two former ſpecies. Indeed, the Indian date-tree is but of little value, comparatively with even the *palmyra*, though that be inferior to the cocoa.

Experiments concerning the Temperature of the Air at different heights; from an Eſſay on Fire, by Mark Auguſtus Pictet, *tranſlated from the French under the inſpection of the Author.*

IN ſome former experiments I made uſe of a pole 50 feet high, and afterwards of one of 75 feet high. My firſt trials were made in the months of Auguſt and September, 1778, and diſcovering ſome phenomena I did not expect, I repeated them the year following with better inſtruments, and a more convenient apparatus. And it is of theſe latter experiments I am now about to give an account.

The pole was fixed in a large garden, and ſupported in its vertical ſituation by cords or ſhrouds deſcending obliquely to the ground. From the top of the pole, an arm of about 18 inches long was extended horizontally, from whoſe extremity hung a pulley deſigned to raiſe and lower one or more thermometers, which was done with the utmoſt celerity. The upper part of the pole was painted a dead black, in order to avoid all kind of reflection; and that the ſhadow of the pole ſhould never fall upon the thermometer, I placed the arm in the plane of the meridian.

Beſides theſe thermometers, deſtined to be raiſed or lowered, I employed others, ſuſpended at different diſtances from the earth, from between 5 and 6 feet, to 4 lines. Theſe were ſuſpended by a very thin thread of ſilk extended vertically; one of them was hung two inches from the pole itſelf, and 5 feet from the earth. I moved it laterally as the ſun advanced, that it might be always diametrically oppoſite the pole, and by that means conſtantly in the ſhade. And finally, I had one on the ground, with its bulb juſt covered by the earth, intended to ſhew the temperature of the ſurface of the ſoil, whilſt the correſponding obſervations were made in the air.

The inſtruments were all of mercury, made with great care, and agreeing perfectly with each other. The bulbs and inferior parts were completely inſulated and detached from their ſcales, which were of tin, ſilver, or ivory. The bulbs were of a moderate ſize, ſo as to require 6

or

or 7 minutes to receive the temperature of the quiet air in which they were ſuſpended. The moſt tardy was diſpoſed at the top of the pole, that its variations might be as inconſiderable as poſſible during the 5 or 6 ſeconds it required to deſcend.

My deſign, in general, was to obſerve, by means of this apparatus, what paſſed in the ſtratum of air which repoſes upon the earth to the height of 75 feet; to ſee what progreſſion the augmentation and diminution of the heat produced by the ſun's preſence, during a calm and ſerene day, would follow; what was the hotteſt and coldeſt moment of the day; what the mean heat of the 24 hours; and finally, to examine the effect of clouds, fogs, winds, &c. upon theſe reſults. But above all, I endeavoured to diſcover if there exiſted any conſtant proportion between the temperature of the air at 75 feet, and at 5 feet from the earth; and, ſuppoſing this proportion variable, what might be the nature and periods of theſe variations. Then to apply theſe reſults to the neareſt approximation of the true temperature of a vertical column of air drawn from the ordinary and only practicable obſervations, made at 5 feet from the earth.

A more conſiderable elevation would, perhaps, have furniſhed the means of eſtabliſhing, by numerous obſervations at intermediate heights, ſome law of the diminution of heat, relatively to the augmentation of vertical elevation; but a column of air of 75 feet was inſufficient for ſuch inquiries.

It was at the top of the pole that the augmentation and diminution of heat during the day followed the moſt uniform progreſſion; and it was there, likewiſe, as we ſhall preſently ſee, that the extremes of heat and cold were neareſt each other. The thermometer in the ſhade at 5 feet from the ground agreed beſt with the thermometer expoſed to the ſun 70 feet higher, and they were not only ſimilar in their progreſſion, but in their abſolute temperature alſo, from 9 o'clock in the morning to 3 in the afternoon, although one was in the ſun, and the other in the ſhade.

I uſually began to obſerve theſe inſtruments at break of day, and they all agreed in indicating an increaſing coolneſs as ſun-riſe approached. The coldeſt moment was during the riſing of the ſun; and from that time the thermometers began to mount by different progreſſions, until about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, which was commonly the hotteſt part of the day. The thermometer, whoſe bulb was covered by the ſoil, indicated at that time a very conſiderable degree of heat. I have ſeen it at 45° of the ſcale of 80 parts, in a hot day in the month of Auguſt.

The winds greatly altered the uniformity of the progreſſion of the thermometers, which, on the days when the air was agitated, moved always by oſcillations: a cloud which hid the ſun alſo occaſioned a ſudden deſcent; but their motions were never more regular than on thoſe calm and uniformly cloudy days, which we frequently ſee in this country in autumn.

All theſe modifications were naturally foreſeen. The particular reſults of theſe obſervations, as they relate to barometrical meaſurements, will make part of another eſſay directed principally to inquiries of this nature. But the peculiar and unexpected

expected phenomenon of which I am now going to ſpeak, has naturally a place here.

In order to expoſe it clearly, I ſhall follow the courſe of the two thermometers at 5 feet and at 75 feet from the earth, during 24 hours of calm ſerene weather.

In the morning, about two hours or two hours and a half after ſun-riſe, theſe two thermometers agreed, and, except ſome little oſcillations, the effect of accidental circumſtances, they indicated the ſame temperature.

As the ſun advanced, the thermometer at 5 feet from the ground acquired a higher temperature; and at the hotteſt time of the day, it was about two degrees of the ſcale of 80 parts higher than the thermometer at 75 feet.

The *maximum* of difference once paſſed, the two thermometers approached, and, before the ſetting of the ſun, again acquired the ſame temperature; then varied in the oppoſite ſenſe, and their difference augmented rapidly after ſun-ſet. Towards the end of the twilight, the inferior thermometer was two degrees lower than the other, and ſometimes more.

This difference continued the ſame during the night; at leaſt I have reaſon to preſume ſo, becauſe, having quitted them at 11 o'clock in the evening, and obſerved them again at day-break, I conſtantly found the thermometer at 5 feet lower from one to two degrees than that at 75 feet. They kept the ſame proportion during the whole twilight of the morning, and it was not till ſome time after ſun-riſe that they began to approach, then to acquire the ſame temperature, and about two hours afterward to croſs each other again.

Such was the conſtant courſe of theſe two thermometers, as often as the weather was calm and ſerene; and it happened juſt the ſame in the different ſeaſons of the year, and notwithſtanding winds and clouds, although leſs ſenſibly in this laſt caſe; and it was only on the days completely and uniformly cloudy, and when the wind was violent, or when there was a thick fog, that the two thermometers, 70 feet diſtant from each other, nearly agreed during the whole courſe of the day.

It was with extreme ſurprize that I beheld, from the very firſt day of my experiments, this extraordinary phenomenon. I thought, and doubtleſs I was not ſingular in this opinion, that the coolneſs which we experience in the night came from above; nor could I believe my eyes when I ſaw the thermometer at 75 feet, at that time, nearly two degrees higher than the other at 5 feet. It was from the ground, then, I concluded that this coolneſs proceeded. And in effect, I found the thermometer at 4 lines from the ground ſtill lower, in general, than that at 5 feet; but the thermometer, whoſe bulb was covered by the earth, was, on the contrary, much higher than any of the others; and the earth, retaining a part of the heat which it had acquired during the day, formed, as it were, a kind of ſtove, immediately whereon reſted a ſtratum of cool air, and above that we found the air warmer.

It may be imagined, that this was a local phenomenon, and owing to ſome particular exhalations; but the ſoil was not at all moiſt; the ſame experiments, repeated in a larger plain,

plain, to which I transported the apparatus, presented the like results; and I have even obtained the same upon an insulated summit of the mountain called the Mole, which is more than 4,200 feet above the level of the sea.

I think I perceive the cause of this phenomenon to be as follows:

When fire is not retained by the ties of chemical affinity, it tends constantly to an equilibrium, as we have already often proved in the course of this essay. The soil, therefore, being hotter than the air, the fire will rise from the interior of the earth upwards, and, being arrived at the surface, will successively convert into vapour the infinitely thin strata of water which moisten the soil in the point of contact between the air and the earth, and evaporation will take place.

If we suppose the ground colder than the air, then the fire will descend into the earth; but evaporation will always take place near its surface; and in this particular union of fire with water, it is known that a part of the sensible fire disappears, and becomes fire of evaporation, that is to say, imperceptible fire, and that cold is produced, unless in circumstances in which the external calorific causes exactly counterbalance the fire that disappears.

During the two twilights and the night, this balance cannot take place. The ambient liberated fire endeavours to re-establish the equilibrium, but the fire that arrives for this purpose from the earth undergoes at its surface the metamorphosis produced by the act of evaporation; and that which exists in the air above is partly united with the water it has evaporated, and not being carried downward by any great rupture of equilibrium, but having, as we have perceived in another place, a tendency, independent of the attraction of the superior strata, to rise rather than to descend, it moves through the air in a quantity insufficient to re-establish in the inferior stratum the equilibrium of temperature deranged by evaporation. It will, therefore, remain colder than the ground, and than the superior stratum, till some calorific cause shall supply the fire, which disappeared at the surface of the earth.

But as soon as the rays of the sun fall upon the inferior stratum of air, and upon the surface of the earth, their calorific effect is felt. In the first moments, they produce cold rather than heat, because the fire they supply is not, perhaps, sufficient to compensate the quantity absorbed by the increased evaporation.

Their presence, however, and more direct impulse upon the air and the ground soon gain the advantage, and, notwithstanding the increased evaporation, the liberated fire is so much augmented, that the relative heat of the inferior stratum becomes greater; and this stratum and the superior strata also, to the height of 75 feet, which are the limits of these experiments, shortly acquire the same temperature that took place about two hours or two hours and a half after sun rise. The heat produced by the action of the solar rays upon the earth, became afterwards so great, that the inferior stratum of air, in which, however, the evaporation constantly continued, was heated more than the superior, and we have seen the difference amount to 2 degrees in the hottest time of the day.

After

After this period, the diminution of the intenſity of the ſolar rays brought back, by degrees, the equality between the refrigerant effect of evaporation, and the calorific effect which they produced; and at this moment of equilibrium, the ſuperior and inferior thermometers again exhibited the ſame degree of temperature; a little afterward the rays, ſtill more oblique and leſs numerous, were inſufficient to counterbalance the cold of evaporation, and the inferior thermometer deſcended lower than the other; this difference continued till the next day's ſun reſtored the equilibrium, and produced the alternate action which I have deſcribed, and endeavoured to explain.

But ſhould this explication be inſufficient, the fact is not leſs certain; and if we add to the concluſions that may be drawn from it, the knowledge we have of the three ſtates or modifications of fire in ſolid water, liquid water, and water in vapour, the phenomena of dew and of hoar froſt will not be very difficult to explain in a ſatisfactory manner.

Experiments on Heat produced by Friction; from the ſame.

I WAS perſuaded that the heat produced by friction was owing, in a great meaſure, to a kind of mechanical decompoſition of the air between the ſurfaces rubbing againſt each other; and this opinion appeared to be probable, from the obſervation that the fragments of ſteel detached by the ſtroke of a flint, were not melted in vacuo as they were in air. This hypotheſis ſeemed alſo to be ſupported by conſiderations on the quantity of fire chemically contained in this elaſtic fluid. But we ſhall preſently ſee, that experience has overturned it.

In order to vary the experiments, I employed the following apparatus:

It is a kind of clock-work movement, three inches in diameter, and two in height. The moving power is a ſpring incloſed after the uſual manner in a barrel, the wheel of which has 120 teeth, and runs in a pinion of 12 leaves, whoſe ſpindle carries a wheel of 98 teeth. This wheel runs in a pinion of 8 leaves, which drives a third wheel of 60 teeth, and this turns a third pinion of 22 leaves, which occupies the centre of the machine towards the upper plate. The ſpindle of this pinion projects above the plate, and is terminated by a ſquare, to which the ſubſtances deſigned to make trial of the friction are adapted.

In conſequence of ſuch a number of teeth and leaves running in each other, the laſt pinion makes 334 revolutions for one of the wheel of the barrel.

To this pinion are fitted ſeveral little hemiſpherical cups with the concavity uppermoſt; and their bottoms being pierced with a ſquare hole correſponding with the ſquare of the ſpindle, they are placed thereon, and turn with it. The cups I made uſe of were of ſteel, of braſs, and of wood, and of two different diameters, viz. 7 lines and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Immediately over the centre of the cup fixed for the experiment, I place a mercurial thermometer, whoſe bulb is only 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ lines in diameter. This thermometer may be raiſed or lowered ſo as to enter, more or leſs, the cavity of the cup without touching its ſides; by which

diſpoſition it is calculated to receive and ſhew moſt readily the heat given to the cup by the friction.

The friction operates on the outer edge of the cup near the brim; and in order to vary it either by the degree of preſſion, or the nature of the ſubſtances rubbing againſt each other, I employ a horizontal lever, whoſe point of ſupport is at one of the extremities, the direction of which is parallel to a tangent of the circumference of the cup, and at the other extremity a thread is fixed at right angles, which, paſſing over a pulley, ſuſpends a weight that may be varied. The lever is furniſhed with a mouth-piece at its mid-length, reſembling that of the cock of a piſtol, in which I place the different ſubſtances intended to rub againſt the cup with a preſſion determinable by the weight. For, as the lever is of the ſecond claſs, and the diſtance from the mouth-piece to the point of ſupport is 13 $\frac{1}{3}$ lines, whilſt the weight acts at its extremity at double that diſtance, or 26 $\frac{2}{3}$ lines, the action of the weight preſſing the ſubſtance rubbing againſt the cup is double the weight itſelf, which being 4 drachms, 18 grains, its effect is conſequently equal to one ounce, 36 grains; and this is the preſſion I have conſtantly employed in the experiments of which I am about to render an account.

I found the relative velocity of the ſubſtances under friction, in the following manner. When I applied the ſteel cup of 7 lines diameter to the ſpindle of the pinion, and ſuſpended to the lever the weight above mentioned, putting in the mouth-piece a bit of braſs to rub againſt the ſteel, the wheel of the barrel in running down makes five revolutions in eight ſeconds; it may therefore be concluded, that in this caſe the circumference of the cup is moved at the rate of 32 feet in a ſecond. But when inſtead of the great ſteel cup, I ſubſtitute a braſs one of only 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ lines diameter, leaving the ſame preſſion and the ſame rubbing ſubſtance, the wheel of the barrel makes one revolution in a ſecond, which gives the circumference of the cup a velocity of 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet in a ſecond. And theſe are the extremes of the velocities employed in my experiments.

The apparatus is of a ſize to admit its being readily introduced into the common receivers; and it may be ſet in motion in vacuo by means of a rod, which traverſes the leathern apparatus commonly employed for this purpoſe, and the extremity of which touches a ſpring or trigger.

Comparative experiments in the air and in vacuo were the firſt objects of my inquiries. For this purpoſe, having adapted a cup of tempered ſteel, and placed in the mouth-piece a bit of adamantine ſpar, which mineralogiſts eſteem the hardeſt ſubſtance next to the diamond, I ſet the machine in motion in the air. Sparks flew out during all the revolutions, and formed a radiated ſheaf of light, whoſe top was at the point of contact. The thermometer in the centre of the cup, at ſome diſtance, however, from its ſides, ſhewed no ſigns of heat produced by the friction.

I repeated the experiment, and placed the bulb of the thermometer without the cup, very near its outer edge, preſuming that the fire carried away, perhaps, by the rapidity of the revolutions, would form an atmoſphere round the edge, and thereby affect the thermometer. But the

the inſtrument in this new diſpoſition gave no ſigns of heat.

I repeated the experiment in a vacuum, where the mercury of the gage ſtood at 4 lines. The thermometer ſhewed no ſigns of heat in this caſe, and I ſaw no ſparks. I even thought that no light was produced; but when I renewed the experiment in complete obſcurity, I ſaw at the place of contact a phoſphoric glimmer, like that obſerved upon rubbing hard ſtones in the dark.

From the reſult of theſe experiments, I naturally concluded that, in the preſent diſpoſition of my apparatus, the heat produced by the friction was ſo weak, that the thermometer thus ſituated could not indicate it in a manner to be depended upon; for, I could perceive no variation in the experiments made alternately in the air and in vacuo, except that in the former I obtained ſparks, and in the latter only a feeble phoſphoric light.

I now ſubſtituted the braſs cup of $3\frac{1}{2}$ lines inſtead of the ſteel cup of 7 lines, and the bulb of the thermometer almoſt entirely occupying the cavity of the cup, it was ſo near its ſides, that the ſmalleſt heat produced muſt affect it. I placed in the mouth-piece a bit of braſs, and the preſſion being always the ſame, I ſet the machine in motion in the air ſeveral times following, and each time obtained an aſcenſion of $\frac{3}{10}$ of a degree of the thermometer.

I obſerved that the thermometer did not begin to mount till the machine had finiſhed its revolutions. Their rapidity, without doubt, gave to the ambient air a tangential force which carried off the fire in proportion as it was diſengaged by the friction; but as ſoon as the motion ceaſed, the thermometer roſe during 15 or 20 ſeconds to a certain *maximum*, which varied, as will be ſeen, according to circumſtances.

I repeated the ſame experiment in a vacuum which ſupported an inch of mercury, and I obtained a mean aſcenſion of 1°,2; with this difference, that the thermometer roſe whilſt the machine was in motion, and thereby confirmed the explication I have juſt given of the cauſe which rendered it ſtationary in the air.

In this inſtance we ſee fire excited by friction more efficaciouſly in vacuo than in the air. The ſpecific heat of air, by abſorbing a part of the heat produced, tended, without doubt, to increaſe the difference of theſe reſults; but the difference which ſtill remained was ſufficient to induce a ſuſpicion of my miſtake.

To aſcertain whether the heat I had obſerved was really owing to the friction of the ſubſtance in contact with the outer edge of the cup, I put the cup in motion, without any thing touching its edge, and the thermometer remained perfectly ſtationary.

In theſe experiments we have ſeen metallic ſubſtances of the ſame kind in contact; and to know whether the hardneſs of the rubbing ſubſtances was one of the cauſes which contributed to the production of heat, I let the braſs cup remain, and placed in the mouth-piece, inſtead of the bit of braſs, a piece of the ſoft wood of a pencil, which touched the cup by a very narrow edge only. By this diſpoſition I obtained in the air a mean aſcenſion of $\frac{7}{10}$ of a degree, which,

was greater by $\frac{4}{10}$ than what had been produced by the friction of braſs againſt braſs.

To confirm theſe reſults I ſubſtituted, inſtead of the braſs cup, a cup of very ſoft wood of the ſame diameter, leaving in the mouth-piece the ſame bit of wood which had been made uſe of in the preceding experiment. This alteration occaſioned an aſcenſion of 2°,1 in the air, which was the mean of three experiments that differed only $\frac{1}{10}$ of a degree from each other. In this caſe, wood rubbing againſt wood, produced a heat three times greater than had been obtained by the friction of wood againſt braſs, which perfectly confirmed the firſt reſults.

I repeated this experiment in vacuo, and had a mean aſcenſion of 2°,4; that is to ſay, a little more heat than in the air, according to the preceding obſervations.

Still better to determine the influence of the air, I was deſirous of repeating the experiment in the extremes; that is, having already made it in vacuo, of trying it in condenſed air. The gage of the condenſing pump was at 48 inches, and the air within conſequently charged with an atmoſphere and three-fourths. In theſe circumſtances I obtained only $\frac{5}{10}$ of a degree of heat; whereas I had obtained 2°,4 in a vacuum which ſupported one inch of mercury; and the poſition of the thermometer remaining always the ſame, in a ſeries of experiments made with the ſame cup, no accidental variation could have happened.

But chance occaſioned the diſcovery of a circumſtance which powerfully modified and ſtill more completely overthrew the ideas I had formed of the cauſe of heat produced by friction.

When I employed the braſs cup, I was apprehenſive, from the ſmallneſs of its concavity, that the bulb of the thermometer, owing to ſome irregular motion, might be broken by the rapid friction of the metallic body, which it almoſt touched. And to prevent this accident, I lined the inſide of the cup with cotton, which touched very ſlightly, and by ſome filaments only, the under part of bulb. I now ſaw with much ſurprize the thermometer riſe five or ſix degrees during the revolutions of the cup.

This phenomenon took place independent of all external friction againſt the cup, and was therefore manifeſtly owing to the friction, although very light, of the cotton under the bulb of the thermometer.

I repeated this experiment in many different ways, and obſerved, that in proportion as I preſſed the thermometer upon the cotton, the heat was increaſed, and to that degree, that the thermometer I uſed for theſe obſervations having only 15 degrees of movement, I was fearful of breaking it by carrying the experiment to the extreme.

There are certainly few bodies more yielding than the filaments of cotton, and yet it was their friction which was the moſt energetic of all the means I employed in producing heat. It is true that the cotton rubbed the bulb of the thermometer itſelf; whereas all the other frictions had been made only againſt the cup which ſurrounded it: but I cannot be perſuaded that the difference of the reſults was ſolely owing to this circumſtance. It appeared, that the heat produced in vacuo was, in this caſe alſo, greater

than

than that produced in the air; but it is evident, that experiments made in this manner cannot be rigorously comparative, because it is impossible to ascertain a perfect equality of pression upon the cotton in two consecutive experiments.

It is very difficult to reason upon the facts I have just related. They offer only some data for our procedure, by way of exclusion. We see that it is not air which causes heat in friction; we see also that it is not the hardness of the rubbing substances; but we do not perceive what is the quality of bodies on which this effect depends.

The sparks produced by the collision of flint and steel, are probably owing to two causes. 1st, To the hardness of the stone, which enables it to penetrate the steel, and to detach from it very thin fragments in the form of ribbands. 2dly, To the combustibleness of steel. This metal being raised by the friction to a degree of temperature in which it is able to decompound the *oxygenous gas*, and offering by its great attenuation a considerable surface to the ambient atmospherical air, combustion begins in some part of that surface, and once begun, the *freed caloric* is sufficient to continue it, till the metal becomes entirely *oxidated* or converted into a black ethiops.

This is therefore a chemical phenomenon, which does not take place in vacuo, because there is not any *oxygenous gas* there.

It is perhaps allowable to risk conjectures on a new subject, when the truth is yet undiscovered.

May not the heat produced by a cause so similar to that which generates electricity, depend upon the electric action, which was, without doubt, excited by the gentle friction of the cotton against the surface of the glass bulb? Fire and the electric fluid developed themselves respectively in many other cases; and we have seen an example, in the preceding experiments, which may assist us in conceiving the possibility of a reciprocal action of the two fluids in this last.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

On the utility of the Spaniſh *Cheſnut Tree; by* Lewis Majendie, *Eſq. in a Letter addreſſed by him to the Secretary of the Society. From the* Tranſactions of the Society of Arts, &c. vol. ix.

SIR,

IN the courſe of laſt winter I planted a field, in the pariſh of Caſtle Hedingham, containing ſomewhat leſs than four acres, with ſeven thouſand two hundred and four Spaniſh cheſnut, and one thouſand nine hundred and eighty-ſeven aſh trees. It was my original intention to have compoſed this plantation totally of cheſnut; but not having a ſufficient number of that plant, I filled up the remaining ground with aſh.

Concerning the latter plant, I ſhall not trouble you with any mention, becauſe the unuſual and very extenſive ſcale on which the culture of the aſh has been adopted by Mr. David Day of Rocheſter, ſee vol. i. page 9, who has ſo deſervedly been the object of the ſociety's honours, muſt render any thing I may ſay on that ſubject ſuperfluous.

The culture of the Spaniſh cheſnut-tree has, for ſome years paſt, been the object of my particular attention; and though, as yet, the time has been too ſhort to allow me to ſpeak from decided experience, yet ſuch has been my ſucceſs in cultivating this tree, as to ſatisfy me of its general utility.

The oak, the pride and glory of the foreſt, muſt, from its many excellent qualities, ever maintain the pre-eminence it ſo juſtly merits: the cheſnut, however, can boaſt of ſome qualities, even of the higher order, hardly inferior to the oak; and in the more ſubordinate line of utility, it may be ſaid even to ſurpaſs it; I mean, in its various uſes for underwood.

It is much to be lamented, that, in the formation of underwoods, ſo little attention ſeems to have been had to the ſort of tree requiſite for ſuch purpoſes: inſtead of the Spaniſh cheſnut or aſh, it is too common to ſee large tracts of wood land whoſe underwoods conſiſt chiefly of hazel, hornbeam, and others of little uſe but for fuel; whereas the firſt-mentioned trees, beſides being equally ſerviceable for that purpoſe with the latter, are greatly ſuperior to them, as well as to moſt others in eſſential uſes: ſo that, at the ſame time that the refuſe of their growths might be conſigned to the fire, the better parts might be deſtined to thoſe purpoſes for which they are more particularly ſuited; and by ſuch management a double advantage would ariſe.

Amidſt a variety of ſubordinate uſes to which, from my own obſervation, the Spaniſh cheſnut ſeems adapted,

adapted, are thoſe of poles for hops, and ſtakes for various purpoſes of huſbandry. I have formed ſeveral plantations of this tree, with the view of treating it as underwood. The tree itſelf poſſeſſes a peculiar faculty of branching, provincially called *ſtubbing*, from the roots after being cut down, and this in a much greater degree than any of the uſeful foreſt-trees; ſo ſtrong indeed is its propenſity that way, that it is with ſome difficulty and attention that timber-trees of the cheſnut are reſtrained from this redundancy of growth, which it is apprehended, by preventing part of the nutrition from aſcending the ſtem, is apt to hinder their progreſs: but this quality, however inconvenient it may be in its effects to trees intended for the purpoſes of timber, is of eminent advantage to thoſe deſigned for underwood; ſince, when the tree, after ſtanding two or perhaps three years, to enable it to form a ſufficient root, is cut down to a proper diſtance from the ground, it throws up in the following ſummer a profuſion of ſtrait ſhoots, which in due time become poles, ſuch as for ſtrength and durability exceed all others whatſoever, even thoſe from the aſh, which is generally conſidered as the beſt tree for this purpoſe.

Cheſnut poles, it muſt be confeſſed, are ſlower in growth than thoſe from the aſh; but, on account of their greater durability, they are more profitable to the poſſeſſor; and I have been credibly informed, that in ſome parts of Kent, where this uſeful tree has been adapted to this purpoſe, its ſuperiority to the aſh is uncontroverted.

For the purpoſes of ſtakes for hedges, or other uſes of that nature, its ſuperiority ſeems equally eſtabliſhed. I ſome time ſince formed a hedge, the ſtakes of which are wholly from cheſnut-trees of my own planting: they are of ſuch a degree of hardneſs, as to ſatisfy me, that the character given of its uſe for ſuch purpoſes is by no means unfounded *.

The plantations of this tree which I have formed, excepting that above mentioned, are moſtly cut down for underwood: the luxuriancy and quantity of ſhoots from the ſtubs afford me great ſatisfaction, and will, without doubt, anſwer my higheſt expectation.

I tranſmit to you herewith the ſtem of a Spaniſh cheſnut-tree, cut down, this day, to a diſtance within two inches from the ground: this tree was planted by me in December 1785, and was, when planted, of the ſize of the other tree which alſo accompanies it. By this ſpecimen the ſociety will be able to judge how well the tree agrees with my ſoil †.

As it has been with ſo much earneſtneſs recommended by writers of eminence, as well as by the truly excellent and laudable ſociety to which you, Sir, are attached, to revive the loſt culture of the Spaniſh cheſnut, I can but feel an ardent wiſh, from a conviction of its real uſe, to ſecond ſuch views, by doing all that is in my power to attract the

* Poles of this tree for hops, vines, &c. will laſt longer than of any other, and ſtakes of the underwood will laſt nearly twice as long as thoſe of any other ſort.
Vide Hunter's Evelyn's Silva, 2d edit. vol. i. p. 154.

† Theſe ſpecimens are preſerved in the ſociety's repoſitory.

attention of perſons of more experience and penetration than myſelf to the culture of a plant, which in this part of the country might almoſt be deemed an exotic.

Obſervations on the Management of Bees; in a Letter from Thomas Morris *to the Secretary. From the ſame.*

AMONG the premiums for 1790, claſs 108, one is propoſed for the moſt ſatisfactory account of the managing and preſerving of bees, to the beſt advantage for collecting honey.

If gentlemen would but ornament their gardens with ſo noble a piece of furniture as an apiary, properly ſituated and carefully managed, they might be furniſhed with the valuable article of honey, without adulteration, and alſo wholeſome mead, little inferior to foreign wine.

Give me leave, gentlemen, to lay before you the method of managing my own bees, of which many ladies and gentlemen have been eye-witneſſes, and have been ſerved by me with as good honey as any in England.

In April 1789, I had twenty-one ſtocks of bees, all in good condition, and wanting no feeding: the ſpring being friendly, they began to ſwarm in the middle of May, and continued till the latter end of June; and at that time I had about fifty ſwarms, notwithſtanding I endeavoured to prevent ſuch an increaſe, by glaſſing them; but many of the ſtocks ſwarmed before the glaſſes or ſmall hives were full, for the mothers of all the ſtocks bred a prodigious quantity of working bees, which was the reaſon of their ſwarming ſo many times. What I call a mother, moſt writers on bees call a queen; but I am clear that ſhe is the mother of the whole empire or ſtock, and ſuffers none of the royal ſeed to live, except what are intended to go forth with the young ſwarm, and a ſufficient quantity of drones, which are the males, and ſit upon the eggs, as the mother lays them, in the cells prepared for that purpoſe; while the working bees continue their labour in gathering honey and wax. I have often ſeen the drones ſit in a formal manner over the combs, where the brood is hatching, while the other bees were very buſy at work.

What I mean by a ſtock of bees, is an united company, conſiſting of three ſorts, viz. a mother, a great number of working bees, and ſome drones; and they are congregated within themſelves, by a ſtrict union, and defend their hive or box from any moleſtation; for the working bees would inſtantly reſent an injury, with the fury of their ſtings.

My own hives are made in the following manner: nine inches deep, and fourteen diameter, containing each about five Wincheſter gallons, with a flat top made of well-ſeaſoned deal, an inch thick, four holes at the top, one exactly over the mouth of the hive, the other three in a right angle; viz. take an inch centre-bit; make three holes as near as poſſible, ſo that you have but a ſmall partition of wood between them; let them be made ſmooth and neat; then take a circular piece of half-inch board, tack it over thoſe holes which are made in the hive, and let them be made to fit ſo cloſe that no moth can get in among the young bees: ſo that, when a ſwarm is put in one of theſe hives in May,

or

or the beginning of June, and begins to fill the hive with combs, brood, &c. which you may eaſily perceive, by means of ſmall pieces of glaſs, three inches ſquare, put in the back of the hive, to obſerve their operations, and the bees have filled their hive, and appear very buſy at the mouth, open gently the hole on the top next the mouth, or rather right over the mouth, and place a proper glaſs over the hole, with proper ſticks placed in the glaſs for the bees to hang their work upon; otherwiſe they would be a long time filling their glaſs, which if they kindly take to, they will fill in twelve or fourteen days.

But if your ſtock ſtill increaſes, and, perhaps, lies out at the mouth of the hive, you muſt open a ſecond hole at the top, and then a third, and ſo on to the fourth, if the bees increaſe, and continue to lie out at the mouth: and yet for all this, many of my hives have ſwarmed, and left their glaſſes, &c. half full of honey.

Here give me leave to obſerve, that nature ſteps in to preſerve the bees, when all other efforts are ineffectual. The bees have ſwarmed, ſettled on a buſh, or about a tree, where there is no hope of their living without being hived; as they have left a good home, well ſtored with honey, and ſettled where there is none, and where they cannot make any. This has been the caſe laſt ſummer; for the mothers of the bees, through the kindlineſs of the ſeaſon, have bred great quantities, ſo that we had a great many poor ſtocks that wanted feeding in the months of October and April.

This ſummer many complain of having what they call bad luck with their bees, and ſay honey will be ſcarce; but, thank God, out of ſeventy-ſix or ſeventy-ſeven hives, I have had as follows:

	lb.
Glaſſes and ſmall hives filled, thirty-one, weighing -	153
Virgin honey - - -	160
Stock, or common honey -	125
	438

This I call a good year, though ſome have been better. I have alſo furniſhed many gentlemen and ladies apiaries with bees, and have now thirty-ſeven good ſtocks for next ſeaſon, beſides an increaſe of ſixteen ſtocks, and the honey above mentioned. My bees are, for the moſt part, well ſituated for collecting honey, and alſo for ſwarming, viz. in the pariſhes of Iſleworth and Twickenham, in Middleſex.

I never intend to prevent my bees from ſwarming, but leave them at liberty to ſwarm, or not to ſwarm. Thoſe ſtocks, the mothers of which do not breed ſo faſt as others, of courſe cannot ſwarm ſo early; therefore I put on them glaſſes, or ſmall hives: if the ſtocks ſo glaſſed keep working without ſwarming, you moſt likely will get ſixteen or ſeventeen pounds of honey in a month's time, and ſave all the bees alive; and ſuch a ſtock will, except by accident, make a good ſtock next ſeaſon.

My hives, made as before deſcribed, have a board at the top, ſeventeen inches wide, that is a full inch wider than the outſide of the hive, that one may ſtand on another; and thus you may make complete colonies of bees with a ſmall expence, for three hives make a complete colony. When hives are made in this manner, they coſt but 12*s.* but in octagon boxes, 1*l.* 10*s.*

I much

I much prefer ſtraw hives, well made, to wooden ones, becauſe the joints of the wood often give way, by being expoſed to the weather and the ſweat of the bees; and the moth-fly (the greateſt enemy they have) gets in and lays her eggs in the comb, and the warmth of the bees hatches them, to their own deſtruction; therefore ſtraw hives are preferable, as well as cheaper than wood.

My method of managing ſtraw hives is thus: when I make uſe of an old ſtraw hive, I dip it into a copper of boiling water, ſo that, if there ſhould be any moths eggs, they muſt be deſtroyed; but I let the hive be perfectly dry, before I uſe it.

Hives ſhould be well made, and cloſely ſewed together; but many are ſold, not worth uſing.

The beſt ſituation for the houſes is a little to the weſt of the ſouth; for the ſun ſhining into the mouth of the hive, too early calls the bees abroad, before the cold ſtream is exhaled from the flowers, and the vernal juice turned into honey: but in this ſituation the ſun will reach the front of your bee-houſe about nine o'clock. I would have the front of the houſe leaning a little inwards, that the mouth of the hive may ſit cloſe to the mouth made in the boards, which ſhould be three inches long in ſummer, and one in winter, and about one fourth of an inch high, the better to keep out cold and the bevering moth, which you may often ſee, at the latter end of Auguſt (when the working of the bees begins to decline), ſtanding at the mouth of the hive, bevering their wings, as if juſt flying in among the bees: they there lay their eggs, and with the wind of their wings fan them within the hive; and the warmth of the bees hatches them, to their own ruin. In October every ſtock ſhould be well examined, and all the maggots bruſhed out, to prevent danger: for the grub or maggot forms a chryſalis, with a covering ſo ſtrong, that the bees cannot diſplace them; and in the ſpring they creep out of their little ſepulchres, and ſpin a thin web before them, as they march up into the hive among the combs; and the bees endeavouring to diſlodge them, are entangled in the web, and there die: and thus, for want of a little trouble, many ſtocks are deſtroyed.

To cleanſe the hive of theſe maggots, it muſt be turned up, and the duſt and vermin picked out, and then gently ſet down in its place. If your bees are well, and in a condition to ſtand the winter, and have a mother with them, they will ſting, otherwiſe not unleſs you hurt them: however, a yard and a half of Scotch gauze, ſewed round the brim of your hat, and then tied round the waiſt, having holes for your arms, will completely ſecure your face.

The hive ſhould be alſo bruſhed on the outſide very clean, and waſhed all over with a ſponge dipped in brine made with clean ſalt; a ſmall quantity of lime and hair, made fine, ſhould be put round the bottom, and the hives be covered with hay or haybands; for ſtraw may contain ſome corn which may attract the mice, who may gnaw the hives.

I have mentioned how the front of the houſe ſhould be formed, by ſetting the front board, which the mouth of the hive ſtands againſt, on the inſide; but let the roof be made

made ſo as to keep the entrance dry, for a foot, before the mouth: the back-ſhutter, folding doors, and ends of the roof, ſhould be made very cloſe, to prevent any vermin entering the houſe: the firſt floor, or bottom of the houſe, ſhould be about two feet and a half from the ground, in ſuch places as gardens or orchards: but, on the ſide of a hill, or where the bees have no obſtruction from hedges, &c. it may be but eighteen inches. As bee-houſes cannot be very expenſive, I would have a houſe made but for four hives, the ſecond floor two feet from the bottom, and the roof two feet from the ſecond floor; but the ſecond floor may be made moveable, in caſe you wiſh to form your bees into a colony, and then you will want the whole depth of your houſe.

I confine them to four ſtocks in a houſe, becauſe I find, when they are too cloſe, they are apt to rob one another; but when there are but four ſtocks in a houſe, I have obſerved one turn out to the right, and the other to the left.

If more than one houſe be required, they ſhould be placed ten or twelve yards diſtant, which may be done by driving a ſtrong ſtump into the ground, and placing on it a piece of elm or oak plank, two or three inches thick. The hives muſt never be covered with rags, for they are apt to breed moths: the upper and lower floors ſhould be two or three inches thick.

I come now to my method of feeding them, which, I think, is new. Sink a cavity in the middle of the floor, about ſix inches diameter, like a trencher, deep enough to hold a quarter of a pint of honey, and no more: if the cavity be too deep, the bees may be ſuffocated. A channel muſt be made from the outſide of the floor, to communicate with the cavity; and a piece of wood to fit cloſe into it, to keep out the vermin.

If your bees do not weigh ſixteen or ſeventeen pounds, excluſive of the hive, they muſt be fed in September, October, March, and April, and ſometimes in May: they muſt not be fed in cold weather, for that calls them from ſleep, and they then never return to the hive again: nor muſt they be fed in the ſunſhine; for when the honey ſmells ſtrong, it ſets them quarrelling and fretting, and the ſtrong injure the weak. The beſt time is evening, when I take the piece of wood out of the channel, and gently pour a quarter of a pint of honey into the cavity: if the honey will not run freely, I boil up four or five pounds with a quart of ſtrong ſweet-wort, which brings it to a proper liquid. This food will be of great ſervice to the mothers, and make them lay eggs in abundance in the ſpring.

If a ſtock has been glaſſed two ſummers, it ſhould not be worked a third; but if it increaſe, take a new hive, or a clean old one, and take off all the covers from the top of the hive: let it be ſtuck the ſame as if you was to have a new ſwarm; place it on one of the floors; and having opened the hole on the top neareſt the back, place a piece of lath diagonally from that hole to the ſide of the mouth; let it be made faſt with pegs, not nails, leſt the honey be ſtained; then place the old hive upon the new one, and ſtop the old mouth cloſe; and the bees will then gradually work down the new hive: that will give them ſufficient room for the ſummer. And next ſpring, take another clean

hive,

hive, and place the two upon it, in the ſame manner as before: this will ſerve for the next year. Now having had no honey for two years, the upper hive will moſt likely be full, and may be taken away as follows:

With a ſtrong chiſel ſeparate the top hive from the other two; and in a fine day take it away, twenty or thirty yards, and place it on the ground bottom upwards; and ſecure the holes on the top of the ſecond hive.

The bees no doubt will rage; but you muſt ſecure yourſelf with gauze, as before directed, and wear black ſtockings, for that colour is leaſt obſerved. Place a table even with the mouth of the loweſt hive, and ſpread a cloth over it, near the mouth, and by this time the greater part of the bees that were out will have come home: the middle hive being the breeding-place, it is moſt likely the mother is in that; but if ſhe was in the top, ſhe may yet be ſafe. Place a clean hive, of the ſame diameter as that you have taken away, upon it; then tie a cloth over both (glaſſes and all, if there be any) ſo tight, that the bees within may be in darkneſs: let them remain thus half an hour; then, with a ſtick, rap the bottom hive, but not ſo hard as to injure the combs; continue rapping half an hour; then untie the cloth, and take away the upper hive, into which the noiſe has driven the bees, and place it on the table and cloth from whence you took them, and ſhake them out on the cloth, and they will run into the mouth of their proper hive. If neceſſary, repeat this operation, and all the bees will be ſaved: this ſaves the trouble and loſs of ſmothering them with ſulphur, as was the cuſtom; and the bees, in one day, will forget the injury, and work as uſual. But in caſe but little honey is left in their two hives, they muſt be fed; thus, in two hours, your honey may be taken, and the bees preſerved: the honey you have obtained in this way may be dark, but will make excellent mead; but better and brighter will be produced by thoſe which work in glaſſes.

Hives will not be beneficial in barren countries; but ſhould be near gardens, ſhrubberies, orchards of cherries, or farms where clover, beans, ſaintfoin, or French wheat, grow. Lime-trees, or green-houſe plants, ſet out in the ſpring, orange or lemon-trees, are uſeful, and produce excellent honey: where there is room, it is worth while to plant gooſeberries, currants, ſweet marjoram, peppermint, or the like.

Though I am not for preventing bees from ſwarming whenever they are inclined, yet I acknowledge that it is ſometimes neceſſary to deſtroy ſome ſtocks.

If they have loſt their mother, and neither ſwarm nor work much, they ſhould not be kept.

The moth, or other accident, will ſometimes ſpoil them, and then they ſhould be deſtroyed.

My neighbours ſay, that, when I die, the bees will loſe the moſt compaſſionate maſter in this kingdom. Indeed I, however, have deſtroyed none but from neceſſity, and have been for near twenty-four years remarkably ſucceſsful.

I have now forty ſtocks in good condition, though the loſs of mothers, or ſome unforeſeen accident, may happen to ſome before ſummer.

The

The loſs of a mother may be known, by the bees ceaſing to work, and mourning inceſſantly: they will ſometimes in that caſe leave their hive, and try to force themſelves into one that is near.

This circumſtance ſhould be noticed; for the old hive may be well ſtored, and when they have left it as a reſidence, they will yet return with their companions, and carry away the honey: ſome, for want of obſerving this, have wondered how a heavy hive, that has been left, has become light.

But though the mother be loſt, if there be eggs, they will ſometimes ſtay and hatch them; and if any royal ſeed be among the eggs, they may ſurvive, and become a good ſtock; but this is not often the caſe.

About a month ago I was deſired to look at five ſtocks at Richmond, in order to purchaſe them: one of the heavieſt was without a mother. I purchaſed that, and one more, where the mother was loſt: I found twelve pounds of honey, but no eggs, and therefore the bees would not have ſtaid long: the other three were old, and the honey black, and therefore of no uſe but to ſtand and ſwarm another year.

If bees continue in one hive for four or five years, they always degenerate, and become both fewer and weaker: the reaſon is, the combs for breeding are generally made on purpoſe, and larger than the reſt; every time a bee is hatched in one, a ſkin or coat is left behind, which reduces the ſize; and in time it becomes too ſmall to produce a bee of its proper dimenſions, and occaſions a neceſſity for their having frequently new habitations, which they will always accept, if you provide them a good ſituation and clean hives.

My ſituation is a good one, by accident, or otherwiſe; for I could not have afforded to have made it ſo by planting.

In the pariſh of Iſleworth, twenty-four years ago, there were not ten ſtocks of bees; and now, through the approbation of my management, there are more than two hundred.

I hope what has been thus ſimply ſtated may be worthy your attention, and that I may be admitted a claimant.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,
I am your moſt humble
and obedient ſervant,
THOMAS MORRIS.

Account of the Proceſs of converting the Smoke ariſing from Steam Engines, &c. into Tar; by Mr. William Pitt, *of Pendeford, near Wolverhampton, in a Letter addreſſed to the Secretary. From the ſame.*

SIR,

HAVING had occaſion to ſpend a good deal of time upon buſineſs in the coal and iron works of this country; my ſituation amidſt the ſmoke of thoſe great works put me upon the idea hinted at in the 153d premium of the eighth volume of the Society's Tranſactions; namely, that of deſtroying ſmoke, in order to prevent annoyance to the neighbourhood.

That the object is not only attainable, will be demonſtrated in the following narrative; but alſo that valuable articles of commerce may be produced in large quantities, whenever the proprietors of ſuch works ſhall adopt the mode of conſtructing

ſtructing their buildings proper for ſuch production.

The articles of commerce I allude to, are mineral tar, pitch, and varniſh: there are already three conſiderable works erected on the banks of the canal in this county, for the purpoſe of converting the ſmoke of pit-coal into the above articles; the one at Mr. Wilkinſon's great works at Bradley, another at Tipton, and a third at the level colliery and iron works upon Dudley Wood: they were erected by Lord Dundonald and Co. and the buſineſs is carried on with ſucceſs.

Theſe tar-works are erected in the vicinity of large iron and coal works: the iron maſters furniſh the tar-works with raw coal, *gratis*, and receive in return the cokes produced by ſuch coal; and the proprietors of the tar-works have the ſmoke only for their labour, and intereſt of capital.

The proceſs is conducted in the following manner: a range of eighteen or twenty ſtoves is erected, and ſupplied with coal kept burning at the bottom; the ſmoke is conducted, by proper horizontal tunnels, into a capacious and cloſe funnel, of one hundred yards or more in length; this funnel is built with brick, ſupported by brick arches, and covered on the top by a ſhallow pond of water, which pond is ſupplied with water, when wanted, by a ſteam-engine belonging to the coal or iron works; the chill of the water gradually condenſing the ſmoke, it falls upon the floor of the funnel in the form of tar, and is conveyed by proper pipes into a receiver, from whence it is pumped into a large boiler, and boiled to a proper conſiſtence, or otherwiſe inſpiſſated into pitch: when the latter is the caſe, the volatile particles which ariſe during the inſpiſſation are again condenſed into an oil uſed for varniſh.

In this proceſs the ſmoke is decompoſed and deſtroyed, nothing ariſing from the work but a white vapour from ſome ſmall funnels (kept open to give draught to the fires), and a ſmall evaporation of water from the pond, occaſioned by the warmth of the ſmoke within the funnel.

The proceſs requires but little attendance, the principal labour being that of ſupplying the fuel. In any one of the tar-works the quantity of coal uſed is about twenty tons per day; three labourers, with a foreman, are ſufficient for the whole buſineſs: the quantity of tar produced will be about twenty-eight barrels, of two hundred weight and an half, in ſix days, worth ten ſhillings per hundred, or twenty-one barrels of pitch, of the ſame weight, worth fifteen ſhillings per hundred; though I was aſſured, upon the ſpot, by a very intelligent perſon, that ſome coal is of ſo bituminous a quality, as to give one eighth its weight of tar: but the quantity above ſtated is about the average produce.

In order to bring the above practice within the ſociety's intentions, an alteration in the erection of ſteam-engines, furnaces, &c. muſt take place; the alteration will be no more than that of erecting them below ground, inſtead of above: and when raiſing water is the main object, an adoption of the forcing or lifting pump inſtead of the ſucking pump, or the ſucking pump may be ſtill employed, wherever the fall of

ground gives an opportunity of letting off the water raiſed, by an aqueduct; in which caſe, the lift being ſhortened, and leſs power neceſſary, ample amends will be thereby made for the expence of ſuch aqueduct.

Such kind of buildings, from a low ſituation, within the earth's ſurface, will certainly acquire additional ſtability: and to thoſe who are acquainted with the trifling expence of removing ſoil to only ſmall diſtances, the additional charge will appear trifling, and will be more than recompenſed by ſuch acquired ſtability. In ſome local ſituations, in hilly countries, the ſmoking works being erected at the foot, and the tar-funnel higher up the hill, a communication may be effected without ſuch alteration. Perhaps it may be right for the ſociety to offer a premium to the firſt perſon who ſhall erect a ſteam-engine, or other ſimilar work, upon this plan.

To prove the above idea is not ill-founded, I beg leave to report, that about three weeks ago, I particularly examined the tar-work on Dudley Wood; and found the foreman of the work intelligent and communicative; and walking with him on the top of the tar-funnel, obſerved a prodigious ſmoke ariſe from a ſteam-engine, about thirty yards diſtant, freſh fuel having juſt been added. When I put this queſtion, Would that ſmoke make tar, if it paſſed into your funnel? he anſwered, Moſt certainly. Would your confining it there prevent the fire burning below, ſufficient to do its office of working the ſteam-engines? anſwer, Certainly not; as our ſmall funnels allow ſufficient draught to keep the fire burning, which draught we can increaſe or diminiſh at pleaſure.

I find by reports from other quarters, that ſucceſsful attempts have been made to make cokes of the coal employed in working ſteam-engines: the additional improvement of making tar from the ſmoke, would not only prevent annoyance to the neighbourhood, but alſo apply to the beſt advantage every particle of that valuable and comfortable article, coal; prodigious quantities of which are at preſent waſted by being burned in one place for heat only, in another for cokes only; when, by due attention, both purpoſes may in many caſes be effected at the ſame time.

I was informed upon the ſpot, from undoubted authority, that the conſumption of coal in Mr. Wilkinſon's great works, at Bradley, is one hundred tons per day: about one-fifth of the ſmoke is actually employed in making of tar; and the remainder, or the ſmoke of eighty tons per day, flies away. This, if collected, would yield upwards of eighteen barrels of tar, of two hundred and a half each: and if the ſmoke of the great works of the kingdom was in general collected for the ſame uſe, what a prodigious addition would it be, to the production of a commercial and neceſſary article, which always finds a ready market, and will in many inſtances ſupply the place of the vegetable tar, at preſent imported from abroad!

That ſome idea may be formed of the conſumption of coal in ſteam-engines for raiſing water, I beg leave to report the following, of which I had certain information upon the ſpot; namely, that ſome

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ſuch engines individually conſume one hundred tons per week of coal; that others, though powerful, with the improvements of Meſſrs. Boulton and Watt, are kept on with about twenty-five tons per week; and that the weekly conſumption varies between thoſe two quantities, viz. from twenty-five to one hundred tons.

Obſervations on the curing of Coffee, and of ſending it from the Weſt India Iſlands *in a new Mode; by Mr.* Iſaac Titford, *of* Spaniſh Town, Jamaica. *From the ſame.*

COFFEE being an article lately much increaſed in demand in Europe and America, and in conſequence commanding a high price, which has induced many planters lately to cultivate it; I beg leave to ſubmit to the ſociety a plan for ſending it home in a better and more improved ſtate than now done. The mode now uſed in general, by the planter, when the coffee is ripe on the trees, is as follows:

They bring the coffee to a machine called a peeling-mill, where it is diveſted of its outſide ſkin and pulp; after which, it is put in heaps, and undergoes a ſlight fermentation; then ſpread out, and dried on platforms or terraces, until it is perfectly cured, when it is ſtored until all the crop is got in.

The berries ripening ſo faſt, it requires every exertion of the planter's ſtrength to get in the fruit in due time.

When the crop is over, they begin to prepare it for market, by again putting it in the ſun, and carrying it to the peeling and winnowing mills, where it is totally diveſted of its coats and impurities, and the broken and bad coffee picked out, &c. after which it is fit for market.

It muſt be obſerved, only the moſt conſiderable coffee-planters have the above mills: the ſmall and needy planters beat out their coffee in large wooden mortars, or troughs, by which a waſte is made by breaking the berry.

When any coffee is kept for private uſe, or iſland conſumption, it does not undergo the above proceſſes; but the ripe fruit, as it is picked from the trees, is ſpread out in the ſun, and ſimply well dried, and beat out as it is wanted for uſe or ſale.

Coffee is well known to improve, when ſo preſerved, by drying it in the berry; but to daily impair and fall off, when it is diveſted of its coverings, as it is now ſent to market; for which reaſon the planter does not beat out his coffee, till ready to ſend it.

Upon the above facts, I will endeavour to point out the advantages that will be derived by coffee being ſent home in the whole berry, well dried, and alſo the objections and difficulties that will attend ſuch mode.

One advantage will be, the cauſing leſs trouble, and requiring leſs negro-labour, at a time of the year when the planter is the moſt employed. And this is an object to the planter, by ſaving the hire of negroes, which is very high during crop; and ſometimes they cannot be procured, in which caſe the coffee drops off the trees, and is loſt.

The next is, the prevention of the coffee imbibing the ill flavour of ſugar, rum, pimento, &c. which may

may be ſhipped with it, and which, I underſtand, is the principal objection to this country coffee being uſed in England.

It is preſumed the natural coverings will effectually prevent any bad impregnations in its paſſage. The increaſe of freight will be of ſome importance, particularly if coffee is cultivated as it has been lately: but the tranſlation of labour and trouble from the planter, by tedious negro-labour, to the ſuperior mechaniſm of Great Britain; and above all, the improved condition, and ſuperior quality, in which it is conceived the coffee will arrive at a foreign port; will make ample compenſation for ſuch additional charge.

Alſo the ſtill farther improvement, until the time it is wanted for ſale or uſe. If wanted for the foreign market; in England, mills could be eaſily conſtructed, ſo as to do many thouſand weight a day; whereas the expences of mills and other machines in this country are a very heavy contingency to the planter. For home conſumption, a retailer might purchaſe a ſmall quantity, and beat it out as he wants it, as he certainly would keep it in the ſtate it was improving in; by which the conſumer would get coffee of the fineſt quality, I ſhould hope equal to the Mocha, at a very moderate price.

The ſale of coffee in the berry, in point of product and quality, can be eaſily aſcertained, by beating out a certain quantity, and finding the quantity of good clean coffee.

The objections the planters will have to the above mode is, firſt, the requiring a very great care and attention to the coffee when drying, as well as incurring ſome expence by erecting terraces and ſheds to keep it from getting wet in curing it. Yet it is hoped they would conſider the quickneſs of its getting to market, which the ſaving of the time in pulping, peeling, picking it clean, &c. will amply compenſate; and the ſaving the expence of erecting mills would be more than adequate to the extra terraces, &c.

Extra carriage, package, and freight, are inconveniences and objections only to be done away by its fetching a better price when at market: the firſt is of more conſequence than probably may be imagined in England, by reaſon of bad mountainous roads, where the crops can be only brought to market by negroes or mules.

The novelty of its ſtate for market and ſale, is, I preſume, an objection only to be remedied, by firſt encouraging the ſhipping it for England, that the merchants and dealers may have opportunities to aſcertain its value, and render it commercial.

It is for the ſociety to judge whether the propoſed mode is worthy their patronage and attention, after comparing the ſamples ſent herewith: nothing but an advantage either in labour or price will induce a planter to alter a mode long eſtabliſhed.

This country, I am well aſſured, is capable of producing coffee equal in quality to any of the Weſt-India Iſlands; and I hope the ſociety will find the propoſed improvement deſerving their attention.

I conceive it to be poſſible to kiln-dry the coffee in the berry, without injuring the quality: this, if found to ſucceed, will do away one of the principal objections the planter will have to this method,

particularly thoſe who live in the wet pariſhes, where the frequency of the rain would make the drying it on terraces very difficult.

From the ſmall quantity of land required, the trifling expence of planting it, and not requiring many labourers, except in crop, and thoſe not of the ableſt kind, it is become a great object in this iſland, and principally with the ſmall ſettlers of little ſtrength and capital to begin with. I am well informed a plantation of about one hundred and fifty acres, in coffee, made this year one hundred and twenty thouſand weight, which ſold at Kingſton for five guineas per hundred weight, currency; a ſum equal to four thouſand four hundred pounds ſterling.

Deſcription of Four Caſes of Gutta Serena, cured by Electricity. By James Ware, *Surgeon. From the Memoirs of the Medical Society of* London, vol. iii.

Case I.

A LADY, ſixty-three years of age, who had loſt the ſight of the left eye twenty years, in conſequence of a violent ophthalmy, was ſuddenly attacked, in April 1780, with an appearance like black lace hanging before the right eye, and confuſing every object at which ſhe looked. It had continued ten days before I ſaw her. Each day the blackneſs became deeper and more extenſive; and, at that time, every object preſented before the eye was altogether inviſible. On examining the eye, I found that the pupil preſerved its natural ſize and colour; and that the power of the iris to dilate and contract this aperture, according to the greater or leſs degree of light to which the eye was expoſed, was not yet wholly loſt. The lady had long enjoyed a good ſtate of health, and, the diſorder in her ſight excepted, was at the time of conſulting me perfectly well. I immediately applied the electric air by means of a pointed conductor, and continued the application about ten minutes. It was repeated the next day; and on the third, immediately after being electrified, ſhe had a ſtronger perception of the light. The ſame application was repeated every day for a fortnight, when ſhe diſtinguiſhed all large objects before her. I now placed her on the glaſs-footed ſtool, and took ſmall electric ſparks from the eye-lids and integuments ſurrounding the eye. This experiment, however, was ſoon followed by a pain in the head, which rendered her ſight more confuſed. For the preſent, the uſe of electricity was therefore wholly omitted. Three leeches were applied to the right temple, and afterwards a bliſter of the ſize of half-a-crown to the ſame part. By theſe means the pain in a few days was removed. The electric air was then again applied, but without ſparks. It was continued about ten days longer; at the end of which time ſhe recovered the perfect uſe of the right eye: and this ſhe preſerved till the time of her death, which did not happen till ſeveral years after.

Case II.

Mrs. R. when about thirty years old, was ſuddenly attacked with a violent head-ach, accompanied with ſickneſs, which continued with little intermiſſion or abatement for the ſpace of three days. After undergoing this

this long paroxyſm of ſevere pain, and probably very much owing to the ſame cauſe, the ſight of the left eye became impaired in ſo conſiderable a degree, as to be incapable of diſtinguiſhing any object, though placed immediately before it. At that time the right eye did not appear to be at all affected; and, during a few following days ſhe could ſee with it as perfectly as before. But ſoon after, the diſorder extended to this eye alſo; and in eight days from the firſt ſeizure of the headach, ſhe ſo far loſt the ſight of both eyes, as not to be able diſtinctly to perceive even the blaze iſſuing from a large fire. There ſtill, however, remained ſome degree of a glimmering ſight with the right eye, ſo as to make her ſenſible of the difference between night and day. But it was not long before ſhe became totally dark in this eye as well as the other: and on the third day of her being ſo I was firſt conſulted. On examination, I found that both the pupils were conſiderably dilated, and that their ſize was unalterably the ſame, though acted upon by the brighteſt light. I immediately paſſed a ſtrong ſtream of the electric fluid through both eyes, which was continued for about ten minutes. This, though powerful enough to be ſtrongly felt when applied to the eye, and even to the hand, of other perſons preſent, ſeemed to affect the patient only in a very ſmall degree: and the application was renewed ſeveral days before ſhe was ſenſible of the leaſt amendment. In about a week from the time when the firſt trial was made, as ſhe was returning home after being electrified, ſhe perceived with her right eye ſome water collected in a gutter; and the ſame evening was able to diſtinguiſh the light of a candle. The pain in her head ſtill continuing to rage with violence, I then directed three leeches, and after them a bliſter, to be applied to each temple, with the uſe of gentle laxatives occaſionally, as the ſtate of the body required. The joint effect of theſe was not inconſiderable (though but partial and temporary) towards giving relief to the patient for the complaint in her head. But as only the right eye had yet recovered any ſenſibility, and that in a ſmall degree, I then renewed the electric applications, placing the patient on the glaſs-footed ſtool, and taking ſmall ſparks from the integuments ſurrounding the eyes; at the ſame time continuing to paſs the electric ſtream through the eyes themſelves. At the end of three weeks, the ſight of the right eye was ſo much reſtored, that with it ſhe could diſtinguiſh large letters. But the left eye, during the whole of this time remained totally blind; and the patient was ſtill afflicted with ſevere ſenſations of pain in her head, particularly on the left ſide. Having continued the electric applications near a fortnight longer, without making any viſible advance in the cure, I was almoſt ready to deſpair of their rendering any further ſervice. Yet, unwilling to give up the uſe of means which had already adminiſtered ſo much relief, I determined on a further trial; and accordingly perſevered in the uſe of them ſome time longer. I was happy to find that this perſeverance was not in vain. For, one day, whilſt I was taking electric ſparks from the left eye, ſhe ſuddenly exclaimed that ſhe could now perceive a glimmering of light with this eye as ſhe

had ſome time before done with the other; and this ſhe imputed to the effect which the electric ſpark then had on a part of the eye which had not before been touched by it. The very next day a great number of objects became viſible to this eye; and from that time there was a progreſſive daily amendment: within a ſhort ſpace of time the ſight of both eyes was perfectly reſtored: as the ſight returned, the ſenſations of pain in the head gradually abated, till they entirely ceaſed.

Case III.

Mrs. S. in February 1784, when ſhe was in her thirtieth year, was brought to-bed; and, being a woman of a healthy conſtitution, choſe to ſuckle the child herſelf. This ſhe did for ſome time without feeling any inconvenience from it; but having continued it for about ſix weeks, her ſtrength began to fail, and continued to decline daily, till ſhe became incapable even of moving about the houſe, without experiencing a very painful languor. About the ſame time her ſight alſo was affected; firſt only in a ſmaller degree, but afterwards ſo conſiderably that the full glare of the mid-day ſun appeared to her no ſtronger than the light of the moon. At this period of her diſorder, no black ſpecks were viſible before either eye, nor did objects at any time appear covered with a miſt or cloud; but the patient being further afflicted with a violent pain in the neck, which ran in a direction upward to the ſide of the head, on that account the perſon who attended her thought proper to take four ounces of blood from the part firſt affected, by cupping. After this the ſight of the patient was worſe than before, and it was not long before ſhe entirely loſt the uſe of both eyes. She had been three days in this ſtate of blindneſs, when the aſſiſtance of my partner, Mr. Wathen, was firſt called in. On examining the eyes, he found the pupils of both to be very much dilated, and to remain unaltered in the brighteſt light. Mr. Wathen's firſt advice was, that the child ſhould be weaned without loſs of time; ordering, at the ſame time, bark draughts to be taken by the mother three times in the day. He alſo preſcribed an opening medicine, to be taken occaſionally, on account of a coſtive ſtate of body, to which ſhe had been almoſt conſtantly ſubject ever ſince the time of her delivery. With theſe was united the frequent application of the vapour of æther to the eyes and forehead. On the fourth day after this mode of treatment was adopted, I viſited the patient with Mr. Wathen. From the account ſhe gave of herſelf, her ſtrength and ſpirits ſeemed to be in ſome degree on the return; and ſhe could then perceive faint glimmerings of light, though the pupils of both eyes were in the ſame dilated and fixed ſtate as before. The uſe of the bark and æther was ſtill continued, and the following day a ſtrong ſtream of the electric fluid was poured on the eyes, whilſt ſeveral ſmall electric ſparks were alſo variouſly pointed about the forehead and temples. The day after this, to increaſe the force of the electrical applications, as it was then thought adviſeable, the patient was placed on a glaſs-footed ſtool, that, being thus inſulated, the experiments which had before been tried might be repeated with ſtill greater effect. This proceſs, there

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is every reaſon to think, had a conſiderable influence towards making a perfect cure. On the firſt attempt it was almoſt immediately followed with ſuch a degree of amendment, that the patient, to whoſe ſight every object had before been confuſed, could now clearly diſtinguiſh how many windows there were in the room where ſhe ſat, tho' ſhe was ſtill unable to make out the frames of any of them. On the third day, ſoon after ſhe had been thus electrified, the menſtrual diſcharge came on, for the firſt time ſince ſhe had been brought to-bed, and it continued three days. During that time it was certainly proper to ſuſpend the uſe both of the bark and electricity, which was accordingly done. But no ſooner did the cauſe of the ſuſpenſion ceaſe, than the uſe of both was reſumed: and the effect was every way to our wiſhes; for her ſight now mended daily. At the end of a week ſhe could perceive all large objects; and in a ſhort time her ſight was ſo much recovered that ſhe could read even the ſmalleſt print. Her ſtrength, indeed, was not ſo quick in its return; on which account ſhe was adviſed to remove from town into the country, where the change of air, with the help of a mild nutritious diet, ſoon reſtored her to perfect health in every reſpect.

CASE IV.

Mrs. ——, near forty-five years of age, was attacked with a violent pleuritic diſorder. It continued ſeveral weeks; till at length her ſtrength was ſo much reduced, that ſhe became even unable to turn herſelf in bed without aſſiſtance. But before this, and near a month after the commencement of the pleuriſy, ſhe was ſeized with a violent pain in the left eye, which ſhe deſcribed as ſhooting upward to the top of her head, and which was ſoon followed with a conſiderable dimneſs in her ſight. The dimneſs continued increaſing five days; at which period ſhe entirely loſt the uſe of this eye. In the ſpace of three weeks afterwards, a violent pain, ſimilar to that which ſhe firſt complained of in the left eye, attacked the other alſo; and was accompanied with the like ſymptom of ſhooting upward to the top of the head. The ſight of this eye, however, though conſiderably impaired, did not go off ſo rapidly as the other. The dimneſs was ſlower and more gradual in its progreſs; and, for two or three weeks after, ſhe ſaw occaſionally, or at leaſt fancied ſhe did, a number of bright ſparks, which ſeemed to dart ſuddenly acroſs the eye. But in leſs than a month, what remained of the ſight of this eye went off alſo, and ſhe became totally blind of both. On the loſs of her ſight the pain immediately ceaſed. It is alſo to be obſerved in the caſe of this patient, that her ſpirits had often been much agitated by painful occurrences;—that for many years paſt ſhe had been ſubject to frequent returns of rheumatic affections in different parts of the body;—and that, in her late illneſs, ſhe had tried the power of many medicines, in conjunction with bleeding by leeches on the temples, and the application of bliſters both to the head and ſide.—Beſides theſe trials of medical ſkill, it was thought proper, during the latter part of her illneſs, that ſhe ſhould be removed into the country, to take the benefit of change of air.—The reſult of all was that

ſhe recovered her ſtrength: but the blindneſs ſtill continued. In the left eye ſhe had been blind five weeks, and in the right a fortnight, when I was firſt conſulted. On a careful examination of the pupils of both eyes at this time, I found that, though they retained their uſual tranſparency, they were much dilated, ſo as not to be in the leaſt affected by any degree of light. My firſt attempt was with the vapour of vitriolic æther, which I directed her to apply ſeveral times in the day to both eyes. With this was united the uſe of the Peruvian bark, two ſcruples of which in a glaſs of white wine were preſcribed to be taken three times in the day. Beſides which, once in that time, a ſtrong ſtream of the electric fluid was to have been applied to the eyes, and continued for about ten minutes or a quarter of an hour. But the perſon employed in the buſineſs of the electricity being unacquainted with the mode of applying the ſtream, ſubſtituted inſtead of it, of his own accord, ſmall electric ſhocks; to which he gave different directions through the head. She had been electrified only three times, and in this way, when her huſband was taken ill, and in a few days died. This melancholy event prevented her from attending afterwards to have the electric applications repeated. It is, however, to be noticed, that it had been found not a little ſerviceable on every trial which had hitherto been made of it; and in particular the laſt time ſhe was electrified, that the operation was no ſooner over than ſhe inſtantly perceived a number of objects near her. The bark and æther were ſtill continued as at firſt ordered; and in about two months the pupils returned to their natural ſize; and ſhe recovered a ſight ſufficient to enable her to read common letters with the left eye, and to ſee all larger objects with the right.

On the Management of Sheep; from a Pamphlet, intitled, "An Addreſs to the Society for the Improvement of Britiſh *Wool at Edinburgh," by* Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

IN the proper management of ſheep, the firſt thing to be conſidered is to procure the *food* beſt calculated for them. The nature of the food has a great influence upon the ſize and health of the animal, and conſequently upon the wool. Where the paſture is rich, either from the natural fertility of the ſoil, or by the art and induſtry of man, and where the turnip huſbandry or artificial graſſes prevail, long and coarſe wool is almoſt the neceſſary conſequence *. Whereas, in the words of an elegant poet, who has celebrated the glory of the fleece,

> On ſpacious airy downs, and gentle hills,
> *With graſs and thyme o'erſpread, and clover wild,*
> Where ſmiling Phœbus tempers ev'ry breeze,
> The faireſt flocks rejoice! Wide airy downs
> Are health's gay walks to ſhepherd and to ſheep †.

* From the experiments of Mr. Ellman, it appears that rich food does not always injure the fleece, if the breed is properly attended to.

† See Dyer's Fleece, book i. Virgil alſo, in his Georgics, lib. iii. l. 384, tells us,

"Si tibi lanicium curæ, fuge pabula læta."

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In regard to paſture calculated for ſheep, there are few hilly diſtricts in Scotland, where it may not be found in great perfection and abundance, or may not be improved either by means of lime, or by a judicious ſyſtem of watering. In ſummer and autumn no ſcarcity of food is to be apprehended. It muſt be acknowledged, at the ſame time, that, during ſpring and winter, a conſiderable degree of foreſight and exertion is requiſite to provide a ſufficient quantity of wholeſome food for a numerous ſtock; but the late improvements in huſbandry furniſh an active and intelligent farmer with ample means for that purpoſe.

Shelter from the inclemency of the ſeaſons is, I am perſuaded, an object entitled to the ſhepherd's peculiar attention, and without which fine wool cannot be expected in great abundance or perfection. The natural ſhelter of wood has been often recommended againſt too violent heat, and ſtill more againſt cold and piercing winds. The ſeverity of the weather, particularly when ſheep are expoſed to it both night and day, certainly affects the wool, makes it coarſe, and fills it with hair. To obviate this inconvenience, the Herefordſhire and Coteſwold farmers have long ranges of buildings with low ceilings, each three or four ſtory high, with a ſlope at one end of each floor, reaching to the next, by which the ſheep aſcend to the upper ſtory *. Having ſuch houſes built in hilly countries would be of great ſervice in the improvement of wool; and, when properly uſed, would prevent the rot, ſo ruinous to the ſhepherd †. The Romans, as has been already obſerved, kept their fineſt ſheep in houſes, and even clothed them. The manner in which they were treated is thus deſcribed by Columella. "Of all the wool-bearing "kind, the Grecian or Tarentinian is the moſt tender and de"licate. They can neither endure "exceſſive heat nor cold. They "are ſeldom fed without doors, "but for the moſt part in the houſe, "and are exceeding greedy of "food. The fields in which they "are fed muſt be free of all man"ner of buſhes, ſprigs, or briars, "leſt both their wool and their "covering be pulled off them, and "even at home they muſt be fre"quently uncovered, refreſhed, and "cooled ‡." Inquiries are making, on the part of this ſociety, whether there are ſtill any remnants of this breed, or any veſtige of this mode of treatment in Sicily or Calabria. It would be deſireable to know what is the reſult of ſuch a ſyſtem of management, if it ſtill exiſts in other countries. The effects of houſing the ſheep in Here-

* Coteſwold, according to Camden, is derived from the *cots* or houſes in which the ſheep were kept, and the *wolds* or open hilly grounds in which they were paſtured.

† See Marſhall's Rural Economy of Glouceſterſhire, &c. vol. ii. p. 235. where there are many important obſervations on the utility of houſing or cotting ſheep.

‡ Columella, book 7. chap. v. The only recent account I have met with of this breed of ſheep, is in Swinburne's Travels. This practice was borrowed from the Greeks. See Diog. Laert. lib. 6. ſegm. 41. p. 335. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. xii. p. 56. In Megara, it was alledged that they took more care of their ſheep than of their children.

fordſhire ought alſo to be aſcertained. If by clothing ſheep *, or keeping them in houſes, fine wool could be obtained ſufficient for the conſumption of theſe kingdoms, would it not be better to employ the poor in the operations neceſſary for this purpoſe, than to ſupport them without exacting any great return of labour for their maintenance?

The effects of ſalt upon ſheep is a point which merits particular attention, and has never yet been fully inveſtigated. We know that it is given in conſiderable quantities to the flocks in Spain; and we ſee that fine wool is produced in the Shetland Iſlands, the paſture of which being peculiarly expoſed to the ſea ſpray, is neceſſarily impregnated with a conſiderable quantity of ſaline particles. It is certain that ſalt contributes much to the preſervation of the health of granivorous animals; and it is well known that the moſt valuable wool can only be produced by ſheep in a ſtate of perfect health. Salt may poſſibly ſupply the ſtimulus neceſſary to preſerve their health in almoſt any ſituation. It may certainly enable them to digeſt the great quantity of coarſe fare, which they are often under the neceſſity of taking in rough paſtures for want of better ſuſtenance.

Another circumſtance deſerving notice is, that if we propoſe to have fine wool in this country, it may be neceſſary to preſerve our ſheep much longer than we commonly now do; for the wool grows finer in proportion to the age of the animal †. It was formerly not unuſual to keep healthy wethers to ſix, eight, nay ten years of age, for the ſake of the fleece: but now they can hardly be met with even five years old. This is certainly one great cauſe of our wool's degenerating.

Many other points might be mentioned connected with the proper management of ſheep. I ſhall however at preſent only advert to the practice, very prevalent in the northern part of the iſland, of *ſmearing* or *ſalving*, as it is called, the ſheep with a mixture of oil or butter, and tar, which is ſuppoſed to be abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety and preſervation of the animal in the hilly diſtricts of that part of the kingdom.

The origin of this practice is unknown ‡, and the effects of it are ſtill doubtful. There is reaſon, however, to believe, that an alteration in the ſyſtem of ſmearing may be attended with the moſt important conſequences. It is now done about the commencement of winter, with a view of protecting the animal from the hardſhips of the approaching ſeaſon, and of deſtroying the vermin with which it is infeſted. Smearing, however, ought rather to take place immediately after the ſheep are ſhorn. This is an ancient practice, recommended by Colu-

* To clothe the whole ſheep would certainly be expenſive: but I am told, that if the back were covered with a piece of coarſe Oſnaburgh, the expence would not coſt above 3*d.* a piece, and if tarred it would laſt ſeveral years. In ſome parts of the country, tender or ſickly lambs are thus treated, and it is found to anſwer well. The covering is fixed to the fleece, and cannot then be eaſily removed.

† This point is diſputed, and muſt be aſcertained by experiment.

‡ Even in ancient times, tar was conſidered as a remedy for diſeaſed ſheep; but its uſe as a preventative is probably a modern practice.

mella. It was accidentally tried in Scotland ſome years ago, and proved in the higheſt degree ſucceſsful. Anointing the ſheep immediately after they are ſhorn, muſt be attended with much leſs difficulty, trouble, and expence. The vermin with which ſheep are infeſted muſt then be deſtroyed in the ſtate of nitts, and are not allowed three or four months to gain ſtrength, which is the conſequence of the preſent practice. It is affirmed by Celſus, that if a proper ointment is thus uſed, the wool becomes ſofter and longer; and that no ſheep will be troubled, for that year, with the common diſeaſes to which they are liable. To have this ſyſtem fairly tried, is, I hope, one of the firſt objects to which this Society will direct its attention; and this may be done by giving premiums to the ſhepherds, who, in different parts of the country, are the moſt aſſiduous and ſucceſsful in carrying it into effect *.

Proceſs of dyeing the Adrianople *or* Turkey *Red. From the ſecond volume of* Berthollet's *Elements of the Art of Dyeing.*

WHEN a hundred pounds of cotton are to be dyed, we muſt begin by ſcouring it well. This operation conſiſts in boiling the cotton in a ley of ſoda, marking one degree of the areometer, to which is commonly added the remainder of the bath which has been employed for paſſing the cottons through, for *the white preparation* (en l'apprêt blanc) which is called *ſickiou*.

In order to ſcour the cotton properly, and prevent it from entangling, a cord is paſſed through three hanks (the hank is compoſed of four knots (pentes) each of which weighs a quarter of a pound, making the hank equal to a pound) and it is thrown into the ley when it begins to boil; it is carefully immerſed, that it may not be ſcorched by the upper part of the caldron, which ſhould contain about one hundred and fifty gallons of water for a hundred pounds of cotton: the cotton is completely ſcoured when it ſinks of itſelf in the caldron; it is then taken out, and waſhed knot by knot in the river, wrung, and hung out to dry.

Second operation; bath with dung.

A hundred pounds of Alicant ſoda (barilla) in coarſe powder, are put into a tub with a hole near its bottom, to allow the water to run into another tub placed under it; ſeventy-five gallons of lixivial water are poured on the ſoda in the upper tub; when the water which has run into the lower one marks two de-

* The medicament recommended by Columella and Celſus, is the juice of thoroughly boiled lupins, the dregs of old wine, and the dregs of oil, an equal quantity of each to be mixed together: the ſheep to be thoroughly ſoaked with this liquor after it is ſhorn; and, three days afterwards, to be waſhed with ſea-water, or with boiled rain-water mixed with ſalt. But, it is believed that butter would anſwer fully as well as oil for encouraging the growth of the wool; and that a ſlight decoction of tobacco juice would deſtroy the vermin as well as any other liquor. If by theſe means a good fleece of wool were produced, there would be no occaſion for any tar to ſhelter the animal from the inclemency of the ſeaſon.

grees

grees of the ſoap-makers areometer, it is proper for the bath with dung, which is made in the following manner.

Twenty-five or thirty pounds of ſheeps dung are mixed with the above ley in a large earthen veſſel, and ſtirred with a wooden peſtle, then paſſed through a hair ſieve placed over the vat in which the bath is to be prepared; twelve pounds and a half of Provence olive oil are then poured into the vat, and kept conſtantly ſtirring with a rake, that it may be perfectly mixed with the ley and the dung; the ſoda ley is poured upon it; nine buckets of water (each equal to four gallons) are commonly required for a hundred pounds of cotton. The bath being thus prepared is in a proper ſtate to receive the cotton. For this purpoſe, ſome of the bath is taken in a wooden bowl, and poured into an earthen pan ſet in brick-work at a proper height for working. A hank of cotton is taken and well wrought with the hands; it is frequently taken up and turned in the pan, and then hung upon a wooden hook fixed to the wall; it is ſlightly wrung out, and thrown upon a table, and the ſame operation is repeated with each hank. The table upon which the cotton is thrown ought to be raiſed eight or ten inches from the ground. A workman takes a hank in each hand, and ſtrikes it on the table to ſtretch the threads; he turns it three times, and then makes a ſmall twiſt to form a head for the hank, and lays it upon the table: not more than three hanks ſhould be placed one upon another, as too great a weight would ſqueeze the bath out of the under hanks. The cotton ought to remain ten or twelve hours on the table, and then be hung out to dry.

Third operation; bath with oil, or white bath.

Ley of ſoda alſo at two degrees of the areometer is taken, and after the vat in which the bath with dung was made has been well cleaned, twelve pounds and a half of olive oil are put into it, and the ley of ſoda added while it is kept conſtantly ſtirred with a rake, in order to mix the oil completely. This bath ought to reſemble thick milk; and that it may be good, it is neceſſary that the oil ſhould not riſe to the ſurface; ſome of this bath is then put into the pan, and the cotton dipped hank by hank, as in the former operation; it is thrown on the table, and beat upon it, which is called *crêper*; it is left there till the next day, and then hung out to dry. For this bath about eight buckets of ley are required.

Fourth operation; firſt ſalt.

Freſh ſoda is added to the remainder of that firſt put into the tub, if the water poured upon it has not attained three degrees. For this operation eight buckets of ley are poured into the vat upon the remains of the white bath, and the cotton is paſſed through it in the ſame manner as before. This operation is called *giving it the firſt ſalt* (donner le premier ſel). The ley being at three degrees.

Fifth operation; ſecond ſalt.

The cotton is paſſed through a ley of ſoda at four degrees, the working being conducted as before deſcribed.

Sixth operation; *third ſalt.*

The cotton is paſſed through a ley of ſoda at five degrees.

Seventh operation; *fourth ſalt.*

The cotton is paſſed through a ley of ſoda at ſix degrees, the ſame precautions being obſerved, and then carried out to be dried on very ſmooth poles; when dry, it is taken to the river to be waſhed in the following manner.

Eighth operation.

The cotton muſt be firſt ſoaked in the water, then taken out and put upon the horſe (bayard) to drain; water is repeatedly thrown on it, that it may be well ſoaked, and an hour after it is waſhed knot by knot, to free it completely from the oil, which is abſolutely neceſſary to its taking the galling well; it is then wrung with the jack and pin, and ſtretched upon the poles to dry: the cotton, when thus waſhed, ought to be of a beautiful white.

Ninth operation; *galling.*

For the galling, we muſt chooſe good galls in ſorts (a term employed in commerce to denote black and white galls mixed together in equal quantities) and having bruiſed them, put for each hundred pounds of cotton, twelve pounds and a half into a copper, and boil them in ſix buckets of clear river water. Three hours are generally required to boil them ſufficiently; we perceive that this is accompliſhed when they break between the fingers like *boullie*; three buckets of cold water are then added, and the whole paſſed through a very cloſe hair ſieve, ſqueezing with the hand what has not paſſed through, in order to ſeparate all the reſinous particles. When the water has ſettled and become clear, the galling is to be performed in the following manner.

Nine or ten quarts of the galling is poured into an earthen pan ſet in the wall at a height convenient for working, and the cotton is dipped in it by ſeparate hanks, working it well with the hands; it is then wrung with the pin, and carried out to be dried as faſt as it is dipped, a precaution eſſentially neceſſary to prevent the cotton from growing black.

When the cotton is thoroughly dried, we proceed to the aluming, in the following manner.

Tenth operation; *aluming.*

The copper in which the decoction of galls was made being well cleaned, eight buckets of river water and eighteen pounds of Roman alum are put into it, and the alum diſſolved without boiling; when the ſolution is complete, half a bucket of ſoda ley at four degrees of the areometer is added, and the cotton then wrought in it hank by hank as in the galling; it is then ſpread out to dry, and afterwards waſhed from the alum as follows.

Eleventh operation; *waſhing from the alum.*

Having left the cotton to ſoak and drain for an hour upon the horſe, each hank is waſhed ſeparately three times, wrung with a pin, and carried to the tenter-ground.

Twelfth operation (remonter ſur galle.)

This operation conſiſts in a repetition of the former ones. A white bath is prepared ſimilar to that

that deſcribed in article 3; twelve pounds and a half of good Provence oil are put into a vat, and eight buckets of ley, at two degrees of the ſoap-maker's areometer, added to it, and the bath being well ſtirred, the cotton is dipped in the manner deſcribed in article 3.

Thirteenth operation; firſt ſalt.

The cotton after being well dried is dipped in a ley at three degrees.

Fourteenth operation; ſecond ſalt.

After the cotton has been well dried, it is dipped in a ley at four degrees.

Fifteenth operation; third ſalt.

When the cotton is again dry, it is dipped in a ley at five degrees, and this concludes the dips: after being dried, it is waſhed, galled, and alumed, with the ſame proportions, and attention to the ſame circumſtances, as in articles 9, 10, and 11: the cotton has now received all the preparations neceſſary for taking the dye, and ought to be of the colour of the bark of a tree. A very eſſential circumſtance to be attended to, is, never to dip the cotton until it is perfectly dry, otherwiſe we run the riſk of rendering the colour ſpotted. When the cotton is hung out upon the poles, it muſt be frequently ſhaken and turned, to make it dry uniformly.

Sixteenth operation; the dyeing.

A copper of an oblong ſquare form is generally employed, which ought to be capable of holding about one hundred gallons, in which quantity twenty-five pounds of cotton may be dyed at once. The proceſs for dyeing is begun by filling the copper with water within four or five inches of the brim, and pouring in a pailful of bullocks blood, or what is ſtill better when it can be procured, ſheeps blood (this is equal to about five gallons) and then adding the lizary. When we wiſh to obtain a fine bright colour, which penetrates, and has a good body, we commonly mix ſeveral kinds of lizary together, as one pound and a half of lizary of Provence, half a pound of lizary of Cyprus; or if theſe cannot be had, a pound of that of Provence, with as much of the lizary from Tripoli or Smyrna, allowing always two pounds for one of cotton. When the lizary is in the copper, it is ſtirred with the rake, to break the clods or lumps, and when the bath is warm, the cotton is put in on ſkein ſticks, two hanks commonly on each; care muſt be taken to immerſe it properly, and to turn the cotton on the ſkein ſticks by means of a pointed ſtick paſſed along them within the hanks. This proceſs is continued for an hour; and when the copper begins to boil, the cotton is taken off the ſkein ſticks, and immerſed in it, each hank being ſuſpended, by means of a cord paſſed through it, to ſticks ſupported over the copper. The cotton ought to boil about an hour, in order to extract all the colouring matter from the madder. There is alſo a method of diſcovering when the colour is extracted, by the formation of a white froth on the copper. It is now taken out, and waſhed knot by knot at the river, wrung with the pin, and dried.

Seventeenth operation; brightening.

Soda ley at two degrees is poured into

into the copper uſed for ſcouring, which ſhould hold a hundred and fifty gallons of water, and it is then filled within ten or twelve inches of the brim; four or five pounds of olive oil are then added, and ſix pounds of white Marſeilles ſoap cut very ſmall; it is kept ſtirring until the ſoap is diſſolved, and when the copper begins to boil, the cotton is put in, a cord being previouſly paſſed through it to prevent its being entangled: the copper is then covered up, and ſtopped with rags, loaded and made to boil gently for four or five hours; the cover being now taken off, the cotton ſhould appear finiſhed, and of a beautiful red. The cotton muſt not be taken out of the copper for ten or twelve hours, becauſe it improves in the bath, and acquires a much greater degree of brightneſs.

It muſt be well waſhed knot by knot, and dried, and the operation is complete.

I am in the habit of giving my cottons a dip after they have become quite dry; I make a ſolution of tin in aqua fortis, taking for a hundred pounds of cotton three or four pounds of aqua fortis at twenty-ſix degrees *, to which I add an ounce of ſal ammoniac for each pound, and then diſſolve it in ſix ounces of fine tin in grains; I add to the bath a pound and a half of mineral cryſtal; I then dilute the mixture with eight buckets of water, and dip my cotton; it muſt then be waſhed; this dip gives the cotton a very fine fire (feu.)

N. B. Only the reſidua of the firſt preparations are to be put into the ſickiou; thoſe which remain after the cotton has been galled are of no uſe, and muſt be thrown away.

Remarks on the manufacturing of Maple Sugar; extracted from a pamphlet publiſhed by a ſociety of gentlemen at Philadelphia, *for the general information and benefit of the citizens of the United States of* America.

HE who enables another to obtain any neceſſary of life either cheaper or more independently than heretofore, adds a new ſource of happineſs to man; and becomes more or leſs uſeful, in proportion to the number of thoſe who participate in the benefits of his diſcovery. The tranſitions, however, made from one ſtage of improvement to another, are not ſudden, but gradual; which probably ariſes from that ſtrong and almoſt univerſal diſinclination in the mind, at departing from the beaten path, or from long eſtabliſhed cuſtoms. Hence men, frequently, at firſt, treat with neglect or contempt that which, afterwards, on better information, and a thorough knowledge of facts, they believe, and without reſerve adopt in their ſubſequent practice. Were we to introduce and embrace as a maxim,—"That every new propoſition, merely on account of its novelty, muſt be rejected,"—our knowledge would no longer be progreſſive, and every kind of improvement muſt ceaſe.

That the juice of the ſugar maple would produce a ſaccharine ſubſtance anſwering the purpoſes of ſugar, has been known many years, and particularly by the inhabitants of the Eaſtern States; but that there was a ſufficient number of this kind of tree in the States of New York and Pennſylvania only, to ſupply

* To diſtilled water as 1,220 to 1,000. T.

the

the whole of the United States with this article, is a fact which was not ſo well aſcertained, or ſo ſatisfactorily authenticated, till within a year or two paſt; and that the ſugar of this tree was capable of being *grained*, and produced, in quality, equal to the beſt imported, was in ſome meaſure problematical till within even two or three months paſt, when the arrival of ſeveral cheſts in the city of Philadelphia, made laſt ſpring on the Delaware, removed every doubt, in the minds of thoſe who have ſeen it, as to the truth of this laſt fact.

A perſon who had many years been acquainted with the uſual way of making this article, being deſirous of improving the method, obtained the inſtructions of a refiner of ſugar in Philadelphia, and, with theſe before him, began his experiments in February laſt, at Stockport, about three miles below the junction of the Mohock and Popatchtunck branches of the Delaware. He ſoon diſcovered that the buſineſs was yet in its infancy, that great and even eſſential improvements might be made therein, which would require a departure from the methods heretofore in general uſe, in boiling down the green ſap, graining the ſyrup, &c. and which, if attended to and adopted, would enable him to produce ſugar, in colour, grain, and taſte, equal, if not ſuperior in reputation, to any imported. His ſentiments and hopes on this head have been fully confirmed by the reſult of his experiments; for the ſugar he has made and ſent down to this city, in the opinion of well-qualified judges, is equal to the beſt ſugars imported from the Weſt India iſlands.

The perſon above-mentioned, whoſe judgment on this ſubject is much to be relied on, as well from his experience in the buſineſs, as his eſtabliſhed character for candour and integrity, is clearly of opinion, that four active induſtrious men, well provided with materials, and conveniencies proper for carrying on the buſineſs, may turn out, in a common ſeaſon, which laſts from four to ſix weeks, forty hundred weight of good ſugar, that is, ten hundred to each man. If four men can effect this, how great muſt be the product of the ſeparate or aſſociated labour of the many thouſands of people who now inhabit, or may inhabit, the immenſe tracts of land which abound with the ſugar maple tree! What a new and extenſive field opens for theſe conſiderations! What an intereſting and important object to the cauſe of humanity, preſents itſelf to our view! an object that deſerves the countenance of every good citizen, and that highly merits even NATIONAL ENCOURAGEMENT.

In all ſugar plantations, it will be advantageous to cut out the different ſorts of timber which grow intermixed with the ſugar maple, and even thoſe of that ſpecies which are not thriving, promiſing trees. The timber ſo cut out will ſerve for fuel for the boilers, and leave greater openings for the rays of the ſun to enter, which will have a tendency to improve and enrich the remaining trees. The ground ſo cleared of all except the maple-tree, it has been obſerved, is particularly favourable for paſture and the growth of graſs. "Whether this tree is injured or impoveriſhed by repeated tappings," is an enquiry to be expected, and has been frequently made of late, by perſons who have anxiouſly

anxiouſly wiſhed for the ſucceſs of this buſineſs. It has been before obſerved, that it will bear much hardſhip and abuſe; and it may be added, that there are inſtances, particularly among the old ſettlements on the North River, of trees which have been tapped for fifty years or upwards, and continue to yield their ſap in the ſeaſon, equal to any brought into uſe of later time; indeed it is aſſerted with confidence, by perſons who have had ſome years experience, that theſe trees, by uſe, become more valuable, yielding a ſap of a richer quality. How far a careful cultivation of them, the ſtirring and manuring the ſoil in which they ſtand, may improve their value, remains to be aſcertained in future, though it may be expected that this, like almoſt all other trees and plants, may from a natural ſtate be greatly and eſſentially improved by the hand of art. Experiments, therefore, will not be unworthy the attention of thoſe citizens ſituated in the more interior parts of the States, if it ſhall thereby be found that theſe trees can be readily propagated, either from the ſeed or young plants, and be brought to thrive, ſo as to be equal in their product, if not ſuperior to thoſe which have been ſtrewed over the country, without the aid of man. To what an extent of cultivation may not this lead! There will be no riſk or diſadvantage attending the experiment; and it certainly deſerves encouragement.

ANTIQUITIES.

Singular Letter of Henry VIII. to a Mrs. Coward, widow, of Southampton. From the first volume of Lodge's *Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners, in the Reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary, Elizabeth, and James I.*

" Dere and welbelovid,

" WE gret yow well; leetynge yow know owre trusty and welbelovid s̃rvaunt Wyllyam Symonds, one of the sewers of owr chamber, hath shewid unto us that for the womanly dyspos̃yson, good & vertus behaviour, & other commendabull vertewes, whiche he hath not only hard reportyd, but allso senne and p̃sevid in yow himselfe, at his last being in thos p̃tyes, he hath sett his harte and mynde that he is very desyrus to honowr yow by way of maryage before all other creatures livinge; and for the admonyshment of this his good and lawdible porpos he hath made humble sewitte unto us to writt unto yowe, and others, yowre lovinge fryndes, in his favor. We, consyderynge owr saide s̃rvaunte's commendable requestes, his honest conversatyonne, and other manyfold vertuis; wᵗ allso the trew and faythefull s̃vis hertofore many sondery ways don unto us, as well in our warres as otherwise, and that he dayly doith about owr p̃sonne, for owr synguler contentas̃yon and pleasure; for the whiche we assewre yow we do tendre his p̃vys̃yonne accordyngly well, and desyre yow, at the contemplacyon of these owre leatters, to be of lyke benivolent mynde towards owr sayde s̃vaunt, in suche wisse that matrymony, to Gode's pleasure, may shortly be solempnis̃yd betwene yow bothe; wherby, in owre opynyon, yow shall not only do the thyng to the synguler comfort of yow both in tyme to come, but, by yowre so doing, yow may assewer yow, in all the cawses reasonable of yow or any yowre frynds to be pursuyd unto us by owre servaunt herafter, ye shall have us good and gracius Lord to yow bothe. And, to the intent that ye shall geve unto thys owre desyre the more faythful credence, we do send yow her inclosed a tokenne, prayinge yow to intender the matter accordingly."

Letter from the Earl of Sussex to Queen Elizabeth, upon the subject of her proposed marriage with Monsieur, brother to the King of France. From the second volume of the same.

" It maye please yor moste excellent Mate,

" UPON Tuesdaye laste in the mornyng, abowte VII of the clocke,

clocke, Monsr de Quyſſye came hether to me; & told me that heryng, as he was to paſſe thorowgh London, I was come hether from the Corte, he wowld acquaynt me wth his negotyatyon; for that he dowted that the meſſenger ſent from Mr Walſyngham, ſens his comyng from Monsr, was not come to yor Mate before my comyng from the Corte. The ſubſtance of his ſpeche conſyſted upon two partes; the one, that Monsr delte wth ſuche ſinceryté in the mattr of the marryage as it reſted in yor Mate to dyrecte of him therin as ſhowld pleaſe yourſelf; the other, that he wowld be dyrected by yor Mate in his actyons in the Lowe Contryes; hopyng that in bothe theſe yor Mate wowld have ſuche reſpecte to his honor & ſtate as the gret affectyon wch he bare to yor parſone did deſerve. He made a longe dyſcorſe of the hard dealyngs that had bene dyvers tymes uſed towards Monsr in Fraunce; & of the jealouſyes that from tyme to tyme were put into the heads of his mother, & brother, by pſonages of greate qualyté, that ſowght ther owne gretenes by his hynderaunce: He alſo declared that Monsr by theſe occaſyons was neceſſaryly deteyned from ſhewyng himſelf to be himſelf; but, beyng nowe in free place, & at his full lybertye, he wowld make his valewe & reſolute mynde knowen to all the wordell: & ſo cōcluded howe neceſſary it was for him to ſeke gretnes abrode, to cōtynew therby his gretnes & ſuerty at home; and therfore was come into the Lowe Contryes to be dyrected holly by yor Mate, wher he myght receyve, & followe yor dyrectyons, wthowte the ſtaye or lette of eny other pſone, wch he wowld do wth as greate ſynceryté as cowld be requyred. He did not dyrectly ſaye that Monsr looked to be made greate, ether by his marryage wth you, or by his actyons in the Lowe Contreyes, but ſuerly his hole dyſcourſe was oftentymes intermyngled wth ſuche ſpeches as I myght ſertenly gather that Monſyer's meanyng was to be greate by the one of theſe meanes, or by bothe; & that it were a dyſhonor to him, and a perryll, to lacke bothe, & ſo returne home worſſe then he came forthe. This was the ſubſtance of his ſpeche to me, wch I thowght my dewty to declare to yor Mate as briefly as I cowld: And nowe, remēbryng yor Mat's pleſuer to be that upon all occaſyons I ſhowld be bold to wryte to you my opynyon, I thowght it my dewty upon this occaſyon to wryte ſumwhat, humbly beſeching yor Mate to accepte my playne & trewe meanyng therin.

To enter in to this mattr I muſte fyrſte laye this foundatyon, wch I thynk to be as ſuer as man can laye; that Monsr hathe determyned to ſeeke to make himſelf greate, ether by the marryage of yor Mate, or by the poſſeſſyng of the Lowe Contreyes, or by bothe; & that the Frenche K. & Q. Mother, to delyver him owte of Fraunce, wyll, by all the poſſybell meanes they maye, helpe to further and advaunce his gretenes in this ſorte, for ther owne beneſyte, quyett, and ſuertye, & the avoydyng of all fyers, trobells, & perreils, at home: And yf Monsr, by yor Ma. be putt from his hope in bothe theſe, & no ſuer peace cōcluded betwene the K. of Spayne & the Stats, then wyll he torne over all his forces to ayde Don John, & ſeeke his gretenes & ſuerty by martyall actyons that waye, &

by the frendſhip of the K. of Spayne, rather then wth dyſhonor and perell to returne home in worſſe caſe then he came forthe; wherin, alſo, or in eny other actyon abrode, ther is no dowte but his mother & brother wyll further him what they maye, to kepe him occupyed abrode, & therby to avoyde the perrells at home. Theſe foundatyons being thus layed, it is fete to conſyder of the comodytés & incomodytés of every of them; that is to ſay, of the marryage; of the alyenatyon of the Lowe Contreyes: & of the Frenche aſſyſtyng of Don John.

Toching the marryage (yf yor Mate in yor owne harte can lyk of it, wch I leave to God & you) I find theſe comodytés to followe. Yor allyance wth the howſe of Fraunce; wherby (beſyds all lyklyhod that the French K. wyll not attempt eny thyng to the prejudyce of you & his brother) you ſhalbe aſſured, by yor ſelf & yor huſband, to have ſuche a ptye in Fraunce as the Frenche K. ſhall not be habell, nor ſhall not dare, to attempt dyrectly or indyrectly eny thyng ageynſt you. You ſhall, by yor ſelfe, & yor huſband, be habell to aſſuer the Proteſtants of Fraunce from perrell of maſſacre by the Papyſts, & the K. from eny perylouſe actyon by them; & ſo, by yor means, kepe the K. & his pepell in unyté & Chryſtyen peace. You ſhall take awaye, & ſuppreſſe, all practyſe for copetytyon *, for Popery, or any other ſedytyouſe cauſe, at home or abrode; & ſo ſhall, at home & abrode, aſſuer yor pſon, & yor ſtate, from all perrells that by manne's judgmet myght growe eny wayes to you by Fraunce. You ſhall, alſo, by the helpe of yor huſband, be habell to compell the K. of Spayne to take reaſonabell codytyons of his ſubjects in the Lowe Contryes, & the ſtats to take reaſonabell codytyons of ther K. ſo as he may have that which before God & man dothe juſtely belong to him, & they may enjoye ther lybertyes, fredomes, & all other thynges that is feete for ther quyett & ſuertye, in bodyes, goods, coſcyences, & lyves; wherby you ſhall avoyde grete effuſyon of cryſtyen blodd, & ſhall have the honor & reward, dewe in this wordell & by God, to ſo gracyouſe, godly, & cryſtyen actyons: And herewth, for the more ſuerty of all pſones & mattrs, yor ſelfe maye have in yor owne hands ſome marytyme pte, to be by you kepte, at the charge of the K. of Spayne; & yor huſband maye have ſome frontyer townes in lyke ſorte; & bothe to be cotynued for ſuch a nomber of yeres as may bryng a ſettelyng of ſuerty to all reſpects; by wch meanes you ſhall alſo be delyvered from perrells, at home & abrode, that maye growe from the K. of Spayne: and yf you lyke not of this corſe in dealyng for the Lowe Contryes, you may joyne wth yor huſband, & ſo, betwene you, attempte to poſſeſſe the hole Lowe Contryes, & drawe the ſame to the Crowne of England yf you have eny chyld by him; or, if you have none, to devyde them betwene the realmes of England & Fraunce as ſhalbe metteſt for ether; but, to be playne wth yor Mate, I do not thynk this corſſe to be ſo juſte, ſo godly, ſo honorabell, nor, when it

* Competition for the ſucceſſion to the crown of England: alluding to the pretenſions of the Queen of Scots.

is

is loked into the bottome, ſo ſuer for you and your ſtate as the other, although at the firſt ſyght it do p̃haps carrye in ſhewe ſome plauſybylyté. It is alſo moſte lykly, & a mattr certenly to be expected, that yf God wyll enclyne yor hart to marryage, he will alſo blyſſe you wth chyldren; wherby bothe you, for yor tyme, ſhalbe ſetteled in the chayer of ſuerty, & all mattrs that myghte be kyndeled by myſchevous fyers ſhall go awaye in the ſmoke, *et erunt cogitationes malorum ſicut ſomnia*; and, by the leavyng behynd you of a ſucceſſor of yor owne bodye, you ſhall leave ſuerty & quyett to yor realme; you ſhall avoyde Chryſtyen blodſhed, lyke to growe to cyvyle warres; you ſhall dyſburden yor conſcyence; you ſhall receyve at God's hand yor juſte deſerte for ſo godly a care; and yor fame ſhall extende upon the erthe: So as, to be ſhorte, by yor marryage you ſhall gyve lawe to Fraunce, Spayne, the Lowe Contryes, England, Scotland, &, in effect, to all Cryſtendome; you ſhall ſettell yor ſtate ſuerly at home; you ſhalbe ſtrongly frended abrode; you ſhalbe in eſtymatyon over all the wordell; you ſhall have a huſband as a ſervant, & defender of all yor cawſes preſent; you ſhalbe lyke to have a chylde that ſhalbe fered to be a revenge heraftr of all yor injuryes, & to ſettell yor kyngdome in yor poſteryté; you ſhalbe lyke a ſerpent in the ſyght of the evell, & lyke a dove in the ſyght of the good; you ſhalbe the peace maker to all Cryſtendome; yor fame ſhall excede all other Prynces that ever wer in Europe; and God wyll blyſſe you, as his owne choſen veſſell, bothe in this wordell & in the wordell to come; wch be the comodytés that be lyke to growe by yor marryage at this p̃ſent. The incom̃odytés wch may growe for lacke of yor marryage be fetteſte to be lefte to be by yor Ma^te conſydered by ther contraryes; wherby, & by the knowleg of yor owne harte, you maye bettr judge of them; and be ſuche as my harte trembleth to thynk of them, and I pray God I never lyve to ſee them.

The incomodytés, dangers, and dyffycultés, that have been reme-bred, myght growe by yor marryage be theſe.

1. Your owne myſlyke to marryage, wch myght brede a dyſcontented lyfe heraftr.

2. The dyffyculté of the choyſe of a p̃ſone that myght in all reſpects content yor mynde.

3. The danger that a forren Prynce myght, wth tyme, & by degrees, brynge this realme to his own poſſeſſyon, beyng yor huſband.

4. The danger that if yor huſband ſhowld come to be a Kyng of a forren countrye, neceſſyté wowld call hym to his owne from yor s, & kepe you in yor owne from him; & ſo, by abſens, the comfort expected by marryage ſhowld lacke.

5. The danger that if you ſhowld have but one ſonne by him, he ſhowld be ayer to bothe Kyngdomes; & then would be himſelf in the gretteſt, & rule the other by a Vyzroy, wch England can not bere.

6. The dyffyculté of relygyon.

7. The charge that ſhowld growe to the realme by the mayntenance of yor huſband.

8. The generall myſlyke that Inglyſhe men have to be gov̄ned by a ſtranger.

9. The danger of yor p̃ſone yf yor huſband ſhowld but fraudulently

ſeeke you fyrſt, to poſſeſſe, by treaſon, another after.

To all which ſuche awenſuers have alſo bene remembred as follows.

The fyrſte & ſecond receyve not the councell of others, but muſte be dyrected by yor ſelfe; wherby you be to followe only the councell of yor owne harte, wherunto all men muſt leave you; for it is the judgement of yor owne harte that may make that ill to you wch no other can ſaye to be but good of it ſelf, yf yor harte can lyke of it.

The thyrd is a perrell that muſte have a longe tyme of dryſte er it can come to paſſe; & in dede can never take effect yf God take not all ſences away, bothe from you and all the ſtats of yor realme; & therfor a perrell in talke but no perrell in mattr, as appered by the K. of Spayne marryed to Q. Marye.

The forthe is not yet in this man, nether dothe eny man knowe that it ever ſhalbe; & therfor no perrell, but accydentall: But, if it did falle owte in dede that he ſhowld be a K. of himſelfe, & therby his owne contreye requyre his preſence, & yor contreye requyre yor preſence, yet it is not therfor neceſſary that you ſhowld be alwayes abſent the one from the other; for, as by the amyté of bothe kyngdomes bothe ſhall remayn in the grettr ſuerty, ſo, by that occaſyon, & the vycynyté of them, you may have the bettr cauſe to be often together wth owte danger to ether of you; as appered by K. Phyllip, who came divers tymes to Q. Marye, & remayned wth her certen monethes, even in his gretteſt tymes of warre wth the Frenche Kyng.

The vth ſemethe rather to bryng honor than perrell, & yet it is but a ſuppoſytyon, & no mattr certen; for it is a hard caſe to make an aſſignment that you ſhall have a chyld, & but an only chyld; and yet, yf it ſhowld ſo falle owte, an Inglyſhe man borne in England, & Kynge therof (borne in his owne realme) ſhowld alſo be K. of Fraunce, as hertofore wth grete honor hathe bene; & it ſhowld not be that a Frenche man borne in Fraunce, K. therof, ſhowld alſo be K. of England, wch never was before; & ſo, reducyng this mattr to the exampell that hathe bene, it wylbe honor, & not perrell, that ſhall growe therby.

The vith hath allwayes bene awenſuered, that the exercyſe of his relygyon ſhowld, ſo longe as he ſhowld cõtynew it, be pryvate to himſelf, & a few of his owne natyon, wthowte admyttyng eny Inglyſheman to it; & he ſhowld alſo accompany you to the exercyſe of yor relygyon, in convenyent tymes; wch can brynge no perrell to yor p^{r}ſone, or ſtate; nor hathe bene thowght ſo intollerabell as it ſhowld breake ye marryage, but only by ſuche as pyked quarrell rather to yor marryage then to relygyon, wherof the wordell hathe had good proofe.

The viith ſhall rather brynge gayne then charge; for he hathe a grete patrymony of his owne to ſpend here: the exampell apperethe by K. Phillyp.

The viiith dothe not carry a trewthe; for the realme is to be governed as it was before, & ſo was in the tyme of K. Phyllip; & then the pepell ſhall have no cauſe to myſlyke, but rather a grete cawſe of lykyng; when bothe yor p^{r}ſone, yor realme, and all yor pepell, ſhall by

by this means be assured from all dangers.

The IXth enferethe a treasonabell dealyng, not to be thought of by a Crystyen Prynce, much lesse to be executed; & it carryethe no reasonabell sence wth it, that a Crystyen Prynce, possessed of yor godly, vertuouse, wise, bewtyfull, & pereleſſe p̄sone, & of all yor kyngdomes therw^th, showld have in his harte to be by treasone delyvered of you, & that he hathe by you, to seeke to gett the same ageyne by another p̄sone so farre inferyor to you; and therfor of a Crystyen Prynce I dare not have eny suche thought, & he that thynkethe of this can thynk of eny thyng that he thynkethe can hynder yor marryage: and so I leave to yor Ma^te to cōsyder, at yor plesuer, of the comodytés & incomodytés of yor marryage, & of the incomodytés that be lyke to come yf you marrye not.

Tochyng the alyenatyng of the Lowe Contryes to the Frenche, the incomodytés be these. The unytyng of the hole into one Prynce's hands, wch beyng devyded, ether p̄tye hathe bene habell to matche the other, & so, by ther devysyon, the realme of England hathe never lacked a frend of the one; wch hathe bene a pryncypall staye, & suertye to England; & by unytyng of bothe wylbe a manyfeste, & present, danger, & perrell. The grete forces, bothe by land & sea, that the Frenche shall have when they shall possesse both; wherby the Frenche may attempt what they wyll, & shall have power to execute ther wyll. The grete danger that may growe to all Europe by the gretenes of the Frenche. The perrell that may growe in p̄tyculer to yor Ma^te by the Frenche mayntenance of cōpetytyon, Popery, factyon, & other cyvyle devysyons w^thin the realme, & by w^thdrawyng of Scotland from yor Ma^te's devotyon. The dysturbyng of all yor traffyck; & imposyng therupon of all taxes, at the plesuer of the Frenche. The stoppe of vent of all yor inward comodytes, & the maynteynyng of yor pepell that shall lacke woork. The bryngyng of the realme into a p̄petuall servytude of trybute, or other worsse matter. W^ch dyscomōdytés, howe they may be encontred wth eny one com̄odyté I do not see.

By the joynyng of Monsr to Don John, & no suer peace concluded betwene the K. of Spayne & the States, I see no com̄odyté to growe, but these incom̄odytés manyfestly to ensue. Ether the hole suppressyng of the Lowe Contryes by the Spanyshe tyrannye, & therby yor Ma^te to be subject to meny of the perrells before repeted in the case of France, bothe for yor p̄sone, realme, and traffyck, or els yor Ma^te to make yo^rselfe the hedd of the warre, & so to enter into that wch my sympell hedd seethe no possybylyté for you to mayntene, nor knowethe no waye howe to brynge you owte of it; wch two generalytés have so manv p̄tyculer perrells dependyng on them, as nether I can thynke of all, nether is it fete (for tedyousnes) to troble you wth those I thynk of, seyng yor Ma^te dothe bettr know them, & can depelyer judge of them, then I can thynk. What maye be don to procure a suer peace betwene the K. & the Stats I knowe not; seyng I see suche dyssydence on bothe sydes, & no lykelyhod that the Stats wyll ether yeld to reasonabell cōdytyons,

tyons, or have eny dyſpoſytyon to eny reaſonabell peace: But, yf ther myght be ſuche a peace made as in honor, trewthe, juſtyce, & conſcyence, wer fete bothe for the K. & the ſubjects, before God & man, & ſuffycyent aſſurance of the cõtynuance therof, then do I ſuerly thynk that meny of the perrells before reherſed myght be avoyded for the tyme; but yf no ſuche peace be made, then, of neceſſyte, the Stats, beyng not habell to defend them ſelfs, muſte caſte themſelfs ether into yor defence, or into the defence of Fraunce; wherupon depend the perrells before wrytten.

Thus have I bene bold to tooche, at this tyme, ſuche mattrs as trewe & faythefull dewty do bynd me to put yor Mate in remembraunce of: Moſte humbly beſechyng yor Mate that (ſeing it is nowe tyme, & more than tyme, that all men ſhowld ſhake off pticuler reſpects, & yeld them ſelfs holly to that wch is beſte for yor s̃rvyce, the ſuerty of yor pſone, & the benefyte of yor realme) you wyll pdone me at this pſent for the delyveryng to you by wrytyng that wch in ſubſtance I have often before ſpoken; &, havyng by abſens the comodyté of ſpeche taken from me, am forced, for the faytheful dyſcharge of my dewtye, to delyver it in wrytyng; with my moſt humbell prayer to God that he maye longe pſerve yor Mate to yor owne hart's contentatyon, & to put into yor hart to do that wch ſhalbe moſte for his glorye, & for yor Mat's honor & ſuerty. From Barmonſey, the xxviiith of Auguſt, 1578.

Yor Mat's moſt humbell & faythe full ſubjecte & ſervant,

T. Sussex.

To the Quene's moſte excelente Majeſtye.

The Earl of Leiceſter's *remarks upon the maſſacre on* St. Bartholomew's Day, *in a Letter to the Earl of* Shrewſbury. *From the ſame.*

My good L.

I Dowbt not but you have byn advtiſed at large of the tragecall newes out of Fraunce, wch have byn uſed wt yt cruelltye that I think no Chriſtian ſynce the heathen tyme hath hard of the lyke; and the more horryble ys yt for that hit ſemes hit ys donne wt the conſent of that Prince who had geven his fayth, and layd his honor in pledge, for the contrary before; but the ſame God that hath ſuffred this punyſhmẽt to his people for their owen ſynnes, wyll finde tyme to revenge yt uppon his enymyes for his owen cauſe' ſake. God defend or Mrs from the hidden practiſes leyd for her among theſe open facts comytted ſo nerely to toch her; for ſhe is the fountayne & ye well ſprynge of ye greefes that procureth this mallyce, and though others ſmarte, yet ſhe is the marke they ſhute at; * & ſo muſt ſhe thynk, & accordingly muſt ſhe provyde, or ells all wyll be naught. But my truſt ys that the ſame Lord that hath all this while pſerved her wyll alſo put into her hart to do that wch ſhalbe beſt for her owen and her people's ſaftye: And ſo, leaving now further to trowble yor

* Meaning, no doubt, that the perſecution of the Proteſtants in France was owing to Elizabeth's conſtancy in thier perſuaſion.

L.

L. knowing you ar p̃ſently adv̄tiſed of all ſuch matters as are worthe the ſending, I wyll byd yor L. moſt hartely fare well, w^t lyke com̃endac. to yor L. & my good Lady. At Woodſtock this VIII of Sept.

Yo^r L.' aſhured frend & couſen.
R. LEYCESTER.

Extract from a ſpirited Letter written by the Earl of Suſſex *to Sir* William Cecil. *From the ſame.*

I WAS firſte a lieuten̄te; I was after little better then a marſhal; I had then nothing left to me but to direct hanging matters (in the meane tyme all was diſpoſed that was w^thin my comiſſion) and nowe I ame offered to be made a Shreif's bayly to deliver over poſſeſſions. Blame me not, good Mr Secretarie, though my pen utter ſumwhat of that ſwell in my ſtomake, for I ſee I ame kepte but for a brome, and when I have done my office to be throwen owt of the dore. I ame the firſt nobel man hathe ben thus uſed. Trewe ſervice deſerveth honor and credite, and not reproche and open defaming; but, ſeeing the one is ever delivered to me in ſtede of the other, I muſt leave to ſerve, or loſe my honor; w^ch, being continewed ſo long in my howſe, I wolde be lothe ſhoolde take blemiſhe wth me. Theſe matters I knowe procede not from lacke of good and honorable meaning in the Q.' Ma^te towards me, nor from lacke of dewté and trewthe in me towards her, wch grevethe me the more; and, therefore, ſeing I ſhalbe ſtill a camelyon, and yelde no other ſhewe then as it ſhall pleaſe others to give the coul-ler, I will content myſelf to live a private lyfe. God ſend her Ma^te others that meane as well as I have done; and ſo I commit you to th' Almightie.

Curious paper, intitled, "A Breefe of "ſuche Reaſons and Conjectures "which cauſed many to ſuppoſe his "Honor (the Earl of Derby) *to "bee bewytched." From the third volume of the ſame.*

1. ON Thurſday nighte, beeinge the 4 of Aprill, 1594, his Honor cryed ſodenly in his ſleepe, ſtarted oute of his bedd, ſought his Ladie, whome hee thoughte in a dreame to be deade.

2. On Fryday, in his chamber at Knowſley, aboute 6 of clocke at nighte, there appeared a man, talle, as hee thoughte, who twiſe croſſed him ſwyftly, and when hee came to the place where hee ſawe him, hee fell ſycke.

3. The ſame nighte he dreamed that hee was ſtabbed to the harte, and wounded in many other places of his boddy.

4. There was found in my Lo.' chamber, by one Mr Hallſall, an ymage of waxe, wth a haire drawne throughe the belly thereof, as hee reported upon his oathe.

5. One Jane a wytche, demand-ed of one Mr Gowleborne, his Ho-nor's Secretarie, whether my Lo. felte no payne in his lower p̃tes, and whether as yet hee made any water; and at that very tyme, as yt ys thoughte, his Honor's water ſtayed.

6. All phiſicke wroughte well, and yett he had no eaſe; his diſ-eaſes were many, and his vomitts violente, and yet his pulſe ever re-mayned good and p̃fecte.

7. Hee himſelfe in all the tyme of ſicknes cryed hee was bewytched.

8. Hee fell into a trance twiſe, not able to ſtir head, hand, or foote, when he ſhould have taken phyſicke.

9. In the ende hee cryed oute againſte wytches and wytchcraft, repoſinge his only hope of ſalvation uppon the meritts of his Bleſſed Savior.

10. One of the wytches havinge ſayde well the Lorde's Prayer, and beeinge inforſed to calle uppon the name of Jeſus, that yf ſhe had bewytched his Honor ſhe might not bee able to ſaye yt, againe before the examiners ſhee ſayd all well, till ſhe came to *Dimitte nobis debita noſtra*, wch by no meanes ſhe could ſaye or repeate, althoughe yt was often reherſed to her.

The copy of a ſpeech delivered to Queen Elizabeth *at her departure from* Harvile, *the Lord Keeper's Houſe,* Auguſt 1602. *From the ſame.*

PLACE, attired in black, gives the QUEENE this at farewell.

Sweete Matie,

BE pleaſed to looke upon a poore widdowe, mourning before yor Gce. I am this Place, wch at yor comming was full of joye, bat nowe at yor departure am as full of ſorrowe; as I was then, for my comforte, accompanyed wth the pſent cheerful Tyme, but nowe he muſt depart wth yow, and, bleſſed as he is, muſt ever flye before yow. But, alaſſe! I have no wings, as Tyme hath: My heavines is ſuche as I muſt ſtaye, ſtill amazed to ſee ſo greate happines ſo ſoone bereſte me. O that I could remove wth yow as other circumſtances can! Tyme can goe wth yow: Pſons can goe wth you: They can move like heaven, but I, like dull earthe, as I am indeed, muſt ſtaye unmoveable. I could wiſhe my ſelfe, like the inchanted caſtle of love, to hould yow here for ever, but yor vertues would diſſolve all my inchauntments. Then what remedie? As it is againſt the nature of an angell to be circumſcribed in place, ſo it is againſt the nature of place to have the motion of an angel: I muſt ſtaye, forſaken and deſolate; yow may goe, wth Matie, joye, and glorie. My onely ſuite before you goe is that yow will pardon the cloſe impriſonment wch yow have ſuffered ever ſince yor comming; imputing it not to me, but to St Swithin*, whoe of late hath raiſed ſo many ſtormes as I was faine to provide this anchor for yow, *(preſentinge the Q. with an anchor jewell)* when I underſtoode yow would put into this creeke; but nowe, ſince I perceave the harbor is too little for yow, and that yow will hoiſt ſaile and begon, I beſeeche yow take this anchor wth yow; and I pray to him that made both tyme and place, that in all places wherever yow ſhall arrive, yow may anchor as ſafely as yow doe, and ever ſhall doe, in the harts of my owners.

Commercial conſequences of the Cruſades to Europe; *from* Robert-

* Alluding to an ancient prejudice, ſtill entertained by the common people, that a rainy St. Swithin's (the 15th of July) will be followed by forty days of the ſame weather.

ſon's

ſon's *Hiſtorical Diſquiſition concerning* Ancient India.

TO fix an idea of peculiar ſanctity to that country, which the Author of our Religion ſelected as the place of his reſidence while on earth, and in which he accompliſhed the redemption of mankind, is a ſentiment ſo natural to the human mind, that, from the firſt eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, the viſiting of the holy places in Judea was conſidered as an exerciſe of piety, tending powerfully to awaken and to cheriſh a ſpirit of devotion. Through ſucceeding ages, the practice continued, and increaſed in every part of Chriſtendom. When Jeruſalem was ſubjected to the Mahomedan empire, and danger was added to the fatigue and expence of a diſtant pilgrimage, the undertaking was viewed as ſtill more meritorious. It was ſometimes enjoined as a penance to be performed by heinous tranſgreſſors. It was more frequently a duty undertaken with voluntary zeal, and in both caſes it was deemed an expiation for all paſt offences. From various cauſes, which I have elſewhere enumerated *, theſe pious viſits to the Holy Land multiplied amazingly during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Not only individuals in the lower and middle ranks of life, but perſons of ſuperior condition, attended by large retinues, and numerous caravans of opulent pilgrims, reſorted to Jeruſalem.

In all their operations, however, men have a wonderful dexterity in mingling ſome attention to intereſt with thoſe functions which ſeem to be moſt purely ſpiritual. The Mahomedan caravans which, in obedience to the injunctions of their religion, viſit the holy temple of Mecca, are not compoſed, as I ſhall hereafter explain more fully, of devout pilgrims only, but of merchants, who, both in going and returning, are provided with ſuch an aſſortment of goods, that they carry on a conſiderable traffic †. Even the Faquirs of India, whoſe wild enthuſiaſm ſeems to elevate them above all ſolicitude about the concerns of this world, have rendered their frequent pilgrimages ſubſervient to their intereſt, by trading in every country through which they travel. In like manner, it was not by devotion alone that ſuch numerous bands of Chriſtian pilgrims were induced to viſit Jeruſalem. To many of them commerce was the chief motive of undertaking that diſtant voyage, and by exchanging the productions of Europe for the more valuable commodities of Aſia, particularly thoſe of India, which at that time were diffuſed through every part of the Caliphs dominions, they enriched themſelves, and furniſhed their countrymen with ſuch an additional ſupply of Eaſtern luxuries, as augmented their reliſh for them ‡.

But how faint ſoever the lines may be, which, prior to the cruſades, mark the influence of the frequent pilgrimages to the Eaſt upon commerce, they become ſo conſpicuous after the commencement of theſe expeditions, as to meet the eye of every obſerver.

* Hiſt. of Charles V. vol. i. p. 27. 285.
† Viaggi di Ramuſio, vol. i. p. 151, 152.
‡ Gul. Tyr. lib. xvii. c. 4. p. 933. ap. Geſta Dei per Francos.

Various

Various circumſtances concurred towards this, from an enumeration of which it will appear, that by attending to the progreſs and effects of the cruſades, conſiderable light is thrown upon the ſubject of my inquiries. Great armies, conducted by the moſt illuſtrious nobles of Europe, and compoſed of men of the moſt enterpriſing ſpirit in all the kingdoms of it, marched towards Paleſtine, through countries far advanced beyond thoſe which they left, in every ſpecies of improvement. They beheld the dawn of proſperity in the republics of Italy, which had begun to vie with each other in the arts of induſtry, and in their efforts to engroſs the lucrative commerce with the Eaſt. They next admired the more advanced ſtate of opulence and ſplendour in Conſtantinople, raiſed to a pre-eminence above all the cities then known, by its extenſive trade, particularly that which it carried on with India, and the countries beyond it. They afterwards ſerved in thoſe provinces of Aſia through which the commodities of the Eaſt were uſually conveyed, and became maſters of ſeveral cities which had been ſtaples of that trade. They eſtabliſhed the kingdom of Jeruſalem, which ſubſiſted near two hundred years. They took poſſeſſion of the throne of the Greek empire, and governed it above half a century. Amidſt ſuch a variety of events and operations, the ideas of the fierce warriors of Europe gradually opened and improved; they became acquainted with the policy and arts of the people whom they ſubdued; they obſerved the ſources of their wealth, and availed themſelves of all this knowledge. Antioch and Tyre, when conquered by the cruſaders, were flouriſhing cities, inhabited by opulent merchants, who ſupplied all the nations trading in the Mediterranean with the productions of the Eaſt *, and as far as can be gathered from incidental occurrences, mentioned by the hiſtorians of the Holy War, who, being moſtly prieſts and monks, had their attention directed to objects very different from thoſe relating to commerce, there is reaſon to believe that both in Conſtantinople, while ſubject to the Franks, and in the ports of Syria acquired by the Chriſtians, the long-eſtabliſhed trade with the Eaſt continued to be protected and encouraged.

But though commerce may have been only a ſecondary object with the martial leaders of the cruſades, engaged in perpetual hoſtilities with the Turks on one hand, and with the Soldans of Egypt on the other, it was the primary object with the aſſociates, in conjunction with whom they carried on their operations. Numerous as the armies were which aſſumed the croſs, and enterpriſing as the fanatical zeal was with which they were animated, they could not have accompliſhed their purpoſe, or even have reached the ſeat of their warfare, without ſecuring the aſſiſtance of the Italian ſtates. None of the other European powers could either furniſh a ſufficient number of tranſports to convey the armies of the cruſaders to the coaſt of Dalmatia, whence they marched to Conſtantinople, the place of general

* Gul. Tyr. lib. xiii. c. 5. Alb. Aquenſ. Hiſt. Hieroſ. ap. Geſta Dei, vol. i. p. 247.

rendezvous;

rendezvous; or were able to ſupply them with military ſtores and proviſions in ſuch abundance as to enable them to invade a diſtant country. In all the ſucceſſive expeditions, the fleets of the Genoeſe, of the Piſans, or of the Venetians, kept on the coaſt as the armies advanced by land, and ſupplying them, from time to time, with whatever was wanting, engroſſed all the profits of a branch of commerce which, in every age, has been extremely lucrative. It was with all the intereſted attention of merchants, that the Italians afforded their aid. On the reduction of any place in which they found it for their intereſt to ſettle, they obtained from the cruſaders valuable immunities of different kinds; freedom of trade; an abatement of the uſual duties paid for what was imported and exported, or a total exemption from them; the property of entire ſuburbs in ſome cities, and of extenſive ſtreets in others; and a privilege granted to every perſon who reſided within their precincts, or who traded under their protection, of being tried by their own laws, and by judges of their own appointment *. In conſequence of ſo many advantages, we can trace, during the progreſs of the cruſades, a rapid increaſe of wealth and of power in all the commercial ſtates of Italy. Every port open to trade was frequented by their merchants, who, having now engroſſed entirely the commerce of the Eaſt, ſtrove with ſuch active emulation to find new markets for the commodities which it furniſhed, that they extended a taſte for them to many parts of Europe in which they had hitherto been little known.

Religious Ceremonies obſerved by the Jeſuits, *upon the delivery of a knife to the aſſaſſin of* Henry III. *of* France; *from the* Gentleman's Magazine, March 1791.

THE recital, which I now ſend you, of certain "abhorred rites," ſaid to have been in uſe amongſt the traiterous ſons of Loyola, is copied, *verbatim & literatim*, from a MS. in my poſſeſſion, which I apprehend to be curious; though I will not anſwer for it, that it is not tranſcribed out of ſome old book. It has no title, nor do I know by whom it was written; but the hand appears to be of the age of queen Elizabeth, or Jas. I. It muſt, however, be of later date than 1589, as it refers to the murder of Henry III. of France, which happened in that year. It is rather cloſely written, and in a ſmall character, on one ſide of a half-ſheet, the water-mark of which is a flower-pot.

"When the Jeſuites will ſtirr vp a reſolucō in any man to kill a Prince, they vſe this myſtery, as ſoone as he commeth forth of theyr chamber of meditacōns wherein the torm̃nts of hell are moſt fea̅fully decypher-ed, even while he looketh gaſtly, the more to encourage him in his murderous reſolucōn, a troup of them doo p̃ſent him w̃th a knif wrapt in a ſandall, encloſed w̃thin a ſmall iuory cofer couered w̃th Agnus Dei environed round about w̃th characters ſweetly p̃fumed; w̃ch knif

* Hiſt. of Charles V. vol. i. p. 34.

as ſoone as they take it forth they p̄ſently do beſprinckle it w̄th holy water layeinge ſome holy graines likewiſe vpō the knives haft, ſayeing therew̄thall that ſo many ſoules ſhalbe deliuered out of Purg. as he ſhall giue ſtrokes w̄th the ſame. Then putting the knif into the murtherers ſleeue they vſe theys words, Goe thou worthy champiō elected by God as Jepthe w̄th the ſword of Sampſō yea of Dauid wherw̄th he ſtrooke of Goliahs head the ſword of Gedeō yea of Judith wherw̄th ſhee beheaded Holofernes, the ſword of Machabeus yea of S. Peter wherw̄th he cut of Malchus eare, the ſword of Pope Julius the Second wherw̄th he wreſted out of the hands of theyr princes Saluce, Finale, Fayence, Forlei, Bologne and other townes w̄th much bloudſhed, Goe be valiaunt and the Lord fortefy thine arme. Afterwards they all kneele downe, and the cheifeſt of them coniureth thus, Come ye Cherubins, come Seraphins, thrones dominacōns, come ye moſt loving and bleſſed angells, repleniſh this veſſell of eternall glory and adorne him p̄ſently w̄th the crowne of the Bleſſed Virgin of the Patriarchs and Martyrs, for he is now no more ours but yours, and thou o God that haſt reuealed vnto him in his holy meditacōns y̆t a tyrant and heretique ought to be killed, and his crowne giuē vnto the Catholique King, (being ſequeſtred and ſet apart by vs to doo thy will,) giue him a priuy corſlot, giue him wings to fly and avoyd ſo as thoſe barbarous heathen may not ſo much as once touch his ſacred members, and that he thus garded may attempt moſt hazardfull exployts w̄thout the leaſt daunger or feare. This coniuratiō being finiſhed, they bring him before the altar and there ſhew him a painted table in w̄ch the angells are pictured houlding on James Clem̄t a Jacobine and p̄ſenting him before Gods throne and ſayeing: Lord behould thine arme the reuenger and executioner of thy iuſtice, and all Saints riſeing from theyr ſeates to giue him place; this being done, they go all towarde him and ſay w̄th much wondring and aſtoniſhm̄t, that he ſeemeth vnto them to be deifyed, and that they are amazed to ſee the ſhineing brightnes that encompaſſeth him, kiſſing his hands and feete, and concluding that they hold* for a man noe more, laſtly as envyeng the honor and glory w̄ch he poſſeſſeth, they ſay vnto him w̄th ſighing, O would to God he had elected and choſen vs in your ſtead, for then we ſhould haue bene aſſured not to goe into Purgatory, but directly into Heavē.

* Deeſt *him*. Sic in MS. orig.

MISCEL-

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Extract from "A Diſcourſe deli-"vered to the Students of the "Royal Academy, at the diſtribu-"tion of the prizes, December *the "10th,* 1790, *by the Preſident;" recommending to the young artiſt a ſtudious imitation of the ſtyle of* Michael Angelo.

I HAVE ſtrongly inculcated in my former Diſcourſes, as I do in this my laſt, the wiſdom and neceſſity of previouſly obtaining the appropriated inſtruments of the art, in a firſt correct deſign, and a plain manly colouring, before any thing more is attempted. But by this I would not wiſh to cramp and fetter the mind, or diſcourage thoſe who follow (as moſt of us may at one time have followed) the ſuggeſtion of a ſtrong inclination: ſomething muſt be conceded to great and irreſiſtible impulſes: perhaps every ſtudent muſt not be ſtrictly bound to general methods, if they ſtrongly thwart the peculiar turn of his own mind. I muſt confeſs, that it is not abſolutely of much conſequence whether he proceeds in the general method of ſeeking firſt to acquire mechanical accuracy, before he attempts poetical flights, provided he diligently ſtudies to attain the full perfection of the ſtile he purſues; whether, like Parmegiano, he endeavours at grace and grandeur of manner, before he has learned correctneſs of drawing, if like him he feels his own wants, and will labour, as that eminent artiſt did, to ſupply thoſe wants; whether he ſtarts from the Eaſt or from the Weſt, if he relaxes in no exertion to arrive ultimately at the ſame goal. The firſt public work of Parmegiano is the St. Euſtachius, in the church of St. Petronius in Bologna, and done when he was a boy; and one of the laſt of his works is the Moſes breaking the tables, in Parma. In the former there is certainly ſomething of grandeur in the outline, and in the conception of the figure, which diſcovers the dawnings of future greatneſs, of a young mind impregnated with the ſublimity of Michael Angelo, whoſe ſtile he here attempts to imitate, though he could not then draw the human figure with any common degree of correctneſs. But this ſame Parmegiano, when in his more mature age he painted the Moſes, had ſo completely ſupplied his firſt defects, that we are at a loſs which to admire moſt, the correctneſs of drawing, or the grandeur of the conception. As a confirmation of its great excellence, and of the impreſſion which it leaves on the minds of elegant ſpectators, our great Lyric Poet, when he conceived that ſublime idea of the indignant Welch Bard, acknowledged that though many years had intervened,

vened, he had warmed his imagination with the remembrance of this noble figure of Parmegiano.

When we conſider that Michael Angelo was the great archetype to whom Parmegiano was indebted for that grandeur which we find in his works, and from whom all his cotemporaries and ſucceſſors have derived whatever they have poſſeſſed of the dignified and the majeſtic; that he was the bright luminary, from whom painting has borrowed a new luſtre; that under his hands it aſſumed a new appearance, and is become another and ſuperior art; I may be excuſed if I take this opportunity, as I have hitherto taken every occaſion, to turn your attention to this exalted founder and father of modern art, of which he was not only the inventor, but which he, by the divine energy of his own mind, carried at once to its higheſt point of poſſible perfection.

The ſudden maturity to which Michael Angelo brought our art, and the comparative feebleneſs of his followers and imitators, might perhaps be reaſonably, at leaſt plauſibly explained, if we had time for ſuch an examination. At preſent, I ſhall only obſerve, that the ſubordinate parts of our art, and perhaps of other arts, expand themſelves by a ſlow and progreſſive growth, but thoſe which depend on a native vigour of imagination generally burſt forth at once in fullneſs of beauty. Of this Homer probably, and Shakſpear more aſſuredly, are ſignal examples. Michael Angelo poſſeſſed the poetical part to a moſt eminent degree; and the ſame daring ſpirit, which urged him firſt to explore the unknown regions of the imagination, delighted with the novelty, and animated by the ſucceſs, of his diſcoveries, could not have failed to ſtimulate and impel him forward in his career beyond thoſe limits which his followers, deſtitute of the ſame incentives, had not ſtrength to paſs.

To diſtinguiſh between correctneſs of drawing, and that part which reſpects the imagination, we may ſay the one approaches to the mechanical (which in its way too may make juſt pretenſions to genius) and the other to the poetical. To encourage a ſolid and vigorous courſe of ſtudy, it may not be amiſs to ſuggeſt that perhaps a confidence in the mechanic produces boldneſs in the poetic. He that is ſure of the goodneſs of his ſhip and tackle, puts out fearleſly from the ſhore; and he who knows that his hand can execute whatever his fancy can ſuggeſt, ſports with more freedom in embodying the viſionary forms of his own creation. I will not ſay Michael Angelo was eminently poetical, only becauſe he was greatly mechanical; but I am ſure that mechanic excellence invigorated and emboldened his mind to carry painting into the regions of poetry, and to emulate that art in its moſt adventurous flights.

Michael Angelo equally poſſeſſed both qualifications. Yet of the former, there were certainly great examples to be found in ancient ſculpture, and particularly in the fragment known by the name of the Torſo of Michael Angelo; but of that grandeur of character, air, and attitude, which he threw into all his figures, and which ſo well correſponds with the grandeur of his outline, there was no example; they

could therefore proceed only from the moſt poetical and ſublime imagination.

It is impoſſible not to expreſs ſome ſurpriſe, that the race of painters, who preceded Michael Angelo, men of acknowledged great abilities, ſhould never have thought of transferring a little of that grandeur of outline which they could not but ſee and admire in ancient ſculpture, into their own works; but they appear to have conſidered ſculpture as the later ſchools of artiſts look at the inventions of Michael Angelo, as ſomething to be admired, but with which they have nothing to do. *Quod ſuper nos, nihil ad nos.*—The artiſts of that age, even Raphael himſelf, ſeemed to be going on very contentedly in the dry manner of Pietro Perugino; and if Michael Angelo had never appeared, the art might ſtill have continued in the ſame ſtile.

Beſides Rome and Florence, where the grandeur of this ſtile was firſt diſplayed, it was on this foundation that the Caracci built the truly great Academical Bolognian School, of which the firſt ſtone was laid by Pellegrino Tibaldi. He firſt introduced this ſtile amongſt them; and many inſtances might be given in which he appears to have poſſeſſed, as by inheritance, the true, genuine, noble, and elevated mind of Michael Angelo. Though we cannot venture to ſpeak of him with the ſame fondneſs as his countrymen, and call him, as the Caracci did, *Noſtro Michael Angelo reformato*, yet he has a right to be conſidered amongſt the firſt and greateſt of his followers: there are certainly many drawings and inventions of his, of which Michael Angelo himſelf might not diſdain to be ſuppoſed the author, or that they ſhould be, as in fact they often are, miſtaken for his. I will mention one particular inſtance, becauſe it is found in a book which is in every young artiſt's hands—Biſhop's Antient Statues. He there has introduced a print, repreſenting Polyphemus, from a drawing of Tibaldi, and has inſcribed it with the name of Michael Angelo, to whom he has alſo in the ſame book attributed a Sybil of Raphael. Both theſe figures, it is true, are profeſſedly in Michael Angelo's ſtile and ſpirit, and even worthy of his hand. But we know that the former is painted in the Inſtitute a Bologna by Tibaldi, and the other in the *Pace* by Raphael.

The Caracci, it is acknowledged, adopted the mechanical part with ſufficient ſucceſs. But the divine part which addreſſes itſelf to the imagination, as poſſeſſed by Michael Angelo or Tibaldi, was beyond their graſp: they formed, however, a moſt reſpectable ſchool, a ſtile more on the level, and calculated to pleaſe a greater number; and if excellence of this kind is to be valued according to the number, rather than the weight and quality of admirers, it would aſſume even an higher rank in art. The ſame may be, in ſome ſort, ſaid of the Venetian painters. They certainly much advanced the dignity of their ſtile, by adding to their faſcinating powers of colouring, ſomething of the ſtrength of Michael Angelo; at the ſame time it may ſtill be a doubt how far their ornamental elegance would be an advantageous addition to his grandeur. But if there is any manner of painting which may be ſaid to unite kindly with his ſtile, it is that of Titian. His handling, the manner in which his colours are left on the

the canvas, appears to proceed (as far as that goes) from a congenial mind, equally diſdainful of vulgar criticiſm.

Michael Angelo's ſtrength thus qualified, and made more palatable to the general taſte, reminds me of an obſervation which I heard * a learned critic make, when it was incidentally remarked, that our tranſlation of Homer, however excellent, did not convey the character, nor had the grand air, of the original. He replied, that if Pope had not cloathed the naked majeſty of Homer with the graces and elegancies of modern faſhions, though the real dignity of Homer was degraded by ſuch a dreſs, his tranſlation would not have met with ſuch a favourable reception, and he muſt have been contented with fewer readers.

Many of the Flemiſh painters, who ſtudied at Rome, in that great æra of our art, ſuch as Francis Floris, Hemſkerk, Michael Coxis, Jerom Cock, and others, returned to their own country, with as much of this grandeur as they could carry. But like ſeeds, falling on a ſoil not prepared or adapted to their nature, the manner of Michael Angelo thrived but little with them; perhaps, however, they contributed to prepare the way for that free, unconſtrained, and liberal outline, which was afterwards introduced by Rubens, through the medium of the Venetian painters.

This grandeur of ſtile has been in different degrees diſſeminated all over Europe. Some caught it by living at the time, and coming into contact with the original author, whilſt others received it at ſecond hand; and being every where adopted, it has totally changed the whole taſte and ſtile of deſign, if there could be ſaid to be any ſtile before his time. Our art, in conſequence, now aſſumes a rank to which it could never have dared to aſpire, if Michael Angelo had not diſcovered to the world the hidden powers which it poſſeſſed. Without his aſſiſtance we never could have been convinced, that painting was capable of producing an adequate repreſentation of the perſons and actions of the heroes of the Iliad.

I would aſk any man qualified to judge of ſuch works, whether he can look with indifference at the perſonification of the Supreme Being in the centre of the Capella Seſtina, or the figures of the Sybils which ſurround that chapel, to which we may add the ſtatue of Moſes; and whether the ſame ſenſations are not excited by thoſe works, as what he may remember to have felt from the moſt ſublime paſſages of Homer? I mention thoſe figures more particularly, as they come nearer to a compariſon with his Jupiter, his demi-gods, and heroes; thoſe ſybils and prophets being a kind of intermediate beings between men and angels. Though inſtances may be produced in the works of other painters, which may juſtly ſtand in competition with thoſe I have mentioned, ſuch as the Iſaiah, and the viſion of Ezekiel, by Raphael, the St. Mark of Frate Bartolomeo, and many others; yet theſe, it muſt be allowed, are inventions ſo much in Michael Angelo's manner of thinking, that they may be truly conſidered as ſo many rays, which diſcover manifeſtly the

* Dr. Johnſon.

centre

centre from whence they emanated.

The ſublime in painting, as in poetry, ſo overpowers, and takes ſuch a poſſeſſion of the whole mind, that no room is left for attention to minute criticiſm. The little elegancies of art in the preſence of theſe great ideas thus greatly expreſſed, loſe all their value, and are, for the inſtant at leaſt, felt to be unworthy of our notice. The correct judgment, the purity of taſte, which characteriſe Raphael; the exquiſite grace of Corregio and Parmegiano, all diſappear before them.

That Michael Angelo was capricious in his inventions, cannot be denied; and this may make ſome circumſpection neceſſary in ſtudying his works; for though they appear to become him, an imitation of them is always dangerous, and will prove ſometimes ridiculous. "In that "dread circle none durſt tread but "he." To me, I confeſs, his caprice does not lower the eſtimation of his genius, even though it is ſometimes, I acknowledge, carried to the extreme: and however thoſe eccentric excurſions are conſidered, we muſt at the ſame time recollect, that thoſe faults, if they are faults, are ſuch as never could occur to a mean and vulgar mind; that they flowed from the ſame ſource which produced his greateſt beauties, and were therefore ſuch as none but himſelf was capable of committing; they were the powerful impulſes of a mind unuſed to ſubjection of any kind, and too high to be controuled by cold criticiſm.

Many ſee his daring extravagance, who can ſee nothing elſe. A young artiſt finds the works of Michael Angelo ſo totally different from thoſe of his own maſter, or of thoſe with whom he is ſurrounded, that he may be eaſily perſuaded to abandon and neglect ſtudying a ſtile, which appears to him wild, myſterious, and above his comprehenſion, and which he therefore feels no diſpoſition to admire; a good diſpoſition, which he concludes that he ſhould naturally have, if the ſtile deſerved it. It is neceſſary, therefore, that ſtudents ſhould be prepared for the diſappointment which they may experience at their firſt ſetting out; and they muſt be cautioned, that probably they will not, at firſt ſight, approve.

It muſt be remembered, that as this great ſtile itſelf is artificial in the higheſt degree, it preſuppoſes in the ſpectator a cultivated and prepared artificial ſtate of mind. It is an abſurdity, therefore, to ſuppoſe we are born with this taſte, though we are with the ſeeds of it, which by the heat and kindly influence of his genius, may be ripened in us.

A late philoſopher * and critic has obſerved, ſpeaking of taſte, that *we are on no account to expect that fine things ſhould deſcend to us*,—our taſte, if poſſible, muſt be made to aſcend to them. The ſame learned writer recommends to us *even to feign a reliſh, till we find a reliſh come; and feel, that what began in fiction, terminates in reality.* If there be in our art any thing of that agreement or compact, ſuch as I apprehend there is in muſic, with which the critic is neceſſarily required previouſly to be acquainted, in order to form a correct judgment; the compariſon with this art will illuſtrate

* James Harris, Eſq.

what I have ſaid on theſe points, and tend to ſhew the probability, we may ſay the certainty, that men are not born with a reliſh for thoſe arts in their moſt refined ſtate, which as they cannot underſtand, they cannot be impreſſed with their effects. This great ſtile of Michael Angelo is as far removed from the ſimple repreſentation of the common objects of nature, as the moſt refined Italian muſic is, from the inartificial notes of nature, from whence they both profeſs to originate. But, without ſuch a ſuppoſed compact, we may be very confident that the higheſt ſtate of refinement in either of thoſe arts will not be reliſhed without a long and induſtrious attention.

In purſuing this great art, it muſt be acknowledged that we labour under greater difficulties than thoſe who were born in the age of its diſcovery, and whoſe minds from their infancy were habituated to this ſtile, who learnt it as language, as their mother tongue. They had no mean taſte to unlearn; they needed no perſuaſive diſcourſe to allure them to a favourable reception of it, no abſtruſe inveſtigation of its principles to convince them of the great latent truths on which it is founded. We are conſtrained, in theſe later days, to have recourſe to a ſort of grammar and dictionary, as the only means of recovering a dead language. It was by them learnt by rote, and perhaps better learnt that way than by precept.

The ſtile of Michael Angelo, which I have compared to language, and which may, poetically ſpeaking, be called the language of the gods, now no longer exiſts, as it did in the fifteenth century, yet with the aid of diligence, we may in a great meaſure ſupply the deficiency which I mentioned, of not having his works ſo perpetually before our eyes; by having recourſe to caſts from his models and deſigns in ſculpture; to drawings, or even copies of thoſe drawings; to prints, which, however ill executed, ſtill convey ſomething by which this taſte may be formed; and a reliſh may be fixed and eſtabliſhed in our minds for this grand ſtile of invention. Some examples of this kind we have in the academy; and I ſincerely wiſh there were more, that the younger ſtudents might, in their firſt nouriſhment, imbibe this taſte; whilſt others, though ſettled in the practice of the common-place ſtile of painting, might infuſe, by this means, a grandeur into their works.

I ſhall now make ſome remarks on the courſe which I think moſt proper to be purſued in ſuch a ſtudy. I wiſh you not to go ſo much to the derivative ſtreams, as to the fountain-head; though the copies are not to be neglected, becauſe they may give you hints in what manner you may copy, and how the genius of one man may be made to fit the peculiar manner of another.

To recover this loſt taſte, I would recommend young artiſts to ſtudy the works of Michael Angelo, as he himſelf did the works of the ancient ſculptors; he began, when a child, a copy of a mutilated ſatyr's head, and finiſhed in his model what was wanting in the original. In the ſame manner, the firſt exerciſe that I would recommend to the young artiſt, when he firſt attempts invention, is to ſelect every figure, if poſſible, from the inven-

tions

tions of Michael Angelo. If ſuch borrowed figures will not bend to his purpoſe, and he is conſtrained to make a change, or ſupply a figure himſelf, that figure will neceſſarily be in the ſame ſtile with the reſt, and his taſte will by this means be naturally initiated, and nurſed in the lap of grandeur. He will ſooner perceive what conſtitutes this grand ſtile by one practical trial than by a thouſand ſpeculations, and he will in ſome ſort procure to himſelf that advantage which in theſe later ages has been denied him; the advantage of having the greateſt of artiſts for his maſter and inſtructor.

The next leſſon ſhould be, to change the purpoſe of the figures without changing the attitude, as Tintoret has done with the Sampſon of Michael Angelo. Inſtead of the figure which Sampſon beſtrides, he has placed an eagle under him, and inſtead of the jaw-bone, thunder and lightening in his right hand, and it becomes a Jupiter. Titian, in the ſame manner, has taken the figure which repreſents God dividing the light from the darkneſs, in the vault of the Capella Seſtina, and has introduced it in the famous battle of Cadore, ſo much celebrated by Vaſari; and, extraordinary as it may ſeem, it is here converted to a general falling from his horſe. A real judge who ſhould look at this picture, would immediately pronounce the attitude of that figure to be in a greater ſtile than any other figure of the compoſition. Theſe two inſtances may be ſufficient, though many more might be given in their works, as well as in thoſe of other great artiſts.

When the ſtudent has been habituated to this grand conception of the art, when the reliſh for this ſtile is eſtabliſhed, makes a part of himſelf, and is woven into his mind, he will, by this time, have got a power of ſelecting from whatever occurs in nature that is grand, and correſponds with that taſte which he has now acquired, and will paſs over whatever is common-place and inſipid. He may then bring to the mart ſuch works of his own proper invention as may enrich and encreaſe the general ſtock of invention in our art.

I am confident of the truth and propriety of the advice which I have recommended; at the ſame time I am aware how much, by this advice, I have laid myſelf open to the ſarcaſms of thoſe critics who imagine our art to be a matter of inſpiration. But I ſhould be ſorry it ſhould appear even to myſelf that I wanted that courage which I have recommended to the ſtudents in another way: equal courage perhaps is required in the adviſer and the adviſed; they both muſt equally dare, and bid defiance to narrow criticiſm and vulgar opinion.

That the art has been in a gradual ſtate of decline, from the age of Michael Angelo to the preſent, muſt be acknowledged; and we may reaſonably impute this declenſion to the ſame cauſe to which the ancient critics and philoſophers have imputed the corruption of eloquence. Indeed the ſame cauſes are likely at all times and in all ages to produce the ſame effects: indolence—not taking the ſame pains—deſiring to find a ſhorter

way—is the general imputed cauſe. The words of Petronius* are very remarkable. After oppoſing the natural chaſte beauty of the eloquence of former ages to the ſtrained inflated ſtile then in faſhion, "Neither," ſays he, "has the art "of Painting had a better fate, "after the boldneſs of the Egyp-"tians had found out a compen-"dious way to execute ſo great an "art."

By *compendious*, I underſtand him to mean a mode of painting, ſuch as has infected the ſtile of the later painters of Italy and France; common-place without thought, and with as little trouble, working as by a receipt, in contradiſtinction from that ſtile for which even a reliſh cannot be acquired without care and long attention, and moſt certainly the power of executing, not without the moſt laborious application.

I have endeavoured to ſtimulate the ambition of artiſts to tread in this great path of glory, and, as well as I can, have pointed out the track which leads to it, and have at the ſame time told them the price at which it may be obtained. It is an ancient ſaying, that labour is the price which the gods have ſet upon every thing valuable.

The great artiſt who has been ſo much the ſubject of the preſent diſcourſe, was diſtinguiſhed even from his infancy for his indefatigable diligence; and this was continued through his whole life, till prevented by extreme old age. The pooreſt of men, as he obſerved himſelf, did not labour from neceſſity, more than he did from choice. Indeed, from all the circumſtances related of his life, he appears not to have had the leaſt conception that his art was to be acquired by any other means than by great labour; and yet he, of all men that ever lived, might make the greateſt pretenſions to the efficacy of native genius and inſpiration. I can have no doubt that he would have thought it no diſgrace to have it ſaid of him, as he himſelf ſaid of Raphael,† that he did not poſſeſs his art from nature, but by long ſtudy. He was conſcious that the great excellence to which he arrived was gained by dint of labour; and was unwilling to have it thought that any tranſcendant ſkill, however natural its effects might ſeem, could be purchaſed at a cheaper price than he had paid for it. This ſeems to have been the true drift of his obſervation. We cannot ſuppoſe it made with any intention of depreciating the genius of Raphael, of whom he always ſpoke, as Condivi ſays, with the greateſt reſpect: though they were rivals, no ſuch illiberality exiſted between them; and Raphael on his part entertained the greateſt veneration for Michael Angelo, as appears from the ſpeech which is recorded of him, that he congratulated himſelf, and thanked God that he was born in the ſame age.

If the high eſteem and veneration in which Michael Angelo has been held by all nations and in all ages, ſhould be put to the account of prejudice, it muſt ſtill be granted that thoſe prejudices could not have been

* Pictura quoque non alium exitum fecit poſtquam Ægyptiorum audacia tam magnæ artis compendiariam invenit.

† "*Che Raffaello non ebbe queſt' arte da natura ma per lungo ſtudio.*"

been entertained without a cauſe: the ground of our prejudice then becomes the ſource of our admiration. But from whatever it proceeds, or whatever it is called, it will not, I hope, be thought preſumptuous in me to appear in the train, I cannot ſay of his imitators, but of his admirers. I have taken another courſe, one more ſuited to my abilities, and to the taſte of the times in which I live. Yet however unequal I feel myſelf to that attempt, were I now to begin the world again, I would tread in the ſteps of that great maſter: to kiſs the hem of his garment; to catch the ſlighteſt of his perfections, would be glory and diſtinction enough for an ambitious man.

I feel a ſelf-congratulation in knowing myſelf capable of ſuch ſenſations as he intended to excite. I reflect not without vanity, that theſe Diſcourſes bear teſtimony of my admiration of that truly divine man; and I ſhould deſire that the laſt words which I ſhould pronounce in this academy, and from this place, might be the name of—MICHAEL ANGELO.

On the excellence of the Britiſh *Conſtitution; from "An Appeal from "the New to the Old Whigs."*

WHAT has been ſaid of the Roman empire, is at leaſt as true of the Britiſh conſtitution—"*Octingentorum annorum fortuna,* "*diſciplinaque, compages hæc coaluit*; "*quæ convelli ſine convellentium exitio* "*non poteſt.*"—This Britiſh conſtitution has not been ſtruck out at an heat by a ſet of preſumptuous men, like the aſſembly of pettifoggers run mad in Paris.

"'Tis not the haſty product of a day,
"But the well-ripen'd fruit of wiſe
"delay."

It is the reſult of the thoughts of many minds, in many ages. It is no ſimple, no ſuperficial thing, nor to be eſtimated by ſuperficial underſtandings. An ignorant man, who is not fool enough to meddle with his clock, is however ſufficiently confident to think he can ſafely take to pieces, and put together at his pleaſure, a moral machine of another guiſe importance and complexity, compoſed of far other wheels, and ſprings, and balances, and counteracting and cooperating powers. Men little think how immorally they act in raſhly meddling with what they do not underſtand. Their deluſive good intention is no ſort of excuſe for their preſumption. They who truly mean well muſt be fearful of acting ill. The Britiſh conſtitution may have its advantages pointed out to wiſe and reflecting minds; but it is of too high an order of excellence to be adapted to thoſe which are common. It takes in too many views, it makes too many combinations, to be ſo much as comprehended by ſhallow and ſuperficial underſtandings. Profound thinkers will know it in its reaſon and ſpirit. The leſs enquiring will recognize it in their feelings and their experience. They will thank God they have a ſtandard, which, in the moſt eſſential point of this great concern, will put them on a par with the moſt wiſe and knowing.

If we do not take to our aid the foregone ſtudies of men reputed intelligent and learned, we ſhall be always beginners. But in effect, men muſt learn ſomewhere; and

the new teachers mean no more than what they effect, that is, to deprive men of the benefit of the collected wiſdom of mankind, and to make them blind diſciples of their own particular preſumption. Talk to theſe deluded creatures, (all the diſciples and moſt of the maſters) who are taught to think themſelves ſo newly fitted up and furniſhed, and you will find nothing in their houſes but the refuſe of *Knaves Acre*; nothing but the rotten ſtuff, worn out in the ſervice of deluſion and ſedition in all ages, and which being newly furbiſhed up, patched, and varniſhed, ſerves well enough for thoſe who being unacquainted with the conflict which has always been maintained between the ſenſe and the nonſenſe of mankind, know nothing of the former exiſtence and the antient refutation of the ſame follies. It is near two thouſand years ſince it has been obſerved, that theſe devices of ambition, avarice, and turbulence, were antiquated. They are, indeed, the moſt antient of all common places; common places, ſometimes of good and neceſſary cauſes; more frequently of the worſt, but which decide upon neither.—*Eadem ſemper cauſa, libido et avaritia, et mutandarum rerum amor.*—*Ceterum libertas et ſpecioſa nomina pretexuntur; nec quiſquam alienum ſervitium, et dominationem ſibi concupivit, ut non eadem ipſa vocabulo uſurparet,*

Rational and experienced men, tolerably well know, and have always known, how to diſtinguiſh between true and falſe liberty; and between the genuine adherence and the falſe pretence to what is true. But none, except thoſe who are profoundly ſtudied, can comprehend the elaborate contrivance of a fabric fitted to unite private and public liberty with public force, with order, with peace, with juſtice, and, above all, with the contrivances formed for beſtowing permanence and ſtability through ages, upon this invaluable whole.

Place, for inſtance, before your eyes, ſuch a man as Monteſquieu. Think of a genius not born in every country, or every time; a man gifted by nature with a penetrating aquiline eye; with a judgment prepared with the moſt extenſive erudition; with an herculean robuſtneſs of mind, and nerves not to be broken with labour; a man who could ſpend twenty years in one purſuit. Think of a man, like the univerſal patriarch in Milton (who had drawn up before him in his prophetic viſion the whole ſeries of the generations which were to iſſue from his loins) a man capable of placing in review, after having brought together, from the eaſt, the weſt, the north, and the ſouth, from the coarſeneſs of the rudeſt barbariſm to the moſt refined and ſubtle civilization, all the ſchemes of government which had ever prevailed amongſt mankind, weighing, meaſuring, collating, and comparing them all, joining fact with theory, and calling into council, upon all this infinite aſſemblage of things, all the ſpeculations which have fatigued the underſtandings of profound reaſoners in all times!—Let us then conſider, that all theſe were but ſo many preparatory ſteps to qualify a man, and ſuch a man, tinctured with no national prejudice, with no domeſtic affection, to admire, and to hold out to the admiration of mankind, the conſtitution of England! And ſhall we Engliſhmen revoke to ſuch a ſuit?

Shall

Shall we, when ſo much more than he has produced, remains ſtill to be underſtood and admired, inſtead of keeping ourſelves in the ſchools of real ſcience, chooſe for our teachers men incapable of being taught, whoſe only claim to know is, that they have never doubted; from whom we can learn nothing but their own indocility; who would teach us to ſcorn what in the ſilence of our hearts we ought to adore?

Different from them are all the great critics. They have taught us one eſſential rule. I think the excellent and philoſophic artiſt a true judge, as well as a perfect follower of nature, Sir Joſhua Reynolds, has ſomewhere applied it, or ſomething like it, in his own profeſſion. It is this, That if ever we ſhould find ourſelves diſpoſed not to admire thoſe writers, Livy and Virgil for inſtance, whom all the learned had admired, not to follow our own fancies, but to ſtudy them until we know how and what we ought to admire; and if we cannot arrive at this combination of admiration with knowledge, rather to believe that we are dull, than that the reſt of the world has been impoſed on. It is as good a rule, at leaſt, with regard to this admired conſtitution. We ought to underſtand it according to our meaſure; and to venerate where we are not able preſently to comprehend.

Such were our fathers to whom we owe this ſplendid inheritance. Let us improve it with zeal, but with fear. Let us follow our anceſtors, men not without a rational, though without an excluſive confidence in themſelves; who, by reſpecting the reaſon of others, who, by looking backward as well as forward, by the modeſty as well as by the energy of their minds, went on, inſenſibly drawing this conſtitution nearer and nearer to its perfection by never departing from its fundamental principles, nor introducing any amendment which had not a ſubſiſting root in the laws, conſtitution, and uſages of the kingdom.

Diſcuſſion of the queſtion, "*What do* "*we mean when we ſay the* "PEOPLE?" *From the ſame.*

IN a ſtate of *rude* nature there is no ſuch thing as a people. A number of men in themſelves have no collective capacity. The idea of a people is the idea of a corporation. It is wholly artificial; and made like all other legal fictions by common agreement. What the particular nature of that agreement was, is collected from the form into which the particular ſociety has been caſt. Any other is not their covenant. When men, therefore, break up the original compact or agreement which gives its corporate form and capacity to a ſtate, they are no longer a people; they have no longer a corporate exiſtence; they have no longer a legal coactive force to bind within, nor a claim to be recognized abroad. They are a number of vague looſe individuals, and nothing more. With them all is to begin again. Alas! they little know how many a weary ſtep is to be taken before they can form themſelves into a maſs, which has a true politic perſonality.

We hear much from men, who have not acquired their hardineſs of aſſertion from the profundity of their thinking, about the omnipotence of a *majority*, in ſuch a diſſolution of an ancient ſociety as hath

taken place in France. But amongſt men ſo diſbanded, there can be no ſuch thing as majority or minority, or power in any one perſon to bind another. The power of acting by a majority, which the gentlemen theoriſts ſeem to aſſume ſo readily, after they have violated the contract out of which it has ariſen, (if at all it exiſted) muſt be grounded on two aſſumptions; firſt, that of an incorporation produced by unanimity; and ſecondly, an unanimous agreement, that the act of a mere majority (ſay of one) ſhall paſs with them and with others as the act of the whole.

We are ſo little affected by things which are habitual, that we conſider this idea of the deciſion of a *majority* as if it were a law of our original nature: but ſuch conſtructive whole, reſiding in a part only, is one of the moſt violent fictions of poſitive law, that ever has been or can be made on the principles of artificial incorporation. Out of civil ſociety nature knows nothing of it; nor are men, even when arranged according to civil order, otherwiſe than by very long training, brought at all to ſubmit to it. The mind is brought far more eaſily to acquieſce in the proceedings of one man, or a few, who act under a general procuration for the ſtate, than in the vote of a victorious majority in councils in which every man has his ſhare in the deliberation. For there the beaten party are exaſperated and ſoured by the previous contention, and mortified by the concluſive defeat. This mode of deciſion, where wills may be ſo nearly equal, where, according to circumſtances, the ſmaller number may be the ſtronger force, and where apparent reaſon may be all upon one ſide, and on the other little elſe than impetuous appetite; all this muſt be the reſult of a very particular and ſpecial convention, confirmed afterwards by long habits of obedience, by a ſort of diſcipline in ſociety, and by a ſtrong hand, veſted with ſtationary permanent power, to enforce this ſort of conſtructive general will. What organ it is that ſhall declare the corporate mind is ſo much a matter of poſitive arrangement, that ſeveral ſtates, for the validity of ſeveral of their acts, have required a proportion of voices much greater than that of a mere majority. Theſe proportions are ſo entirely governed by convention, that in ſome caſes the minority decides. The laws in many countries to *condemn* require more than a mere majority; leſs than an equal number to *acquit*. In our judicial trials we require unanimity either to condemn or to abſolve. In ſome incorporations one man ſpeaks for the whole; in others, a few. Until the other day, in the conſtitution of Poland, unanimity was required to give validity to any act of their great national council or diet. This approaches much more nearly to rude nature than the inſtitutions of any other country. Such, indeed, every commonwealth muſt be, without a poſitive law to recognize in a certain number the will of the entire body.

If men diſſolve their antient incorporation, in order to regenerate their community, in that ſtate of things each man has a right, if he pleaſes, to remain an individual. Any number of individuals, who can agree upon it, have an undoubted right to form themſelves into a ſtate apart and wholly independent. If any of theſe is

forced into the fellowſhip of another, this is conqueſt and not compact. On every principle, which ſuppoſes ſociety to be in virtue of a free covenant, this compulſive incorporation muſt be null and void.

As a people can have no right to a corporate capacity without univerſal conſent, ſo neither have they a right to hold excluſively any lands in the name and title of a corporation. On the ſcheme of the preſent rulers in our neighbouring country, regenerated as they are, they have no more right to the territory called France than I have. I have a right to pitch my tent in any unoccupied place I can find for it; and I may apply to my own maintenance any part of their unoccupied ſoil. I may purchaſe the houſe or vineyard of any individual proprietor who refuſes his conſent (and moſt proprietors have, as far as they dared, refuſed it) to the new incorporation. I ſtand in his independent place. Who are theſe inſolent men, calling themſelves the French nation, that would monopolize this fair domain of nature? Is it becauſe they ſpeak a certain jargon? Is it their mode of chattering, to me unintelligible, that forms their title to my land? Who are they who claim by preſcription and deſcent from certain gangs of banditti called Franks, and Burgundians, and Viſigoths, of whom I may have never heard, and ninety-nine out of an hundred of themſelves certainly never have heard; whilſt at the very time they tell me, that preſcription and long poſſeſſion form no title to property? Who are they that preſume to aſſert that the land which I purchaſed of the individual, a natural perſon, and not a fiction of ſtate, belongs to them, who in the very capacity in which they make their claim can exiſt only as an imaginary being, and in virtue of the very preſcription which they reject and diſown? This mode of arguing might be puſhed into all the detail, ſo as to leave no ſort of doubt, that on their principles, and on the ſort of footing on which they have thought proper to place themſelves, the crowd of men on the other ſide of the channel, who have the impudence to call themſelves a people, can never be the lawful excluſive poſſeſſors of the ſoil. By what they call reaſoning without prejudice, they leave not one ſtone upon another in the fabric of human ſociety. They ſubvert all the authority which they hold, as well as all that which they have deſtroyed.

As in the abſtract, it is perfectly clear, that, out of a ſtate of civil ſociety, majority and minority are relations which can have no exiſtence; and that in civil ſociety, its own ſpecific conventions in each incorporation, determine what it is that conſtitutes the people, ſo as to make their act the ſignification of the general will; ſo it is, in particular, equally clear, that neither in France nor in England has the original, or any ſubſequent compact of the ſtate, expreſſed or implied, conſtituted *a majority of men, told by the head*, to be the acting people of their ſeveral communities. And I ſee as little of policy or utility as there is of right, in laying down a principle that a majority of men told by the head are to be conſidered as the people, and that as ſuch their will is to be law. What policy can there be found in arrangements made

made in defiance of every political principle? To enable men to act with the weight and character of a people, and to anſwer the ends for which they are incorporated into that capacity, we muſt ſuppoſe them (by means immediate or conſequential) to be in that ſtate of habitual ſocial diſcipline, in which the wiſer, the more expert, and the more opulent, conduct, and by conducting enlighten and protect the weaker, the leſs knowing, and the leſs provided with the goods of fortune. When the multitude are not under this diſcipline, they can ſcarcely be ſaid to be in civil ſociety. Give once a certain conſtitution of things, which produces a variety of conditions and circumſtances in a ſtate, and there is in nature and reaſon a principle which, for their own benefit, poſtpones, not the intereſt but the judgment, of thoſe who are *numero plures*, to thoſe who are *virtute et honore minores*. Numbers in a ſtate (ſuppoſing, which is not the caſe of the French, that a ſtate does exiſt) are always of conſideration—but they are not the whole conſideration. It is in things more ſerious than a play, that it may be truly ſaid, *ſatis eſt equitem mihi plaudere.*

A true natural ariſtocracy is not a ſeparate intereſt in the ſtate, or ſeparable from it. It is an eſſential integrant part of any large people rightly conſtituted. It is formed out of a claſs of legitimate preſumptions, which, taken as generalities, muſt be admitted for actual truths. To be bred in a place of eſtimation; to ſee nothing low and ſordid from one's infancy; to be taught to reſpect one's ſelf; to be habituated to the cenſorial inſpection of the public eye; to look early to public opinion; to ſtand upon ſuch elevated ground as to be enabled to take a large view of the wide-ſpread and infinitely diverſified combinations of men and affairs in a large ſociety; to have leiſure to read, to reflect, to converſe; to be enabled to draw the court and attention of the wiſe and learned wherever they are to be found; to be habituated in armies to command and to obey; to be taught to deſpiſe danger in the purſuit of honour and duty; to be formed to the greateſt degree of vigilance, foreſight, and circumſpection, in a ſtate of things in which no fault is committed with impunity, and the ſlighteſt miſtakes draw on the moſt ruinous conſequences—to be led to a guarded and regulated conduct, from a ſenſe that you are conſidered as an inſtructor of your fellow-citizens in their higheſt concerns, and that you act as a reconciler between God and man—to be employed as an adminiſtrator of law and juſtice, and to be thereby amongſt the firſt benefactors to mankind—to be a profeſſor of high ſcience, or of a liberal and ingenuous art—to be amongſt rich traders, who from their ſucceſs are preſumed to have ſharp and vigorous underſtandings, and to poſſeſs the virtues of diligence, order, conſtancy, and regularity, and to have cultivated an habitual regard to commutative juſtice.—Theſe are the circumſtances of men, who form what I ſhould call a *natural* ariſtocracy, without which there is no nation.

The ſtate of civil ſociety, which neceſſarily generates this ariſtocracy, is a ſtate of nature; and much more truly ſo than a ſavage and incoherent mode of life; for man

man is by nature reaſonable, and he is never perfectly in his natural ſtate, but when he is placed where reaſon may be beſt cultivated, and moſt predominates. Art is man's nature. We are as much, at leaſt, in a ſtate of nature in formed manhood, as in immature and helpleſs infancy. To give no more importance, in the ſocial order, to ſuch deſcriptions of men as I have ſtated, than that of ſo many units, is an horrible uſurpation. Men ſo qualified form in nature, as ſhe operates in the common modification of ſociety, the leading, guiding, and governing part. It is the ſoul to the body, without which the man does not exiſt.

When great multitudes act together, under that diſcipline of nature, I recognize the PEOPLE. I acknowledge ſomething that perhaps equals, and ought always to guide, the ſovereignty of convention. In all things the voice of this grand chorus of national harmony ought to have a mighty and deciſive influence. But when you diſturb this harmony; when you break up this beautiful order, this array of truth and nature, as well as of habit and prejudice; when you ſeparate the common ſort of men from their proper chieftains, ſo as to form them into an adverſe army, I no longer know that venerable object called the people in ſuch a diſbanded race of deſerters and vagabonds. For a while they may be terrible indeed; but in ſuch a manner as wild beaſts are terrible. The mind owes to them no ſort of ſubmiſſion. They are, as they have always been reputed, rebels. They may lawfully be fought with, and brought under, whenever an advantage offers. Thoſe who attempt by outrage and violence to deprive men of any advantage which they hold under the laws, and to deſtroy the order of life, proclaim war againſt them.

Obſervations on the tenure by which the Tackſmen of the Highlands formerly held their Farms, and on their expulſion from them in modern times; from "*Proſpects and Obſervations on a Tour in* England "*and* Scotland, *by* Thomas Newte, "Eſq."

THE tackſmen of the Highlands were uſually deſcendants of thoſe heads of families of whom they held their lands. In former times, as is generally known, before the introduction, at leaſt before the improvement of arts and commerce, in Scotland, there were no other ways in which gentlemen had it in their power to make proviſion for their younger ſons, than to ſend them into foreign military ſervice, or to ſettle them on portions of their own eſtates, reſerving to themſelves and the elder branches of the family certain annual rents and ſervices. Theſe grants were not underſtood to be temporary, or revocable at the caprice of any ſucceeding feudal ſuperior, but perpetual. The chief who made them, concerned for the welfare and ſtability of all his children, or rather near relations, conſulted their happineſs by placing them in advantageous farms; and the dignity, at the ſame time, of the repreſentatives of his family, by the demeſnes that remained in their own hands, as well as by the annual

annual rents already mentioned, paid for the moſt part in kind, and therefore commutable, at any given period, with the varying value of money. It is not to be preſumed, in fair and equitable conſtruction, that the farms, or conditional grants of lands, were ever intended to be revoked, while the original motive for making them remained undiminiſhed. But that motive not only remained undiminiſhed, but every day, by the increaſe of thoſe to be provided for (and the warm attachment of the ancient Scots to their kindred is univerſally allowed), was ſtrengthened.

In ſome periods and in ſome places thoſe grants of farms were made by a conveyance emblematical and verbal: in other periods, and other places, not only by means of emblems, but in writing. In Argyleſhire, and on the eaſtern ſide of the Highlands, it became common to convey land, and make other tranſferences of property in writing, at a time when letters were but little known, and leſs in uſe, in thoſe quarters that were cut off by their remote ſituation from that intercourſe which introduced the art and practice of writing into the diſtricts contiguous to the civilized Lowlands. Hence it very naturally happened, that in the ſouthern parts of Argyleſhire, in Perthſhire, Aberdeenſhire, Murray, and Roſs, grants of land were made in writing, while in Inverneſsſhire, Sutherlandſhire, the northern parts of Argyleſhire, and the Weſtern Iſlands, the old mode was continued of verbal or emblematical tranſference. In Roſsſhire, particularly, it would appear that letters, and the uſe of letters in civil affairs, had been early introduced and widely ſpread: for property is more equally divided in that county than in moſt other counties in Scotland, and than in any other of the Highlands. Agreeably to theſe obſervations, it is from the great eſtates on the northern and weſtern ſides of Scotland, that the deſcendants of the original tackſmen of the land, with their families, have been obliged to migrate by the poſitive and unrelenting demands of rent beyond what it was in their power to give, and indeed, in violation of thoſe conditions that were underſtood, and obſerved between the original grantor and original tenant, and their poſterity, for centuries. In all other countries, and in all other caſes, civil rights are confirmed by antiquity of poſſeſſion. By a ſtrange perverſity of circumſtances, it has happened in the northern part of this iſland, and, it ſeems, may happen, that a right of property in land is not confirmed by length of time, but undermined and ſubverted. It is not undoubtedly, that there is any thing magical in a piece of paper or parchment marked by certain figures, that written documents are accounted a proper conveyance of property in land or other tenements: No. To aſſert this, would be to confound the ſubſtance with the ſhadow. Written records are of no other authority than as far as they ſerve to declare the mutual conſent of the contracting parties. This conſent, before the uſe of letters, was more emphatically declared by the mutual deliverance and acceptance of ſtone and earth, or other ſymbols: and ſo natural and expreſſive did this practice, which was called *ſeiſin*, appear to the common ſenſe of mankind, that it has not yet been wholly ſuperſeded by the uſe of letters, either in Scotland

or

or England. Seiſin, occupancy, long and uninterrupted poſſeſſion, form the moſt ſubſtantial right that is generally to be found to any ſpecies of property. Yet this right, ſo plain, ſo palpable, and univerſally reſpected by men and nations, has been openly and flagrantly violated in the caſe of the unfortunate tackſmen. This claſs of men, bred up in an hereditary attachment to the heads of their families, muſt, no doubt, be equally ſurpriſed and grieved at a ſullen call, as if they were ſtrangers, either to come forward with exorbitant rents, or to leave for ever the beloved haunts of their youth, the ſeats of their anceſtors for ages, the kindred ſoil over which the genii of their forefathers ſeemed ſtill to hover, and to which their ſouls ſtedfaſtly cleave with a kind of filial affection.

The enormity of that treatment, they inſiſt, which has occaſioned the emigration of ſo great a number of the middling gentry, who form the ſtrength, and do the honours, as it were, of the country, is aggravated by the conſideration that there was a period when the chief, who expels the tackſman from his hereditary poſſeſſion, had himſelf no other right to his domnin than that of occupancy, though a written charter was procured afterwards. The king, or commander in chief of the army, parcelled out the land to his officers, on the neceſſary and obvious condition, that they ſhould maintain, and be ready to bring into the field, a certain force for the ſupport of that government under the authority of which they held their new poſſeſſions. The chiefs who held directly of the crown diſtributed the greater part of their lands among the moſt diſtinguiſhed and moſt favoured of their adherents, generally of their own blood, on conditions ſimilar to thoſe on which they themſelves held their eſtates of the lord paramount: theſe feudal vaſſals let ſmaller lots, under the name of ploughs of land, on ſimilar conditions, to the huſbandmen; and theſe again ſub-let pendicles to the great body of the labouring people. The ſame analogy ran throughout the whole feudal ſyſtem, from the throne to the loweſt cottager. Neither the grant of the extenſive domain to the immediate tenant of the crown, nor that of the tenant of the crown to his vaſſal, nor that of his vaſſal to the huſbandman, nor that of the huſbandman to the pendicler and cotter, was, in the earlieſt times of feudality, abſolute and perpetual, but conditional, and originally underſtood to be only for life; as appears from certain fines that were levied, when the ſon or next heir was permitted to ſucceed to the poſſeſſion of his father. But ſanction and ſecurity were diffuſed over the poſſeſſions of the chief by the venerable veil of time; which, if it is at all to be reſpected, ought to protect the inheritance of a vaſſal to a ſubject, as well as that of the vaſſal of the crown.

The actual ſyſtem of landed property in the weſt of Europe, has varied its form with the prevailing character of ſucceſſive ages. It has been accommodated to the rude ſimplicity of the more ancient times, as well as to the feudal chivalry of the middle ages. In the preſent times, it is every where ſubjected to a new modification, from the genius and maxims of a commercial age, and from encreaſing induſtry and cultivation. But from this modification, flagrant oppreſſions have ariſen;

ariſen; the lordly chief applying the maxims of an age in which money is the univerſal repreſentative, and letters the univerſal media of transferring property, to eſtabliſhments founded in times when the great proprietors of land, wholly employed in hunting, military exploits, and rude conviviality, never dreamed of encreaſing their fortunes by means of commerce; which if they had known, they would have diſdained. The glory of the chief was the glory of all his kindred and name; and the numbers and fidelity of his vaſſals and tenants, again, were what conſtituted the power and conſequence of their chief. The produce of the land, corn, cattle, fiſh, and game, were ſpent on the eſtate, but chiefly at the manſion-houſes of the great, in generous hoſpitality. And in thoſe times, the highlanders were better fed, and in general, finer men than they are at preſent. For now the cattle, the ſalmon, and the very game, are either carried, or driven out of the country; nor has the faint dawn of commerce been yet able to ſupply that abundance which preceded it.

It is in theſe circumſtances, when the rude majeſty, and the ſtrong attachments of feudal times have been exchanged for a general venality, according to the language of ſome, or a ſpirit of commerce and improvement, according to that of others, that certain highland chiefs have dared to diſpoſſeſs their vaſſals of tenements inherited by their families antecedently to the uſe of letters.

Hiſtorical account of the erection of the Edyſtone Lighthouſes; *extracted from* "*A narrative of the build-*
"*ing, and a deſcription of the con-*
"*ſtruction of the* Edyſtone Light-
"houſe *with ſtone. By* John
"Smeaton, *Civil Engineer,*
"F.R.S."

THE Edyſtone Rocks are ſuppoſed to have got this appellation from the great variety of contrary ſets of the tide or current amongſt and in the vicinity thereof, both upon the tide of flood and the tide of ebb. They are ſituated nearly S. S. W. from the middle of Plymouth Sound, according to the true meridian; and the diſtance, as nearly as can be collected, is twelve and a half miles; and from the ſame point in the Sound to the Jetty Head, called the Barbican, in the port of Plymouth, is a mile and a half more, which makes the diſtance of the Edyſtone from the port of Plymouth to be nearly fourteen miles.

The promontory called Ram Head is the neareſt point of land to the Edyſtone, which bears from thence South ſcarcely one point Weſt, diſtant about ten miles, and conſequently by the compaſs is nearly S. W. by S.—Thoſe rocks are nearly in a line, but ſomewhat within that line which joins the *Start* and the *Lizard* Points; and as they lie nearly in the direction of veſſels coaſting up and down the Channel, they muſt, before a lighthouſe was eſtabliſhed thereon, have been very dangerous, and often fatal to ſhips under ſuch circumſtances: and many rich ſhips and other veſſels have, in former times, been actually loſt upon thoſe rocks, particularly ſuch as were homeward-bound from foreign parts; it being even now a common thing, in foggy and thick hazy weather, for homeward-bound ſhips from long foreign voyages to make the Edyſtone Lighthouſe as the firſt point

point of land of Great Britain; ſo that in the night, and nearly at high water, when the whole range of theſe rocks are covered, the moſt careful mariner might run his ſhip upon them, if nothing was placed there by way of warning.

The many fatal accidents which ſo frequently happened, made it a thing very deſirable to have a light-houſe built thereon, and that for many years before any competent undertaker appeared. At length, however, we learn, that in the year 1696, Mr. Henry Winſtanley, of Littlebury, in the county of Eſſex, Gent. was not only hardy enough to undertake it, but was furniſhed with the neceſſary powers to put it in execution. This, it is ſuppoſed, was done in virtue of the general powers lodged in the Maſter, Wardens, and Aſſiſtants of the Trinity-houſe at *Deptford Strond* to erect ſea-marks, &c. by a ſtatute of queen Elizabeth, whereby they are impowered "to erect and ſet up beacons, marks and ſigns for the ſea, needful for avoiding the dangers; and to renew, continue, and maintain the ſame." But whether Mr. Winſtanley was a proprietor or ſharer of the undertaking under the Trinity-houſe, or only the directing engineer employed in the execution, does not now appear.

This gentleman had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a certain branch of mechanics, the tendency of which is to raiſe wonder and ſurpriſe. He had at his houſe at Littlebury a ſet of contrivances, ſuch as the following:—Being taken into one particular room of his houſe, and there obſerving an old ſlipper careleſsly lying on the middle of the floor,—if, as was natural, you gave it a kick with your foot, up ſtarted a ghoſt before you: if you ſat down in a certain chair, a couple of arms would immediately claſp you in, ſo as to render it impoſſible to diſentangle yourſelf till your attendant ſet you at liberty: and if you ſat down in a certain arbour by the ſide of a canal, you was forthwith ſent out afloat to the middle of the canal, from whence it was impoſſible for you to eſcape till the manager returned you to your former place.—Whether thoſe things were ſhewn to ſtrangers at his houſe for money, or were done by way of amuſement to thoſe that came to viſit the place, is uncertain, as Mr. Winſtanley is ſaid to have been a man of ſome property: but it is at leaſt certain, that he eſtabliſhed a place of public exhibition at Hyde Park Corner, called Winſtanley's Water-works, which were ſhewn at ſtated times at one ſhilling each perſon. The particulars of thoſe water-works are not now known; but, according to the taſte of the times, we muſt naturally ſuppoſe a great variety of *jets d'eau*, &c. *

The lighthouſe Mr. Winſtanley built was begun in the year 1696, and was more than four years in building; "Not," ſays the architect, "for the greatneſs of the work, but for the difficulty and danger in getting backwards and forwards to the place. The difficulties were many, and the dangers not leſs. At length, in the third year, all the work was raiſed, which to the vane

* It appears that the exhibition of theſe water-works continued ſome years after the death of Mr. Winſtanley, as they were exiſting in the month of Sept. 1709, being mentioned in the Tatler of that date.

was

was eighty feet. Being all finiſhed, with the lantern, and all the rooms that were in it, they ventured to lodge there ſoon after Midſummer, for the greater diſpatch of the work. But the firſt night the weather came bad, and ſo continued, that it was eleven days before any boats could come near them again, and, not being acquainted with the height of the ſea riſing, they were almoſt all the time drowned with wet, and their proviſions in as bad a condition, though they worked night and day to make ſhelter for themſelves. In this ſtorm they loſt ſome of their materials, although they did what they could to ſave them; but the boat then returning, they all left the houſe to be refreſhed on ſhore; and as ſoon as the weather permitted, they returned again and finiſhed all, and put up the light on the 14th of Nov. 1698; which being ſo late in the year, it was three days before Chriſtmas before they had relief to get on ſhore again, and were almoſt at the laſt extremity for want of proviſions; but by good providence, then two boats came with proviſions, and the family that was to take care of the light.

The fourth year, finding in the winter the effects the ſea had upon the houſe, and burying the lantern at times, although more than 60 feet high; Mr. Winſtanley early in the ſpring encompaſſed the building with a new work of four feet thickneſs from the foundation, making all ſolid near 20 feet high; and taking down the upper part of the firſt building, and enlarging every part in its proportion, he raiſed it forty feet higher than it was at firſt; and yet the ſea, in time of ſtorms, flew in appearance 100 feet above the vane; and at times covered half the ſide of the houſe and the lantern, as if they were under water.

On the finiſhing this building, it was generally ſaid, that in the time of hard weather, ſuch was the height of the ſeas, that it was very poſſible for a ſix-oared boat to be lifted up upon a wave, and driven through the open gallery of the lighthouſe.

In Nov. 1703, the fabric wanted ſome repairs, and Mr. Winſtanley went down to Plymouth to ſuperintend the performance of them. The opinion of the common people was, that the building would not be of long duration. Mr. Winſtanley, however, held different ſentiments. Being amongſt his friends previous to his going off with his workmen on account of thoſe reparations, the danger was intimated to him; and it was ſaid, that one day or other the lighthouſe would certainly be overſet. To this he replied, "He was ſo well aſſured of the ſtrength of his building, he ſhould only wiſh to be there in the greateſt ſtorm that ever blew under the face of the heavens, that he might ſee what effect it would have upon the ſtructure."

In this wiſh he was too ſoon gratified; for while he was there with his workmen and light-keepers, that dreadful ſtorm began which raged the moſt violently upon the 26th Nov. 1703, in the night; and of all the accounts of the kind which hiſtory furniſhes us with, we have none that has exceeded this in Great Britain, or was more injurious or extenſive in its devaſtation.

The next morning, when the ſtorm was abated, nothing of the lighthouſe

lighthouſe was to be ſeen. The following account of its deſtruction was printed at the time, by Daniel Defoe, in a book intitled THE STORM:

"The loſs of the lighthouſe called the Edyſtone, at Plymouth, is another article of which we never heard any particulars, other than this, that at night it was ſtanding, and in the morning all the upper part of the gallery was blown down, and all the people in it periſhed, and, by a particular misfortune, Mr. Winſtanley the contriver of it; a perſon whoſe loſs is very much regretted by ſuch as knew him, as a very uſeful man to his country. The loſs of that lighthouſe is alſo a conſiderable damage, as it is very doubtful whether it will ever be attempted again; and it was a great ſecurity to the ſailors, many a good ſhip having been loſt there in former times.

"It was very remarkable, that as we are informed, at the ſame time the lighthouſe aforeſaid was blown down, the model of it in Mr. Winſtanley's houſe at Littlebury in Eſſex, above 200 miles from the lighthouſe, fell down and was broken to pieces.

"At Plymouth they felt a full proportion of the ſtorm in its utmoſt fury. The Edyſtone has been already mentioned; but it was a double loſs, in that the lighthouſe had not been long down when the *Winchelſea*, a homeward-bound Virginia-man, was ſplit upon the rock where that building ſtood, and moſt of her men drowned.

The great utility of Mr. Winſtanley's lighthouſe had been ſufficiently evident to thoſe for whoſe uſe it was erected; and the loſs of the Winchelſea Virginia-man before-mentioned proved a powerful incentive to ſuch as were intereſted, to exert themſelves in order for its reſtoration. It was not, however, begun ſo ſoon as might have been expected. In ſpring of the year 1706, an act of parliament paſſed, enabling the Trinity Houſe to rebuild, but it was not earlier than July that it was begun. The undertaker was a captain Lovell or Lovett, who took it for the term of ninety-nine years, commencing from the day that a light ſhould be exhibited.

To enable him to fulfil his undertaking, Captain Lovett engaged Mr. John Rudyerd to be his engineer or architect; and his choice, though Mr. Rudyerd * does not appear

* Of this gentleman Mr. Smeaton gives the following account, from the information of Mr. Michell:

"Mr. Rudyerd's father and mother were of the loweſt rank of day-labourers, with a large family of children, and in as low repute in all other reſpects, as in point of rank; being looked upon as a worthleſs ſet of ragged beggars, whom almoſt nobody would employ on account of the badneſs of their characters. This their ſon, however, was, from a child, of a very different diſpoſition from the reſt; born with a good head, and an honeſt and good heart, in ſhort the very reverſe of the reſt of the family; ſo that he was conſidered by them as a ſullen boy, as he would not aſſociate with them in going out on their pilfering ſchemes; and probably on that account, as hath been ſuppoſed, he ran away from them, and by good luck, and from ſomething promiſing in his aſpect, got into the ſervice of a gentleman, it is believed at Plymouth; and in this ſtation he appeared to ſo much advantage to his maſter, and became ſo great a favourite with him, that he gave him the opportunity

appear to have been bred to any mechanical buſineſs or ſcientifical profeſſion, was not ill made. He at that time kept a linen-draper's ſhop upon Ludgate-Hill. His want of experience, however, was in a degree aſſiſted by Mr. Smith and Mr. Notcutt, both ſhip-wrights from the king's yard at Woolwich, who worked with him the whole time he was building the light-houſe.

It is not very material in what way this gentleman became qualified for the execution of the work; it is ſufficient that he directed the performance thereof in a maſterly manner, and ſo as perfectly to anſwer the end for which it was intended. He ſaw the errors in the former building, and avoided them: inſtead of a polygon, he choſe a circle for the outline of his building, and carried up the elevation in that form. His principal aim appears to have been uſe and ſimplicity; and indeed, in a building ſo ſituated, the former could hardly be acquired in its full extent without the latter. He ſeems to have adopted ideas the very reverſe of his predeceſſor; for all the unwieldy ornaments at top, the open gallery, the projecting cranes, and other contrivances, more for ornament and pleaſure than uſe, Mr. Rudyerd laid totally aſide: he ſaw, that how beautiful ſoever ornaments might be in themſelves, yet when they are improperly applied, and out of place, they ſhew a bad taſte, and betray ignorance of its firſt principle, judgment.

The building was begun in July 1706, a light was up in it the 28th July 1708, and it was completely finiſhed in 1709. The quantity of materials expended in the conſtruction, was 500 tons of ſtone, 1,200 tons of timber, 80 tons of iron, and 35 tons of lead; of trenails, ſcrews, and rack-bolts 2,500 each.

Louis the XIVth being at war with England during the proceeding with this building, a French privateer took the men at work upon it, together with their tools, and carried them to France; and the captain was in expectation of a reward for the atchievement. While the captives lay in priſon, the tranſaction reached the ears of that monarch. He immediately ordered them to be releaſed, and the captors to be put in their place; declaring, that though he was at war with England, he was not at war with mankind; he therefore directed the men to be ſent back to their work with preſents; obſerving, that the Edyſtone lighthouſe was ſo ſituated, as to be of equal ſervice to all nations having occaſion to navigate the channel that divides France from England.

In the year 1715, captain Lovett being dead, his property in the Edyſtone light-houſe was ſold before a maſter in chancery to Robert Weſton, Eſq. —— Noyes, Eſq.

of reading, writing, accounts, and mathematics; in all which he made a very ready and great progreſs; and afterwards his maſter aſſiſted him very greatly in life, by procuring him ſome employment that raiſed him above the rank of a ſervant, and laid the foundation of his future ſucceſs in the world." The reſolution of this gentleman, in ſeparating himſelf from his worthleſs parents, and avoiding the evil of their bad example, are circumſtances indicating a ſtrong mind, and highly honourable to him.

of

of Gray's-Inn; and —— Cheetham, Esq. an alderman of Dublin, who divided the same into eight shares. After a few years some repairs were found wanting; and in 1723, Mr. Rudyerd being, we suppose, then dead, Mr. John Holland, foreman ship-wright in the Dock-yard at Plymouth, became overseer and director of the necessary reparations; which office he again executed in 1734. The latter end of 1744, after all the necessary repairs were finished, there happened a dreadful storm on the 26th Sept. in which the Victory was lost; which being from the east, tore away no less than thirty pieces of the uprights altogether, which in part made an opening into the store-room. This disaster, however, was entirely repaired in December following, under the direction of Mr. Josias Jessop, a quarter-man in Plymouth Dock, who had been recommended by Mr. Holland, on his own promotion to be king's builder at Deptford-yard. Mr. Holland, however, continued his good offices until his death in 1752, when the whole superintendance devolved on Mr. Jessop.

The catastrophe of this light-house soon after took place. On the 2d December 1755, the light-keeper then upon watch, about two o'clock in the morning, went into the lantern as usual, to snuff the candles; he found the whole in a smoke; and upon opening the door of the lantern into the balcony, a flame instantly burst from the inside of the cupola: he immediately endeavoured to alarm his companions; but they being in bed, and asleep, were not so ready in coming to his assistance as the occasion required. As there were always some leather buckets kept in the house, and a tub of water in the lantern, he attempted to extinguish the fire by throwing water from the balcony upon the outside cover of lead. By this time his companions arriving, he encouraged them to fetch up water with the buckets from the sea; but the height of the place, added to the consternation which must attend such an unexpected event, rendered their efforts fruitless. The flames gathered strength every moment; the poor man with every exertion, having the water to throw four yards higher than himself, found himself unable to stop the progress of the conflagration, and was obliged to desist.

As he was looking upward with the utmost attention to see the effect of the water thrown, a position which, physiognomists tell us, occasions the mouth naturally to be a little open, a quantity of lead dissolved by the heat of the flames suddenly rushed like a torrent from the roof, and fell upon his head, face, and shoulders, and burnt him in a dreadful manner: from this moment he had a violent internal sensation, and imagined that a quantity of this lead had passed his throat, and got into his body. Under this violence of pain and anxiety, as every attempt had proved ineffectual, and the rage of the flames was encreasing, it is not to be wondered that the terror and dismay of the three men increased in proportion; so that they all found themselves intimidated, and glad to make their retreat from the immediate scene of horror into one of the rooms below. They therefore descended as the fire approached,

proached, with no other proſpect than of ſecuring their immediate ſafety, with ſcarce any hopes of being ſaved from deſtruction.

How ſoon the flames were ſeen on the ſhore is uncertain; but early in the morning they were perceived by ſome of the Cawſand fiſhermen, and intelligence thereof given to Mr. Edwards, of Rame, in that neighbourhood, a gentleman of ſome fortune, and more humanity, who immediately ſent out a fiſhing-boat and men to the relief of the diſtreſſed objects in the lighthouſe.

The boat and men got thither about ten o'clock, after the fire had been burning full eight hours; in which time the three light-keepers were not only driven from all the rooms and the ſtaircaſe, but, to avoid the falling of the timber and red-hot bolts, &c. upon them, they were found ſitting in the hole or cave on the eaſt ſide of the rock under the iron ladder, almoſt in a ſtate of ſtupefaction; it being then low water.

With much difficulty they were taken off; when finding it impoſſible to do any further ſervice, they haſtened to Plymouth. No ſooner were they ſet on ſhore, than one of the men ran away, and was never afterwards heard of. This circumſtance, though it might lead to ſuſpicions unfavourable to the man, Mr. Smeaton is of opinion ought not to weigh any thing againſt him, as he ſuppoſes it to have ariſen from a panic which ſometimes ſeizes weak minds, and prevents their acting agreeable to the dictates of right reaſon.

It was not long before the dreadful news arrived at Plymouth. Alderman Tolcher and his ſon immediately went to ſea, but found it impoſſible to do any thing with effect. Admiral Weſt alſo, who then lay in Plymouth Sound, ſent a ſloop properly armed, with a boat and an engine therein, which alſo carried out Mr. Jeſſop the ſurveyor. This veſſel arrived early in the day. Many attempts were made to play the engine, but the agitation of the ſea prevented it from being employed with ſucceſs. On the ſucceeding days the fire ſtill continued, and about the 7th the deſtruction of the whole was completed.

The man who has been mentioned already was named Henry Hall, of Stonehouſe, near Plymouth; and though aged 94 years, being of a good conſtitution, was remarkably active, conſidering his time of life. He invariably told the ſurgeon who attended him, Mr. Spry (now Dr. Spry) of Plymouth, that if he would do any thing effectual to his recovery, he muſt relieve his ſtomach from the lead which he was ſure was within him; and this he not only told Dr. Spry, but all thoſe about him, though in a very hoarſe voice, and the ſame aſſertion he made to Mr. Jeſſop.—The reality of the aſſertion ſeemed, however, then incredible to Dr. Spry, who could ſcarcely ſuppoſe it poſſible that any human being could exiſt after receiving melted lead into the ſtomach; much leſs that he ſhould afterwards be able to bear towing through the ſea from the rock, and alſo the fatigue and inconvenience from the length of time he was in getting on ſhore before any remedies could be applied. The man, however, did not ſhew any ſymptoms of being much worſe or better until the ſixth day after

after the accident, when he was thought to mend: he conſtantly took his medicines, and ſwallowed many things both liquid and ſolid, till the tenth or eleventh day; after which he ſuddenly grew worſe; and on the twelfth, being ſeized with cold ſweats and ſpaſms, he ſoon after expired.

His body was opened by Dr. Spry, and in the ſtomach was found a ſolid piece of lead of a flat oval form, which weighed 7 ounces 5 drachms. So extraordinary a circumſtance appearing to deſerve the notice of the philoſophical world, an account of it was ſent to the Royal Society, and printed in the 49th volume of their Tranſactions, p. 477.

The lighthouſe being thus demoliſhed, the proprietors immediately turned their thoughts to the rebuilding of it. They had in it a term of near half a century, but ſome ſhares being ſettled by the marriage articles of one of the parties, ſome impediments aroſe which could not be overcome without the aid of parliament, which was ſoon obtained. To one of the partners, Robert Weſton, Eſq. the management of the buſineſs was committed, and he thought it requiſite to apply to the earl of Macclesfield, then preſident of the Royal Society, to recommend a proper perſon to ſuperintend the work. On communicating the object of his viſit, lord Macclesfield told him, that there was one of the Royal Society whom he could venture to recommend to the buſineſs; yet that the moſt material part of what he knew of him was, his having within the compaſs of the laſt ſeven years recommended himſelf to the ſociety by the communication of ſeveral mechanical inventions and improvements; and though he had at firſt made it his buſineſs to execute things in the inſtrument way (without having been bred to the trade) yet on account of the merit of his performances, he had been choſen a member of the ſociety; and that for about three years paſt, having found the buſineſs of a philoſophical inſtrument-maker not likely to afford an adequate recompence, he had wholly applied himſelf to ſuch branches of mechanics as were wanted by the proprietors; that he was then ſomewhere in the north of England, executing a work; and that as he had always ſatisfied his employers, he would not be likely to undertake what he could not perform.

The perſon thus deſcribed was Mr. SMEATON, who was written to by Mr. Benjamin Wilſon the painter, laconically informing him, that he was the perſon fixed upon to rebuild the Edyſtone Lighthouſe. But this intimation conveying to his mind no more than a mere notice, that he might, in common with others, deliver in propoſals to repair it, not knowing then that it was entirely deſtroyed, it afforded but little ſatisfaction, and he returned only a cool anſwer. Mr. Wilſon's reply was ſtill more laconic: That the demolition was total; and that, as Nathan ſaid unto David, "Thou art the man."

Mr. Smeaton immediately diveſted himſelf of his engagements in the North, and arrived in London the 23d of Feb. 1756, and had an interview next day with the principal proprietor. The mode of rebuilding then became the ſubject of their deliberations, which at length ended in a determination to rebuild it with ſtone.

On the 5th of April Mr. Smeaton firſt ſet his foot on the Edyſtone Rock. He immediately began to

take his meaſures for proceeding on the work. He made all the neceſſary enquiries on the ſpot, and in the neighbourhood. He conſidered the nature and quality of the ſtone proper to be uſed, and from whence it might be obtained at the beſt and cheapeſt rates. He viſited the quarries at Beare in Devonſhire, and the Iſle of Portland, and from the latter of theſe places he at length determined to be ſupplied with his materials*.

Having

* The following cuſtom at Portland is worthy of notice. "While I was looking over the quarries at Portland," ſays Mr. Smeaton, "and attentively conſidering the operations, obſerving how ſoon the quarrymen would cut half a ton of *ſpawls* from an unformed block, and what large pieces flew off at every ſtroke; how ſpeedily their blows followed one another, and how inceſſantly they purſued this labour with a tool of from 18 to 20 pound weight; I was naturally led to view and conſider the figure of the *operative* agent; and after having obſerved that by far the greateſt number of the quarrymen were of a very robuſt hardy form, in whoſe hands the tool I have mentioned ſeemed a mere play-thing, I at laſt broke out with ſurprize, and enquired of my guide Mr. Roper, where they could poſſibly pick up ſuch a ſet of ſtout fellows, to handle the *kevel*, which in their hands ſeemed nothing: for I obſerved that in the ſpace of 15 minutes, they would knock off as much waſte matter from a maſs of ſtone, as any of that occupation I had ever ſeen before would do in an hour. Says Roper, "We do not go to fetch thoſe men from a diſtance, they "are all born upon the iſland, and many of them have never been further upon "the main land than to Weymouth." I told him I thought the air of that iſland muſt be very propitious, to furniſh a breed of men ſo particularly formed for the buſineſs they followed. "The air," he replied, "though very ſharp from "our elevated ſituation, is certainly very healthy to working men; yet if you "knew how theſe men are produced, you would wonder the leſs; for all our mar-"riages here are productive of children." On deſiring an explanation how this happened, he proceeded: "Our people here, as they are bred to hard labour, are "very early in a condition to marry and provide for a family; they intermarry "with one another, very rarely going to the main land to ſeek a wife; and it "has been the cuſtom of the iſland, from time immemorial, that they never marry "till the woman is pregnant." But pray, ſays I, does not this ſubject you to a great number of baſtards? Have not your Portlanders the ſame kind of fickleneſs in their attachments that Engliſhmen are ſubject to? and, in conſequence, does not this produce many inconveniencies? "None at all," replies Roper, "for previous to my arrival here, there was but one child on record of the "pariſh regiſter, that had been born a baſtard in the compaſs of 150 years. "The mode of courtſhip here is, that a young woman never admits of the "ſerious addreſſes of a young man, but on ſuppoſition of a thorough proba-"tion. When ſhe becomes with child, ſhe tells her mother: the mother tells her "father; her father tells his father, and he tells his ſon, that it is then proper time "to be married." But ſuppoſe, Mr. Roper, ſhe does not prove to be with child, what happens then? Do they live together without marriage? or if they ſeparate, is not this ſuch an imputation upon her, as to prevent her getting another ſuitor? "The caſe is thus managed," anſwered my friend: "If the woman "does not prove with child, after a competent time of courtſhip, they conclude "they are not deſtined by providence for each other; they therefore ſeparate; "and as it is an eſtabliſhed maxim, which the Portland women obſerve with "great ſtrictneſs, never to admit a plurality of lovers at one time, their honour is "no way tarniſhed: ſhe juſt as ſoon (after the affair is declared to be broke off)

"gets

Having proceeded thus far, he returned to London, and had a meeting with the proprietors, who, for reaſons highly honourable to them, confirmed their determination to rebuild with ſtone. He accordingly prepared his models and deſigns, which were approved by his employers, and directed to be exhibited to the Lords of the Admiralty, and the Maſters of the Trinity Houſe. To the former they were ſhewn; but the latter having fixed their time for viewing them at ſo diſtant a day as to hazard the progreſs of the work, he determined to ſet off for Plymouth without their inſpection.

He arrived at Plymouth the 23d of July 1756, and immediately began his operations. He appointed his aſſiſtants, hired his men, ſettled their wages, and drew up rules for their conduct. He alſo hired a piece of ground for a work-yard. On the 3d of Auguſt they went off to the rock, and continued to work as long as the weather would permit. The next winter Mr. Smeaton determined to continue at Plymouth, to go through a courſe of experiments on cements. On the 3d of June 1757, the works were reſumed, and on the 12th the firſt ſtone was fixed. From this time the erection proceeded with regularity and diſpatch, and with no other interruptions than what might be expected from the nature of the work, until the 9th of Oct. 1759, when, after innumerable difficulties and dangers, a happy period was put to the undertaking, without the loſs of life or limb to any one concerned in it, or accident by which the work could be ſaid to be materially retarded.

It now remained only to wait for a ſtorm to try the durability of the building. The hard weather of 1759, 1760, and 1761, appeared to make no impreſſion. The year 1762 was uſhered in by a tempeſt of the firſt magnitude, the rage of which was ſo great, that one of thoſe who had been uſed to predict its downfall was heard to ſay, "If the Edyſtone Lighthouſe is now ſtanding, it will ſtand to the DAY OF JUDGMENT;" and in reality, from this time its exiſtence has been ſo entirely laid out of men's minds, that whatever ſtorms have happened ſince, no enquiry has ever been made concerning it. So confident was a very intelligent friend of Mr. Smeaton's of its durability, that he wrote to him, that he might for ever rid himſelf of any uneaſy thought of the houſe as to its danger from wind and ſea.

The Lighthouſe is attended by three men, who receive 25l. a year each, with an occaſional abſence in

"gets another ſuitor, as if ſhe had been left a widow, or that nothing had "ever happened, but that ſhe had remained an immaculate virgin." But pray, Sir, did nothing particular happen upon your men coming down from London? "Yes," ſays he, "our men were much ſtruck and mightily pleaſed with the facility "of the Portland ladies, and it was not long before ſeveral of the women "proved with child; but the men being called upon to marry them, this part of "the leſſon they were uninſtructed in; and on their refuſal, the Portland wo-"men aroſe to ſtone them out of the iſland; inſomuch that thoſe few who did "not chuſe to take their ſweethearts for *better or for worſe*, after ſo fair a trial, "were in reality obliged to decamp; and on this occaſion ſome few baſtards "were born; but ſince then, matters have gone on according to the ancient "cuſtom."

ſummer. Formerly there were only two, who watched alternately four hours and four hours; but one being taken ill and dying, the neceſſity of an additional hand became apparent. In this dilemma, the living man found himſelf in an awkward ſituation. Being apprehenſive if he tumbled the dead body into the ſea, which was the only way in his power to diſpoſe of it, he might be charged with murder, he was induced for ſome time to let the dead body lie, in hopes that the boat might be able to land, and relieve him from the diſtreſs he was in. By degrees the body became ſo offenſive, that it was not in his power to get quit of it without help; for it was near a month before the attending boat could effect a landing; and then it was not without the greateſt difficulty that it could be done, when they did land. To ſuch a degree was the whole building filled with the ſtench of the corpſe, that it was all they could do to get the dead body diſpoſed of and thrown into the ſea, and it was ſome time after that before the rooms could be freed from the noiſome ſtench that was left.

It is ſaid, that while two light-keepers only were employed, on ſome diſguſt they forbore to ſpeak to each other. A perſon obſerving to one of them how happy they might live in their ſtate of retirement, "Yes," ſays the man, "very "comfortably, if we could have the "uſe of our tongues; but it is now "a full month ſince my partner and "I have ſpoke to each other."

To theſe anecdotes we ſhall add one more, and conclude. A ſhoemaker was carrying out to the lighthouſe in order to be light-keeper. In their way, ſays the ſkipper to him, "How happens it, friend Jacob, "that you ſhould chuſe to go out "to be a light-keeper, when you "can on ſhore (as I am told) earn "half-a-crown and three ſhillings "a day in making leathern hoſe "(leathern pipes ſo called); "whereas the light-keeper's ſalary "is but 25l. a year, which is ſcarce "ten ſhillings a week." Says the ſhoe-maker, "I go to be a light-"keeper, becauſe I don't like *con-*"*finement.*" After this anſwer had produced its ſhare of merriment, he at laſt explained himſelf, by ſaying, that he did not like to be confined to work.

The whole time between the firſt ſtroke upon the rock and leaving the Lighthouſe complete, was 3 years 9 weeks and 3 days; from the 5th of Dec. 1755, to exhibiting the light Oct. 1759, was three years 10 months and 16 days; and the whole time of working on the rock 111 days 10 hours.

POETRY.

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1791.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, *Esq. Poet Laureat.*

I.

WHEN from the boſom of the mine
The magnet firſt to light was thrown,
Fair Commerce hail'd the gift divine,
And, ſmiling, claim'd it for her own.
" My bark," ſhe ſaid, " this gem ſhall guide
" Thro' paths of Ocean yet untried,
" While as my daring ſons explore
" Each rude, inhoſpitable ſhore,
" 'Mid deſart ſands and ruthleſs ſkies,
" New ſeats of induſtry ſhall riſe,
" And Culture wide extend its genial reign,
" Free as the ambient gale, and boundleſs as the main."

II.

But Tyranny ſoon learn'd to ſeize
The art improving Science taught,
The white ſail courts the diſtant breeze,
With horror and deſtruction fraught;
From the tall maſt fell War unfurl'd
His banners to a new-found world;
Oppreſſion arm'd with giant Pride,
And bigot Fury by her ſide;
Dire Deſolation bath'd in blood,
Pale Av'rice, and her harpy brood,
To each affrighted ſhore in thunder ſpoke,
And bow'd the wretched race to Slavery's iron yoke.

III.

Not ſuch the gentler views that urge
Britannia's ſons to dare the ſurge;
Not ſuch the gifts her Drake, her Raleigh bore
To the wild inmates of th' Atlantic ſhore,
Teaching each drear wood's pathleſs ſcene
The glories of their Virgin Queen—

Nor

Nor ſuch her later chiefs, who try,
Impell'd by ſoft Humanity,
The boiſt'rous wave, the rugged coaſt,
The burning zone, the polar froſt,
That climes remote, and regions yet unknown,
May ſhare a GEORGE's ſway, and bleſs his patriot throne.

IV.

Warm Fancy, kindling with delight,
Anticipates the lapſe of Age,
And as ſhe throws her eagle's ſight
O'er Time's yet undiſcover'd page,
Vaſt Continents, now dark with ſhade,
She ſees in Verdure's robe array'd:
Sees o'er each iſland's fertile ſteep
That frequent ſtuds the Southern deep,
His fleecy charge the ſhepherd lead,
The harveſt wave, the vintage bleed;
Sees Commerce ſprings of guiltleſs wealth explore,
Where frowns the weſtern world on Aſia's neighbouring ſhore.

V.

But lo! acroſs the blackening ſkies
What ſwarthy Dæmon wings his flight?
At once the tranſient landſcape flies,
The ſplendid Viſion ſets in night.—
And ſee Britannia's aweful form,
With breaſt undaunted, brave the ſtorm:
Aweful, as when, her angry tide
O'erwhelm'd the wreck'd Armada's pride;
Aweful, as when th' avenging blow
Suſpending o'er a proſtrate foe,
She ſnatch'd, in Vict'ry's moment prompt to ſave
Iberia's ſinking ſons from Calpe's glowing wave.

VI.

Ere yet the tempeſt's mingled ſound
Burſt dreadful o'er the nations round,
What angel ſhape, in beaming radiance dight,
Pours thro' the ſevering clouds celeſtial light!
'Tis Peace—before her ſeraph eye
The fiends of Devaſtation fly.
Auſpicious round our Monarch's brow
She twines her olive's ſacred bough;
This victory, ſhe cries, is mine,
Not torn from War's terrific ſhrine!
Mine, the pure trophies of the wiſe and good,
Unbought by ſcenes of woe, and undefil'd with blood.

ODE

ODE *for his* MAJESTY's *Birth-Day, June* 4, 1791.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, *Eſq. Poet Laureat.*

LOUD the whirlwind rag'd around
That ſhook affrighted Britain's ſhore,
In peals of louder thunder drown'd
That mingled with the wint'ry roar;
Dreadful amid the driving ſtorm
The gliding meteor's horrid form
With tranſient gleam illum'd the air,
While thro' December's murky night,
Refulgent with unwonted light,
The livid flaſhes glare.

But ſee! the radiant Lord of Day
Now northward rolls his burning car,
And ſcatters with victorious ray
The rage of elemental war.
To reſt the troubled waves ſubſide,
And gently o'er the curling tide
Young Zephyr leads the vernal hours,
Adorns with richeſt dyes the vale,
And fragrance wafts on every gale
From June's ambroſial flowers.

O, may no lowering gloom o'ercaſt
Th' auſpicious morn to Britain dear,
Or Eurus check with envious blaſt
The promiſe of the rip'ning year!
Or ſhould ſome tranſitory cloud
Awhile th' ethereal ſplendor ſhroud;
Soon ſhall the ſun his ſtream renew—
Soon ſhall the landſcape ſmile around
With more luxuriant verdure crown'd,
And bloom with livelier hue.

Exulting in her Prince rever'd,
Whoſe mild parental virtues grace
The ſacred Throne by Glory rear'd
On Freedom's adamantine baſe;
While Albion pours the feſtive ſtrain,
Reſponſive to her choral train,
The Muſe enraptur'd joins the throng,
Proud that a grateful people's praiſe
Echoes the votive verſe ſhe pays,
And conſecrates her ſong.

Lines

Lines addreſſed by Sir CHARLES CAVENDISH *to the Counteſs of* SHREWSBURY, *written in the year* 1614. *From* LODGE's *Illuſtrations of* Britiſh *Hiſtory, Biography, and Manners.*

MADDAM, ſo may my v̄ſes pleaſing bee,
So may yow laugh at them, and not at mee,
As ſomthing to yow I would gladly ſay,
But how to doe it can̄ot finde the way.
I would avoyd the com̄on trodden wayes
To ladyes us'd, wch bee or love or prayſe:
As for the firſt, that little witt I have
Is not yet growne ſo neere unto the grave
But that I can by that dim fadeing light
P̄ceave of what, & unto whom, I write.
Let ſuch as in a hopeles witles rage
Can ſigh a quier, and read it to a page;
Such as can make ten ſonets ere they reſt,
When each is but a great blot at the beſt;
Such as can backs of books and windows fill,
With theyr too furious diamond & quill;
Such as ar well reſolved to end theyr dayes
W^th a loud laughter, blowne beyond the ſeas;
Who ar ſo mortify'd that they can live
Contemn'd of all the world, and yet forgive;
Write love to yow—I would not willingly
Be poynted at in ev'ry company,
As was the little taylor that tiN death
Was hot in love with Queene Elizabeth.
And, for the laſt, in all my idle dayes
I never yet did living woman prayſe
In verſe or proſe; and when I doe beginn,
I'le pick ſome woman out as full of ſinn
As yow are full of virtue; with a ſoule
As blacke as yor's is white; a face as foule
As yor's is beautyfull: for it ſhall be
Out of the rules of phiſiognomy,
So farr that I doe feare I muſt diſplace
The art a little to let in her face.
It ſhall at leaſt fowr faces be below
The divell's, and her parched corps ſhall ſhowe,
In her looſe ſkin, as if a ſpirit ſhee were,
Kept in a bagg by ſome great conjurer.
Her breath ſhall be as horrible and vild
As ev'ry word yow ſpeake is ſweete and mild;
It ſhall be ſuch a one as can̄ot bee
Cov̄r'd wth anie art or policie;

But, let her take all powdrs, 'fumes, and drinke,
She ſhall make nothing but a deerer ſtinke.
She ſhall have ſuch a foote, and ſuch a noſe,
As will not ſtand in any thing but proſe.
If I beſtow my prayſes uppon ſuch
'Tis charity, and I ſhall merit much.
My prayſe will come to her like a full boule
Beſtowed, at moſt neede, on a thirſty ſoule;
Where if I ſing yor prayſes in my rime,
I looſe my inke, my paper, and my time;
Add nothing to yor overflowing ſtore,
And tell yow naught but what yow knew before.
Nor do the worthy minded (which I ſware,
Madam, I thinck yow are) indure to heare
Theyr own p̃fections into queſtiõ brought,
Butt ſtopp theyr eares at them; for if I thought
You tooke a pride to have yor virtues knowne,
P̃don me, Maddam, I ſhould think them none.
To what a length is this ſtrange letter growne
In ſeeking of a ſubject, yet finds none.
But if yor brave thoughts (wch I muſt reſpect
Above yor glorious titles) doe accept
Theſe few ill-ſcattered lines, I ſhall ere long
Dreſſe upp yor virtues new, in a new ſong:
Yet farr from all baſe prayſe or flatterie;
Allthough I know what 'ere my verſes bee,
They will like the moſt ſervile flatterie ſhow,
If I write truth, and make the ſubject yow.

Perſonal deſcription and domeſtic character of the ancient inhabitants of this iſland. From The ABORIGINAL BRITONS, *by* GEORGE RICHARDS, B. A.

RUDE as the wilds around his ſylvan home
In ſavage grandeur ſee the Briton roam.
Bare were his limbs, and ſtrung with toil and cold,
By untam'd nature caſt in giant-mould.
O'er his broad brawny ſhoulders looſely flung
Shaggy and long his yellow ringlets hung.
His waiſt an iron-belted falchion bore,
Maſſy, and purpled deep with human gore:
His ſcarr'd and rudely-painted limbs around
Fantaſtic horror-ſtriking figures frown'd,
Which, monſter-like, ev'n to the confines ran
Of nature's work, and left him hardly Man.
His knitted brows and rolling eyes impart
A direful image of his ruthleſs heart;

Where

Where war and human blood-ſhed brooding lie,
Like thunders lowering in a gloomy ſky.
But you, illuſtrious Fair Ones, wont to brave
Helvellin's ſtorms, and ſport in Darwent's wave,
To your high worth ſubmiſs the ſavage ſtood,
As Gambia's lions reverence princely blood.
He made no rubied lip nor ſparkling eye
The ſhrine and god of his idolatry;
But, proudly bending to a juſt controul,
Bow'd in obeiſance to the female ſoul;
And deem'd, ſome effluence of the Omniſcient mind
In woman's beauteous image lay enſhrin'd;
With inſpiration on her boſom hung,
And flow'd in heavenly wiſdom from her tongue.
Fam'd among warrior-chiefs the crown ſhe wore;
At freedom's call the gory falchion bore;
Rul'd the triumphant car; and rank'd in fame
Bonduca's with Caractacus's name.
No tender virgin heard the impaſſion'd youth
Breathe his warm vows, and ſwear eternal truth:
No ſire, encircled by a blooming race,
View'd his own features in his infant's face:
The ſavage knew not wedlock's chaſter rite;
The torch of Hymen pour'd a common light;
As paſſion fir'd, the lawleſs pair were bleſs'd;
And babes unfather'd hung upon the breaſt.
Such was the race, who drank the light of day,
When loſt in weſtern waves Britannia lay;
Content they wander'd o'er their heaths and moors,
Nor thought, that ocean roll'd round other ſhores.
Viewing the fires, that blaz'd around their ſkies,
Mid the wide world of waters ſet and riſe,
They vainly deem'd, the twinkling orbs of light
For them alone illum'd the vault of night;
For them alone the golden lamp of day
Held its bright progreſs through the heav'n's high way.
When the chill breeze of morning overhead
Wav'd the dark boughs, that roof'd his ſylvan bed,
Up the light Briton ſprung—to chace the deer
Through Humber's vales, or heathy Cheviot drear.
Languid at noon his fainting limbs he caſt
On the warm bank, and ſought his coarſe repaſt.
With acorns, ſhaken from the neighbouring oak,
Or ſapleſs bark, that from the trunk he broke,
His meal he made; and in the cavern'd dell
Drank the hoarſe wave, that down the rough rocks fell.
At eve retracing ſlow his morning road
With wearied feet he gain'd his wild abode.

No

No city roſe with ſpires and turrets crown'd;
No iron war from rocky ramparts frown'd:
But plain and ſimple, in the ſhadowy wood,
The ſhapeleſs rude-conſtructed hamlets ſtood:
O'er the deep trench an earthy mound aroſe,
To guard the ſylvan town from beaſts and foes.
The crackling fire, beneath the hawthorn ſhade,
With chearful blaze illum'd the darkſome glade.
Oft-times beneath the ſheltering oak was ſpread
With leaves and ſpoils of beaſts the ruſtic bed:
In open ſky he reſts his head, and ſees
The ſtars, that twinkle through the waving trees.
On his bare breaſt the chilling dews deſcend;
His yellow locks the midnight tempeſts rend;
Around—the empty wolf in hunger prowls,
And ſhakes the lonely foreſt with his howls:
Yet health and toil weigh down the ſenſe, and ſteep
His wearied aching limbs in balmy ſleep;
Till the pale twilight opes the glimmering glades,
And ſlowly gains upon the mid-wood ſhades.

Monody on the Death of DICK, *an Academical Cat. From* SALMAGUNDI, *a Miſcellaneous Combination of Original Poetry.*

YE Rats, in triumph elevate your ears!
Exult, ye Mice!—for Fate's abhorred ſhears
Of Dick's nine lives have ſlit the Catguts nine;
Henceforth he mews 'midſt choirs of Cats divine!
Tho' nine ſucceſſive lives protract their date,
E'en Cats themſelves obey the call of Fate;
Whoſe formidable fiat ſets afloat
Mortals, and mortal Cats, in Charon's boat:
Fate, who Cats, Dogs, and Doctors makes his prize
That grace Great Britain's Univerſities.
Where were ye, Nymphs,—when to the ſilent coaſt
Of gloomy Acheron Dick travell'd poſt?
Where were ye, Muſes, in that deathful hour?—
Say, did ye haunt the Literary Bower
Where Science ſends her Sons in Stockings Blue
To barter praiſe for ſoup with M******?
For not on Iſis' claſſic ſhores ye ſtray'd,
Nor brew'd with Cherwell's wave your lemonade;
Nor aſſignations kept with Grizzled Elves,
Where Learning ſleeps on Bodley's groaning ſhelves;
Nor, where no poet glows with kindred fire,
Wept o'er your favourite Warton's ſilent lyre.

While venal Cats (leagued with degenerate Curs,
Of faded Prudes the four-legg'd penſioners)
On the ſoft ſofa rang'd in order due,
For eleemoſynary muffin mew,
Regardleſs of the meed that Fame beſtows,
Their tail a feather for each wind that blows;
Thee, generous Dick, the Cat-controlling Powers
Ordain'd to mouſe in Academic Bowers:
Bade thee the ſacred ſtream of Sapience ſip,
And in Piërean Cream thy whiſkers dip!
Enſhrin'd celeſtial Cateries among,
The ſable Matron, from whoſe loins ſhe ſprung,
Who trac'd her high deſcent through ages dark,
From Cats that caterwaul'd in Noah's Ark,
Stern, brindled nurſe, with unremitting care,
To high achievements train'd her tabby heir;
On Patriot Cats his young attention fix'd,
And many a cuff with grave inſtruction mix'd;
Taught the great Truth, to half his race unknown:
" Cats are not kitten'd for themſelves alone;
" But hold from Heav'n their delegated claws,
" Guardians of Larders, Liberty, and Laws.
" Let Cats and Catlings of ignoble line
" Slumber in bee-hive chairs, in dairies dine;
" Shun thou the ſhades of Cat-enfeebling eaſe!
" Watch o'er the weal of Rhedycinian cheeſe;
" The melting marble of Collegiate Brawn
" For Heads of Houſes guard, and Lords in Lawn;
" And keep each recreant rat and mouſe in awe
" That dares to ſhew his noſe in Golgotha †.
" So may the brighteſt honours of the Gown
" Thy riper years and active virtue crown!—
" Say, ſhall not Cats, fraught with ethereal fire ‡,
" To ſeats of letter'd eminence aſpire?—
" Caligula a conſul made his ſteed;
" What tho' the beaſt could neither write nor read,
" Yet could he talents negative diſplay,
" And ſilence oppoſition with his neigh.
" If Charles of Sweden ſwore he would depute,
" The ſenate to control, his old Jack Boot;
" If erſt Rome's papal crown a Goſſip wore,
" Then, Dick, thou may'ſt become Vice-Chancellor.
" Might I but live, tho' crazy, old, and ſick,
" To ſee thee ſtalk behind thy Beadles, Dick!

† Golgotha, " The Place of a Scull," a name ludicrouſly appropriated to the place in which the Heads of Colleges aſſemble.

‡ Electrical ſparks elicited by friction from a cat's back.

" Behold,

" Behold, my brindled boy with conſcious pride
" O'er convocated Grizzle-Wigs preſide!
" Hear thee, ere I explore my lateſt home,
" Confer Degrees in Sheldon's ſpacious dome!
" See thee in ſcarlet robe encaſe thy fur,
" And at St. Mary's venerably purr!—
" Then let me be tranſlated to the ſkies,
" And cloſe in welcome death theſe gooſeb'ry eyes!"

* * * * * * * * *

While glory's ſteep aſcent Grimalkin ſhews,
Dick's breaſt with emulative ardour glows;
His emerald eyes with richer radiance roll,
And ALL THE CAT awakens in his ſoul.
Within the tender velvet of his paw
Tho' yet unbloodied lurks each virgin claw,
Anticipated palms his hope deſcries,
And conqueſts gain'd o'er viſionary mice:
Tho' much for milk, more for renown he mews,
And nobler objects than his tail purſues.
O, could I call the Muſes from the ſpheres,
To ſing the triumphs of his riper years!
What ſtrife the larder's conſcious ſhelves beheld!
What congregated rats his valour quell'd!
What mice deſcended, at each direful blow,
To nibble brimſtone in the realms below!
The Victor, who his foes in furious mood
Hurl'd from the Granic to the Stygian flood;
Churchill, whoſe bounty fainting Frenchmen gave
Soup-meagre gratis in the Danube's wave;
Heathfield, whoſe red-hot vengeance Spain deſied,
Bliſt'ring, like Spaniſh flies, old Neptune's hide;
Who plung'd his enemies, a whiſker'd group,
In green waves twice as hot as green peaſe' ſoup,
While Fate on Calpe's ſummit ſat and ſmil'd,
To ſee the dingy Dons like lobſters boil'd,
Or by the light'ning of th' exploded ſhell
Diſpatch'd to ſeek a cooler birth in Hell—
All heroes, bloody, brave, or politic,
All, all ſhould yield preeminence to Dick:
And everlaſting laurels, thick as hops,
Wreath their bright foliage round his brindled chops.
Myſterious Powers, who rule the deſtinies
Of conquerors and kings, of cats and mice,
Why did your will the Pylian Chief decree
Three centuries, unſpectacled, to ſee,
Yet ſummon from his patriot toils away
Illuſtrious Dick, before his beard was grey?

Of valour, ſenſe, or ſkill, how vain the boaſt!—
Dick ſeeks the ſhades, an undiſtinguiſh'd ghoſt,
And turns his tail on this terreſtrial ball,
Diſmiſs'd without Mandamus Medical;
Sent, without purge or catapotium,
In prime of Cat-hood to the Catacomb;
No Doctor fee'd, no regimen advis'd,
Unpill'd, unpoultic'd, unphlebotomiz'd!
Ye ſage divines, if ſo conciſe our ſpan,
Who for preferment would turn Cat in pan?
Since Clergymen and Cats one fate betides,
And worms ſhall eat their ſermons and their hides!
Polecats, who Dick's diſaſtrous end ſurvive,
Shall bleſs their ſtars that they ſtill ſtink alive;
Muſkcats ſhall feel a melancholy qualm,
And with their ſweets departed Dick embalm;
Cats in each clime and latitude that dwell,
Brown, ſable, ſandy, grey, and tortoiſeſhell,
Of titles obſolete, or yet in uſe,
Tom, Tybert, Roger, Rutterkin *, or Puſs;
Cats who with wayward Hags the moon control,
Unchain the winds, and bid the thunders roll;
Brave in enchanted ſieves the boiſt'rous main,
And royal barks with adverſe blaſts detain †;
Nay two-legg'd Cats, as well as Cats with four,
Shall Dick's irreparable loſs deplore.
Cats who frail nymphs in gay aſſemblies guard,
As buckram ſtiff, and bearded like the pard;
Calumnious Cats who circulate faux pas,
And reputations maul with murd'rous claws;

* Rutterkin.—A Cat of this name was Cater-couſin to the great great great great great great great great great grandmother of Grimalkin; and Firſt Cat in the Caterie of an old woman who was tried for bewitching a Daughter of the Counteſs of Rutland in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century.

† "Moreover ſhe confeſſed that ſhe took a Cat and chriſtened it, &c. &c. and "that in the night following, the ſaid Cat was conveyed into the middeſt of the "ſea by all theſe Witches, ſayling in their Riddles, or Cives, and ſo left the ſaid "Cat right before the towne of Leith in Scotland. This doone, there did ariſe "ſuch a tempeſt at Sea as a greater hath not been ſeen, &c."

"Againe it is confeſſed that the ſaid chriſtened Cat was the cauſe of the Kinges "Majeſtie's ſhippe, at his comming forthe of Denmarke, had a contrarie winde to "the reſt of the ſhippes then beeing in his companie; which thing was moſt ſtraunge "and true, as the Kinges Majeſtie acknowledgeth, for when the reſt of the ſhippes "had a fair and good winde, then was the winde contrarie and altogether againſte "his Majeſtie, &c."

Old Pamphlet intitled, "Newes from Scotland, &c. &c. &c." Printed in the year 1591, by William Wright.

See Notes on the Tragedy of Macbeth, in Johnſon and Steevens' edition of Shakſpeare.

Shrill Cats whom fierce domeſtic brawls delight,
Croſs Cats who nothing want but teeth to bite,
Starch Cats of puritanic aſpect ſad,
And learned Cats who talk their huſbands mad;
Confounded Cats who cough, and croak, and cry,
And maudlin Cats who drink eternally;
Prim Cats of countenance and mien preciſe,
Yet oft'ner hankering for men than mice;
Curſt Cats whom nought but caſtigation checks,
Penurious Cats who buy their coals by pecks,
Faſtidious Cats who pine for coſtly cates,
And jealous Cats who catechiſe their mates;
Cat-Prudes who, when they're aſk'd the queſtion, ſquall,
And ne'er give anſwer Categorical;
Uncleanly Cats who never pare their nails,
Cat-Goſſips full of Canterbury tales,
Cat-Grandams vex'd with aſthmas and catarrhs,
And ſuperſtitious Cats who curſe their ſtars;
Cats who their favours barter for a bribe,
And canting Cats, the worſt of all the tribe!
And faded Virgin-Cats, and Tabbies old,
Who at quadrille remorſeleſs mouſe for gold;
Cats of each claſs, craft, calling, and degree
Mourn Dick's calamitous Cataſtrophe.

Yet, while I chant the cauſe of Richard's end,
Ye ſympathizing Cats, your tears ſuſpend!
Then ſhed enough to float a dozen whales,
And uſe, for pocket-hankerchiefs, your tails!—

Fame ſays (but Fame a ſland'rer ſtands confeſs'd,)
Dick his own Sprats, like Bamber Gaſcoigne, dreſs'd:
But to the advocates of truth 'tis known,
He neither ſtaid for grace nor gridiron.
Raw Sprats he ſwore were worth all fiſh beſide,
Freſh, ſtale, ſtew'd, ſpitchcock'd, fricaſſeed or fried:
Then ſwallow'd down a ſcore without remorſe,
And three fat Mice ſlew for a ſecond courſe:
But, while the third his grinders dyed with gore,
Sudden thoſe grinders clos'd—to grind no more!
And (dire to tell!) commiſſion'd by Old Nick,
A Catalepſy made an end of Dick.

Thus from the Paſty's furious eſcalade,
Where blood, to gravy turn'd, embrown'd his blade,
(That all-encountering blade which ſcorn'd to fear
Broil'd gizzards charg'd with Kian-gunpowder)
From rais'd-cruſt levell'd never more to riſe,
From ducks diſpatch'd, and maſſacred minc'd pies,
From turkey-poults transfix'd and ſirloins flaſh'd,
From marrow-puddings maul'd, and cuſtards quaſh'd,

Crimpt cod, and mutilated mackarel,
And deſolation of the turtle's ſhell,
Some Alderman of giant appetite
A ſurfeit ſweeps to everlaſting night:
Imbibing claret with his lateſt breath,
And brandiſhing his knife and fork in death,
Downward a gormandizing ghoſt he goes,
And bears to Hell freſh fuel on his noſe;
For Calipaſh explores th' infernal ſcene *,
And wiſhes Phlegethon one vaſt Terrene.
O Paragon of Cats, whoſe loſs diſtracts
My ſoul, and turns my tears to Cataracts,
Nor craft nor courage could thy doom prorogue!
Dick, premier Cat upon the Catalogue
Of Cats that grace a caterwauling age,
Scar'd by Fate's Cat-call quits this earthly ſtage;
Dire fled the arrow that laid Richard flat,
And ſickening Glory ſaw Death ſhoot a Cat.
Ah! tho' thy buſt adorn no ſculptur'd ſhrine,
No vaſe thy relics rare to fame conſign,
No rev'rend characters thy rank expreſs,
Nor hail thee, Dick! D. D. nor F. R. S.
Tho' no funereal cypreſs ſhade thy tomb,
For thee the wreaths of Paradiſe ſhall bloom.
There, while Grimalkin's mew her Richard greets,
A thouſand Cats ſhall purr on purple ſeats:
E'en now I ſee, deſcending from his throne,
Thy venerable Cat, O Whittington!
The kindred excellence of Richard hail,
And wave with joy his gratulating tail!
There ſhall the worthies of the Whiſker'd Race
Elyſian Mice o'er floors of ſapphire chaſe,
Midſt beds of aromatic marum ſtray,
Or raptur'd rove beſide the Milky Way.
Kittens, than Eaſtern Houris fairer ſeen,
Whoſe bright eyes gliſten with immortal green,
Shall ſmooth for Tabby Swains their yielding fur,
And to their amorous mews aſſenting purr.—
There, like Alcmena's, ſhall Grimalkin's, ſon
In bliſs repoſe,—his mouſing labours done,
Fate, Envy, Curs, Time, Tide and Traps defy,
And Caterwaul to all eternity.

* ——— Petit Ille dapes, ———
Oraque vana movet, dentemque in dente fatigat,
Exercetque cibo deluſum gutter inani,
Proque epulis tenues nequicquàm devorat auras.
OVID. MET. Lib. viii.

A SONG

A SONG *for the* WICCAMICAL *Anniverſary, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. From the ſame.*

I SING not your heroes of ancient romance:
Capadocian George, or Saint Denis of France;
No chronicler I am
Of Troy and King Priam,
And thoſe crafty old Greeks who to fritters did fry 'em:
But your voices, Brave Boys, one and all I beſpeak 'em,
In due celebration of William of Wickham.

CHORUS.

Let Wickham's Brave Boys, at the Crown and the Anchor,
The flaſk never quit 'till clean out they have drank her;
And united maintain, whether ſober or mellow
That old Billy Wickham was a Very Fine Fellow.

The ſwain, who in amorous ſervitude glories,
Swears that Love builds his neſt in the eyebrow of Chloris;
While ſhafts from the quiver
Of that Urchin Deceiver,
Like the quills of a porcupine, ſtick in his liver:
But at Wickham's Brave Boys ſhould he brandiſh his dart,
We'll drown the Blind Rogue in a Wincheſter Quart.

CHORUS.

For Wickham's Brave Boys, &c.

Let Fomenters of fierce Oppoſition exclaim
That our rulers are blind and our politics lame;
Whoſe ſole aim and wiſh is,
With loaves and with fiſhes
From the Treaſury Board to repleniſh their diſhes:
How ſuch Orators fare, my Boys, who cares a button,
While we have good Claret and Wincheſter Mutton.

CHORUS.

For Wickham's Brave Boys, &c.

Let the Soldier, who prates about ſtorming the trenches
Of fortified towns, and of fair-viſag'd wenches,
My numbers give heed to,
And, drinking as we do,
Shut up in its ſcabbard his martial Toledo:

For we too ſhed blood, yet all danger eſcape,
Since the blood that we ſhed is the blood of the Grape.

CHORUS.
Let Wickham's Brave Boys, &c.

Let Lawyers, accuſtom'd to quarrel and brawl,
Play the devil as uſual in Weſtminſter Hall;
Reputations beſpatter,
Yet thrive and grow fatter,
While they daſh Wrong and Right up as cookmaids do Batter:
Here good fellowſhip reigns, and, what 's ſtranger by far,
No miſchief enſues from a Call to the Bar.

CHORUS.
Let Wickham's Brave Boys, &c.

The Empiric profound, who in heatheniſh Latin
Such potions preſcribes as might poiſon old Satan,
With bliſter and bolus
And draught would cajole us,
'Till ſnug under ground he has clapt in a hole us:
But the wiſe Sons of Wickham his regimen ſlight,
They ſwallow no draughts but of Red Wine and White.

CHORUS.
Let Wickham's Brave Boys, &c.

Ye Poetical Tribe, on Parnaſſus who forage,
Who prate of Jove's Nectar and Helicon-porridge,
Yet, for beef-ſteaks and brandy,
Set each Jack-a-dandy
On a level with Frederick, or Prince Ferdinandy:
What's the ſword of King Arthur or Admiral Hoſier
To William of Wickham and his Jolly Old Croſier!

CHORUS.
Let Wickham's Brave Boys, at the Crown and the Anchor, &c.

The GOLDEN DAYS *of good King* ALFRED. *From Seventeen hundred and Ninety-one; a Poem, in Imitation of the Thirteenth Satire of* JUVENAL, *by* Arthur Murphy, Eſq.

WOULD'ST thou controul this epidemic rage?
Then bid old Time roll back the golden age;
Or good King Alfred's reign once more renew,
And give thoſe days of glory to our view.

All

* All then was innocence, content, and eaſe,
While yet ſimplicity had pow'r to pleaſe.
Wit had not learn'd to gloſs and varniſh crimes,
Nor was vice call'd the faſhion of the times.
† To clubs at Bootle's, Arthur's, none could roam;
Each hoſpitable baron liv'd at home.
Beneath his roof the welcome gueſt might ſtay,
Unplunder'd of his all at midnight play.
Leagu'd at a Faro bank no ſharpers ſat,
Nor for a wager could devour a cat.
Hoyle had not taught his rules of cards and dice,
Great legiſlator of a nation's vice!
On morning wings no news abroad could fly,
To blot out truth, and propagate the lie;
‡ No pamphlet ſcatter'd, from a traitor's pen,
Raw metaphyſics, and falſe rights of men.
From France no agent of a deſp'rate band
Could ſpread his froth and venom through the land.
Atheiſts, Socinians, Puritans, unknown;
No fierce Republicans to ſhake the throne.
No wars envenom'd by religious hate;
Nor Whig, nor Tory, to convulſe the ſtate.
All were one party in their country's cauſe,
And the King reign'd a ſubject of the laws.
Love then in mutual bonds mankind could draw,
Nature their guide, ſimplicity their law.
Pure health and peace ſincere contentment gave,
The women virtuous, and their huſbands brave.

CENSURE *of the perpetual* EXHIBITION *of* PORTRAITS. *From the* SHAKSPEARE GALLERY, *a Poem, by* Mr. Jerningham.

OFT have we heard the pure of taſte complain
Of mawkiſh Portraiture's eternal reign;
Of exhibitions which the art diſgrace,
And pall the eye with many a vacant face.
Let Miniature erect her fairy ſchool,
And 'mid her gewgaws unmoleſted rule;
Let her bright dome each pleas'd Narciſſus ſeek,
To her let Beauty hold her ſummer cheek!

* Quondam hoc indigenæ vivebant more.

† Nulla ſuper nubes convivia cælicolarum:
Prandebat ſibi quiſque Deus.

‡ Nec rota, nec furiæ, nec ſaxum, aut vulturis atri
Pœna, ſed infernis hilares ſine regibus umbræ.

In fond alluſion to the month of May,
Let her the youthful bride's gay form diſplay;
Let her delineate, on her iv'ry plane,
The nuptial ſimper of the happy ſwain!
From theſe we turn to ſcenes of higher aim,
Where Eagle-Genius ſoars to nobler game;
Where Fancy, Reaſon, Taſte, in one conjoin'd,
Unfold the workings of th' impaſſion'd mind.
Now to the laurell'd, academic band,
To ev'ry artiſt's emulative hand,
Munificence upholds her ſacred prize,
And bids the daring reach it from the ſkies.

CHARACTERS *of* SHAKSPEARE, *propoſed as* SUBJECTS *for* PAINTING. *From the ſame.*

BEHOLD the Legate from the ſacred Dome *,
In the rich garb of ſacerdotal Rome!—
Conſtance approaches! ſpurning at relief,
Attir'd in all the negligence of grief:
In her fierce graſp ſhe ſhews her rooted hair,
Preſenting well the image of Deſpair;
And ſeems to cry aloud, in accents wild,
"He talks to me, who never had a child!"
Mark where the blood-fed lamps, with crimſon ray †,
The ragged entrails of a cave diſplay:
There, on a craggy ſeat, the Wizard's throne,
Sits, in rude pomp, th' emaciated Crone;
She lifts a pale and wither'd hand on high,
And on the Phantom rolls her ſavage eye,
Whoſe doubtful form confounds th' enquiring ſight,
One part reveal'd, the other loſt in night:
From this abhorr'd interpreter of fate,
The Hag demands the future ſtorms of ſtate,
When the Sixth Henry, prince of dim renown,
Shall loſe, what ill becomes him—England's crown.
Ye, who to martial fame your ſpirit yield,
Who pant to reap the honors of the field,
See the Third Edward, from the mountain's brow,
Survey, with madd'ning glance, the plain below:
He there beholds (by ſacred Glory won)
In Danger's van his dear and godlike Son:
He views with wonder, and with mingled fear,
(His eye-lid gliſt'ning with affection's tear)
With pride, applauſe, and with a Father's joy,
The firſt achievements of th' immortal Boy! ‡

* King John, Act 3d, Scene 4th.
† Henry Sixth, Part II. Act 1ſt, Scene 4th.
‡ Henry Fifth, Act 1ſt, Scene 2d.

With

With fearful ſteps we now approach the bed
Where Scotland's King reclines his weary head:
Mark, mark the ſavage Thane's * more ſavage Wife,
Who brandiſhes aloft the thirſty knife!
One moment—and the victim is no more;
One moment—and he welters in his gore!
When ſudden, thro' her ſoul's encircling night,
Flaſhes a glimm'ring of a moral light:
O'er the calm features of the ſleeping Gueſt
She ſees her Father's image full expreſt †!
'Tis Nature's miracle!—the Fiend relents,
Her alter'd mien a ſickly ſmile preſents;
Affection ſubjugates her lawleſs ſoul,
Her boſom heaves, and tears begin to roll.

The MAGPIE *and* ROBIN RED-BREAST: *A Tale.*

By PETER PINDAR, *Eſq.*

A MAGPIE, in the ſpirit of romance,
Much like the fam'd Reformers now of France,
Flew from the dwelling of an old Poiſſarde;
Where ſometimes *in* his cage, and ſometimes *out*,
He juſtified the Revolution rout,
That is, call'd names, and got a ſop for his reward.

Red-hot with Monarch-roaſting coals,
Juſt like his old, fiſh-thund'ring Dame,
He left the Queen of crabs, and plaiſe, and ſoles,
To kindle in Old England's realm a flame.

Arriv'd at ev'ning's philoſophic hour,
He reſted on a rural antique tow'r,
Some Baron's caſtle in the days of old;
When furious wars, miſnomer'd civil,
Sent mighty chiefs to ſee the Devil,
Leaving behind their bodies for rich mould,
That pliable from form to form patroles,
Making freſh houſes for new ſouls.

Perch'd on the wall, he cocks his tail and eye,
And hops like modern beaux in country-dances;
Looks dev'liſh knowing, with his head awry,
Squinting with connoiſſeurſhip glances.

All on a ſudden, Maggot ſtarts and ſtares,
And wonders, and for ſomewhat *ſtrange* prepares;

* Macbeth.

† Act 2d, Scene 2d.——Lady Macbeth. "Had he not reſembled my Father as he ſlept, I had don't."

But,

But, lo! his wonder did not hold him long—
Soft from a buſh below, divinely clear,
A modeſt warble melted on his ear,
A plaintive, ſoothing, ſolitary ſong—

A ſtealing, timid, unpreſuming ſound,
Afraid dim Nature's deep repoſe to wound;
That huſh'd (a death-like pauſe) the rude Sublime.
This was a novelty to Mag indeed,
Who, pulling up his ſpindle-ſhanks with ſpeed,
Dropp'd from his turret, half-devour'd by Time,
A-la-Françoiſe, upon the ſpray,
Where a lone Red-breaſt pour'd to eve his lay.

Staring the modeſt minſtrel in the face;
Familiar, and with arch grimace,
He conn'd the duſky warbler o'er and o'er,
As though he knew him years before,
And thus began, with ſeeming great civility,
All in the Paris eaſe of volubility:—

" What—Bobby! dam'me, is it *you*,
" That thus your pretty phiz to muſick ſcrew,
" So far from hamlet, village, town, and city,
" To glad old battlements with dull pſalm ditty?

" 'Sdeath! what a pleaſant, lively, merry ſcene!
" Plenty of bats, and owls, and ghoſts, I ween;
" Rare midnight ſcreeches, Bob, between you all:
" Why, what 's the name on 't, Bobby? Diſmal Hall?
" Come, to be ſerious—curſe this queer old ſpot,
" And let thy owliſh habitation rot!
" Join *me*, and ſoon in riot we will revel:
" I'll teach thee how to curſe, and call folks names,
" And be expert in treaſon, murder, flames,
" And moſt *divinely* play the devil.

" Yes, thou ſhalt leave this ſpectred hole,
" And prove thou haſt a bit of ſoul:
" Soon ſhalt thou ſee old ſtupid London *dance*:
" There ſhall we ſhine immortal knaves;
" Not ſteal unknown, like cuckoos, to our *graves*,
" But imitate the geniuſes of France.

" Who'd be that monkiſh, cloiſter'd thing, a muſcle?
" Importance only can ariſe from buſtle!
" Tornado, thunder, lightning, tumult, ſtrife;
" Theſe *charm*, and add a *dignity* to life.
" That thou ſhould'ſt chooſe this ſpot, is monſtrous odd;
" Poh, poh! thou canſt not like this life, by G—!"

" Sir!"

" Sir!" like one thunder-ſtricken, ſtaring wide—
" Can you be ſerious, Sir?" the Robin cried.
" Serious!" rejoin'd the Magpie, " aye, my boy—
" So come, let 's play the devil, and enjoy."

" Flames!" quoth the Robin—" and in riot revel!
" Call names, and curſe, *divinely* play the devil!
" I cannot, for my life, the fun diſcern."—
" No!—bluſh then, Bob, and follow me, and learn."

" Excuſe me, Sir," the modeſt Hermit cried—
" Hell 's not the hobby-horſe I wiſh to ride!"
" Hell!" laugh'd the Magpie, " hell no longer dread;
" Why, Bob, in France the Devil's lately dead:

" Damnation vulgar to a Frenchman's hearing,—
" The word is only kept alive for ſwearing.
" Againſt futurity they all proteſt;
" And God and Heav'n are grown a ſtanding jeſt.

" Brimſtone and ſin are downright out of faſhion;
" France is quite alter'd—now a *thinking* nation:
" No more of penitential tears and groans!
" Philoſophy has crack'd Religion's bones.

" As for your *Saviour* of a wicked world,
" Long from his conſequence has *he* been hurl'd:
" They *do* acknowledge *ſuch* a *man*, d'ye ſee;
" But then they call him ſimple Monſieur Chriſt.
" Bob, for thy ignorance, pray bluſh for ſhame—
" Behold, *thy* DOCTOR PRIESTLEY *ſays the ſame.*

" Well! now thou fully art *convinc'd*—let's go."—
" What curſed doctrine!" quoth the Robin, " No—
" I won't go—no! thy ſpeeches make me ſhudder."—
" *Poor* Robin!" quoth the Magpie, " what a pudder!
" Be damn'd then, Bobby!"—flying off, he rav'd—
" And (quoth the Robin) Sir, may *you* be *ſav'd!*"
This ſaid, the tuneful ſprite renew'd his lay;
A ſweet and farewel hymn to parting day.—

In Thomas Paine the Magpie doth appear:
That I'm Poor Robin, is not *quite ſo clear.*

DESCRIPTION

DESCRIPTION *of the* SEA SHORE.

By DR. AIKIN.

FREQUENT along the pebbly beach I pace,
And gaze intent on Ocean's varying face.
Now from the main rolls-in the ſwelling tide,
And waves on waves in long proceſſion ride;
Gath'ring they come, 'till, gain'd the ridgy height,
No more the liquid mound ſuſtains its weight;
It curls, it falls, it breaks, with hideous roar,
And pours a foamy deluge on the ſhore.
From the bleak pole now driving tempeſts ſweep,
Tear the light clouds, and vex the ruffled deep:
White on the ſhoals the ſpouting breakers riſe,
And mix the waſte of waters with the ſkies:
The anch'ring veſſels, ſtretch'd in long array,
Shake from their bounding ſides the daſhing ſpray;
Lab'ring they heave, the tighten'd cables ſtrain,
And danger adds new horror to the main:
Then ſhifts the ſcene, as to the Weſtern gales
Delighted Commerce ſpreads her crowded ſails.
A cluſter'd groupe the diſtant fleet appear,
That, ſcatt'ring, breaks in varied figures near.
Now, all-illumin'd by the kindling ray,
Swan-like, the ſtately veſſel cuts her way:
The full-wing'd barks now meet, now ſwiftly paſs,
And leave long traces in the liquid glaſs:
Light boats, all ſail, athwart the currents bound,
And dot with ſhining ſpecks the ſurface round.
Nor with the day the ſea-born ſplendours ceaſe:
When ev'ning lulls each ruder gale to peace,
The riſing moon with ſilv'ry luſtre gleams,
And ſhoots acroſs the flood her quiv'ring beams.
Or, if deep gloom ſucceed the ſultry day,
On Ocean's boſom native meteors play,
Flaſh from the wave, purſue the dipping oar,
And roll in flaming billows to the ſhore.

DESCRIPTION *of* MORNING: *From Poems by the Author of the* VILLAGE CURATE, *and* ADRIANO.

——————————AT length a breeze
Blew from the eaſt, and rent the ſable clouds
That all night long had veil'd the ſtarry Heavens.
From many a cheerful loop-hole, thro' the gloom,

Peeps the clear azure with its living gems.
Faſt flies the ſcud; and now the glowing dawn
Stands unobſcur'd upon the mountain's top,
Her lovely forehead with a waning moon
And her own brilliant day-ſtar grac'd. The clouds,
Still floating overhead, touch'd by the beam
Of the ſlow ſun emerging from the deep
(But to Ophelia's eye not yet reveal'd),
Are fleeces dipt in ſilver, dappled pearl,
And feathers ſmoother than the cygnet's down;
Here red and fiery as the ferret's eye,
Here dun and wavy as the turtle's breaſt.
The fainting ſtars withdraw, the moon grows pale,
And the clear planet, meſſenger of light,
Hides in the ſplendor of returning day.
The mountains are on fire. The foreſt burns
With glory not to be beheld. The Heavens
Are ſtreak'd with rays from the relumin'd Eaſt,
As from the center of a flaming wheel,
Shot round. The ſun appears. The jovial hills
Rejoice and ſing, the chearful vallies laugh.
All Nature utters from her thankful heart
Audible gratitude.

The PATRIOT FAIR, *a* SONG.

By the late CHRISTOPHER SMART, M. A. *of Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge**.

WHEN young and artleſs as the lamb,
That plays around the fondling dam,
Briſk, buxom, pert, and ſilly;
I ſlighted all the manly ſwains,
And put my virgin heart in chains
For ſimple, ſmock-fac'd Billy.

But when experience came with years,
And rais'd my hopes, and quell'd my fears,
My blood grew blythe and bonny;
I turn'd off ev'ry beardleſs youth,
And gave my love, and fix'd my truth
On honeſt, ſturdy Johnny.

But when at wake I ſaw the 'Squire,
For lace I felt a new deſire,

* Not inſerted in his works.

Fond

Fond to out-ſhine my Mammy;
I ſigh'd for fringes, frogs, and beaux,
And pig-tail'd wigs, and powder'd clothes,
And ſilken Maſter Sammy.

For riches next I felt a flame,
When to my cot old Gripus came
To hold an am'rous parley;
For muſic now I chanc'd to burn,
And fondly liſten'd in my turn
To warbling, quavering Charley.

Thus all alike, the fools and wits,
Fops, fidlers, foreigners, and cits,
All charm'd me by rotation:
Then learn from me, ye Patriot Fair,
Ne'er make one ſingle man your care,
But ſigh for all the nation.

* SOLILOQUY *of the Princeſs* PERRIWINKLE, *ſola, attended by fourteen Maids of great honour.*

SURE ſuch a wretch as I was never born,
By all the world deſerted and forlorn;
This bitter-ſweet, this honey-gall to prove,
And all the oil and vinegar of love.
Pride, *Love* and *Reaſon* will not let me reſt,
But make a dev'liſh buſtle in my breaſt.
To wed with Fizgig, *Pride*, *Pride*, *Pride* denies;
Put on a Spaniſh padlock, *Reaſon* cries:
But tender gentle *Love* with every wiſh complies.
Pride, *Love* and *Reaſon* fight till they are cloy'd,
And each by each in mutual wounds deſtroy'd,
Thus when a Barber and a Collier fight,
The Barber beats the luckleſs Collier—white;
The duſty Collier heaves his pond'rous ſack,
And, big with vengeance, beats the Barber—black;
In comes the Brickduſt-man, with grime o'erſpread,
And beats the Collier and the Barber—red.
Black, red, and white, in various clouds are toſt,
And in the duſt they raiſe the combatants are loſt.

* From a Comedy called, "A Trip to Cambridge, or the Grateful Fair."

PROLOGUE

PROLOGUE *to the* SCHOOL FOR ARROGANCE.

Spoken by Mr. BERNARD.

GREAT news! Great news! Extraordinary news!
Who'll buy, or give three-halfpence to peruſe?
[*Sounds*] Great news!—Pray did you call, Sirs?—here am I!
Of wants, and wanted, I've a large ſupply!
Of fire and murder, marriage, birth, and death,
Here's more than I can utter in a breath!
Rapes, riots, hurricanes, routes, rogues, and faro!
Famine and fire in Turkey, and the plague at Cairo!
Here's tincture for the gums, which dentiſts make,
Whoſe teeth eat moſt when other people's ache.
Here are rich ſoups, hams, tongues, oils, ſauce, ſour-crout;
And here's the grand ſpecific for the gout!
Here's turtle newly landed; lamb houſe-fed:
And here a wife and five ſmall children wanting bread.
Wholeſale and retail Britiſh ſpirits here:
And here's the dying ſpeech of poor ſmall-beer!
Here are tall men, ſhort women, and fat oxen;
And here are Sunday Schools, and Schools for Boxing.
Here ruin'd rakes for help-mates advertiſe;
And only want 'em handſome, rich and wiſe.
Great news! Here's money lent on bond! rare news!
By honeſt, tender-hearted, Chriſtian Jews!
Here are promotions, dividends, rewards;
A liſt of bankrupts and of new-made lords.
Here the debates at length are, for the week;
And here the deaf and dumb are taught to ſpeak.
Here HAZARD, GOODLUCK, SHERGOLD, and a band
Of gen'rous Gentlemen, whoſe hearts expand
With honour, rectitude, and public ſpirit,
Equal in high deſert, with equal merit,
Divide their tickets into Shares and Quarters;
And here's a ſervant-maid found hanging in her garters!
Here! here's the fifty thouſand, ſold at every ſhop;
And here's the Newgate Calendar,—and Drop.
Rare news; Strange news! Extraordinary news!
Who would not give three-half-pence to peruſe?
[*Going, returns*] 'Sblud! I forgot—Great news again I ſay!
To-night, at Covent-Garden, a new play!
[*In raptures*] Oh! I'll be there, with Jack, our Printer's Devil!
We're judges!—We know when to clap, or cavil!
We've heard our Preſſmen talk of, of—Rome and Greece!
And have read Harry—Harry—Harry Stotle's Maſterpiece!
When we have paid our ſhilling, we're the Town!
As wiſely can find fault as thoſe who pay their crown!

Nay,

Nay, we like them, if it be bad or good.
Can talk as faſt, as, as,—as if we underſtood!
Oh! I'll be there; get the firſt row, and with my ſtaff
I'll act the trunkmaker, thump, roar, encore, and laugh!
The Prompter's boy has call'd our Jack aſide,
And ſays, the Play's to cure the world of pride!
That rich folks will no longer think they're born
To cruſh the weak, and laugh the poor to ſcorn!
The great 'twill teach that virtue, wit, and merit,
They may perchance poſſeſs, but can't inherit!
That learning, wiſdom, genius, truth, and worth,
Are far more rich and rare than ribbands, rank, and birth!
Lord! Lord! Who ever heard of ſuch a ſcheme?
Teach ſenſe to Wealth and Pride! Your Poets always dream!
Could he do this, there's no one will deny
That news! ſtrange news! would be the gen'ral cry. [*Exit.*

Extract from an ELEGY *written at the* Hot Wells, Briſtol.

PERHAPS to theſe grey rocks and mazy ſprings
Some heart may come, warm'd with the pureſt fire;
For whom bright Fancy plumes her radiant wings,
And warbling Muſes wake the lonely lyre.

Some beauteous maid, deceiv'd in early youth,
Pale o'er yon ſpring may hang in mute diſtreſs;
Who dream'd of faith, of happineſs, and truth,
Of love—that virtue would protect and bleſs.

Some muſing youth in ſilence there may bend,
Untimely ſtricken by ſharp ſorrow's dart;
For friendſhip form'd, yet left without a friend,
And bearing ſtill the arrow at his heart.

Such was lamented RUSSEL'S* hapleſs doom,
The loſt companion of my youth's gay prime;
Ev'n ſo he ſunk unwept into the tomb,
And o'er his head cloſ'd the dark gulph of time.

Hither he came, a wan and weary gueſt,
A ſoftening balm for many a wound to crave;
And woo'd the ſunſhine to his aching breaſt,
Which now ſeems ſmiling on his verdant grave!

He heard the whiſpering winds that now I hear,
As, boding much, along theſe hills he paſt;
Yet ah! how mournful did they meet his ear
On that ſad morn he heard them for the laſt!

* "The Rev. Thomas Ruſſel, Fellow of New College, Oxford, author of ſome ingenious poems, died at the Hot Wells, 1788, in the twenty-ſixth year of his age."

So

So ſinks the ſcene, like a departed dream,
Since late we ſojourn'd blythe in WYKEHAM's bowr's †,
Or heard the merry bells by *Iſis'* ſtream,
And thought our way was ſtrew'd with fairy flow'rs!

Of thoſe with whom we play'd upon the lawn
Of early life, in the freſh morning, play'd,
Alas! how many, ſince that vernal dawn,
Like thee, poor RUSSEL, in the ground are laid.

As pleas'd awhile they wander'd hand in hand,
Once led by friendſhip on the ſpring-tide plain,
How oft did Fancy wake her tranſports bland,
And on the lids the ſtarting tear detain!

I yet ſurvive, now muſing other ſong
Than that which early ſooth'd my thoughtleſs years;
Thinking how days and hours have paſs'd along,
Mark'd by much pleaſure ſome, and ſome by tears!

NETLEY ABBEY.

By W. SOTHEBY, *Eſq.*

I.

"SOFT on the wave the oars at diſtance ſound,
The night breeze ſighing through the leafy ſpray,
With gentle whiſper murmurs all around,
Breathes on the placid ſea, and dies away.
As ſleeps the moon upon her cloudleſs height,
And the ſwoln ſpring-tide heaves beneath the light,
Slow lingering on the ſolitary ſhore
Along the dewy path my ſteps I bend,
Lonely to yon forſaken fane deſcend,
To muſe on youth's wild dreams amid the ruins hoar.

II.

Within the ſhelter'd center of the aiſle,
Beneath the aſh whoſe growth romantic ſpreads
Its foliage trembling o'er the funeral pile,
And all around a deeper darkneſs ſheds;
While through yon arch, where the thick ivy twines,
Bright on the ſilver'd tow'r the moon-beam ſhines,
And the grey cloiſter's roofleſs length illumes;
Upon the moſſy ſtone I lie reclin'd,
And to a viſionary world reſign'd,
Call the pale ſpectres forth from the forgotten tombs.

† "Wincheſter College."

III.

Spirits! the deſolated wreck that haunt,
Who frequent by the village maiden ſeen,
When ſudden ſhouts at eve the wanderer daunt,
And ſhapeleſs ſhadows ſweep along the green;
And ye, in midnight horrors heard to yell
Round the deſtroyer of the holy cell,
With interdictions dread of boding ſound;
Who, when he prowl'd the rifled walls among,
Prone on his brow* the maſſy fragment flung;—
Come from your viewleſs caves, and tread this hallow'd ground!

IV.

How oft, when homeward forc'd, at day's dim cloſe,
In youth, as bending back I mournful ſtood
Fix'd on the fav'rite ſpot, where firſt aroſe
The pointed ruin peeping o'er the wood;
Methought I heard upon the paſſing wind
Melodious ſounds in ſolemn chorus join'd,
Echoing the chaunted veſper's peaceful note;
Oft through the veil of night's deſcending cloud,
Saw gleaming far the viſionary croud
Down the deep vaulted aiſle in long proceſſion float.

V.

But now; no more the gleaming forms appear,
Within their graves at reſt the fathers ſleep;
And not a ſound comes to the wiſtful ear,
Save the low murmur of the tranquil deep:
Or from the graſs that in luxuriant pride
Waves o'er yon eaſtern window's ſculptur'd ſide,
The dew-drops burſting on the fretted ſtone:
While faintly from the diſtant coppice heard,
The muſic of the melancholy bird
Trills to the ſilent heav'n a ſweetly-plaintive moan.

VI.

Farewell, delightful dreams, that charm'd my youth!
Farewell th' aërial note, the ſhadowy train!
Now while this ſhrine inſpires ſublimer truth,
While cloiſter'd echo breathes a ſolemn ſtrain,
In the deep ſtillneſs of the midnight hour,
Wiſdom ſhall curb wild fancy's magic pow'r,
And as with life's gay dawn th' illuſions ceaſe,
Though from the heart ſteal forth a ſigh profound;
Here Reſignation o'er its ſecret wound
Shall pour the lenient balm that ſoothes the ſoul to peace.

* This alludes to a circumſtance recorded in *Groſe's Antiquities*, and ſtill believed in the neighbourhood.

CHARACTER *of the* INVENTOR *of* WHIST.

From "WHIST, *a Poem.*"

A Yorkſhire dame invok'd the midwife's care,
And bleſt her huſband with a ſon and heir.
His infant frame appear'd robuſt enough,
But ſcarcely made of penetrable ſtuff:
Nor bitter ſquall, nor whimper deep and low,
Announc'd his entrance on the ſtage of woe.
When on his face the ſacred fluid fell,
No cry eſcap'd, his ſad ſurprize to tell.
With rattling toys he ſtill refus'd to play,
* And from his coral tore the bells away.
When loud or piercing ſounds aſſail'd his ear,
Each look betray'd his horror and his fear:
But chief he ſeem'd to dread the ſtrife of tongues;
For then alone he ſtrain'd his little lungs,
And with a rueful face inceſſant roar'd,
'Till the ſtorm ceas'd, and ſilence was reſtor'd.
Hard was the taſk and weariſome, to teach
His backward tongue the mimick art of ſpeech;
Nor, when at laſt your patience won the day,
Did he, like other babes, your care repay.
Ne'er did his prattle charm a parent's ear;
He ſcarcely utter'd twenty words a year.
Oft would he fly to ſome ſequeſter'd nook,
To pore in quiet o'er a pictur'd book;
Or ſit whole hours immers'd in thought profound,
With eyes that fondly lov'd the ſenſeleſs ground;
Till nature's wants, from which no frame is free,
Rous'd the young Stoic from his reverie.
To ſchool for once he went; but threat nor pray'r
Could force his feet again to venture there;
Not that, like ſome, his taſk had wrought him woe,
(His wit was quick, altho' his tongue was ſlow);
Nor that he fear'd the maſter's awful nod,
(Th'attentive ſcholar ſeldom dreads the rod):
His fear was only from the boiſt'rous noiſe
Rais'd by ſo many wild unruly boys:
Their ſavage tumult tore his tender ear,
Diſtreſt him more than what his frame could bear;
And, had his parents forc'd him ſtill to go,
Might ſoon have ſent him to the ſhades below.

* "I threw away my rattle before I was two months old; and would not make uſe of my coral, till they had taken away the bells from it." SPECTATOR, No. 1.

A grave and ſober tutor next was found,
To lead him ſoftly through the claſſic ground.
One charge there was he never would obey—
A taſk of any length aloud to ſay:
The yielding tutor took it written down;
But then he ſeldom read it with a frown.
His parents thus, of temper ſoft and mild,
In all his freaks indulg'd their wayward child;
Not without hope that gravity ſo young,
Such love of ſilence, ſuch command of tongue,
When the wild ſeaſon of caprice was paſt,
Would ſurely riſe to ſomething great at laſt.
When twice nine years had thus at home been ſpent,
The grave young Moody was to Cambridge ſent;
Where, led by no temptation's pow'r aſtray,
He paſs'd the time in his accuſtom'd way;
Seldom abroad, or in the common hall,
Read much, heard little, and ſpoke none at all.
But now ſtern fate his father call'd away,
And ſent him home, impatient to allay
Maternal anguiſh for a loſs ſo great,
And take poſſeſſion of his own eſtate;
In which he hop'd, remote from noiſe and ſtrife,
To paſs in peace profound his future life—
Peace, the dear idol of his Stoic mind,
Which ev'n in Cam's retreats he could not find;
For there ſome youths, who felt a barb'rous joy
Their graver neighbour's comfort to deſtroy,
Each art employ'd that to their fancies roſe,
His ears to wound, and murder his repoſe."

Disgrace of trumping with an Ace.

From the Same.

BUT oh, what words can paint the dire diſgrace,
The ſhameful crime, of trumping with an ace,
Until it loſe its relative degree,
And chance the ſole ſurviving trump to be!
As well might George, when he in ſtate appears,
Enthron'd with ſplendor in the Houſe of Peers,
Were ſome raſh knave ſo daring then to be,
As make with honourable pockets free;
As well might he, whene'er the fact was known,
Jump down indignant from his royal throne,
And ſeizing by the neck without delay,
Himſelf to Newgate haul the wretch away:
Nor would he thus a ſtranger figure cut,
Than ace of trumps to ſuch an office put.

EPITAPH.

EPITAPH.

FAVOURITES of Beauty, o'er theſe ſorrowing ſtrains
Drop, as you paſs, one ſympathetic tear;
For all that Leſbia lov'd this grave contains,
The pride, the envy, of his ſex ſleeps here.

Here he, whom late the ſportive fair careſt,
For whom ſhe ſuffer'd many a ſoft alarm,
Whom ſtill her fondling hand with rapture preſt,
As unreſtrain'd he rov'd from charm to charm;

Here Leſbia's *Sparrow* lies!—And know, gay train,
Howe'er diſtinguiſh'd by the female eye,
That you, as light, as heedleſs, and as vain,
Like him may languiſh, and like him muſt die!

Cold is that head, which from the tabby foe
Secure in Leſbia's heaving boſom lay!
Clos'd is that bill, which ſlily from below
Her laughing lip aſſail'd in wanton play!

Favourites of Beauty, o'er theſe ſorrowing ſtrains
Drop, as you paſs, one ſympathetic tear;
For all that Leſbia lov'd this grave contains,
The pride, the envy, of his ſex ſleeps here!

LINES, *written in the* SCHOOLS *at* OXFORD, *on the laſt Day of performing* EXERCISES *for a* DOCTOR'S DEGREE.

SINCE firſt within theſe ſchools I trembling tried
Snug in my cap my hackneyed ſtrings to hide,
While many a heavy load of logic hung
In ſtill-born accents on my fault'ring tongue,
Till this big moment, which my heart appalls,
When now I read grave lectures to the walls;
To-morrow deſtin'd Doctor to commence,
And bid farewell to comfort, eaſe, and ſenſe;—
How many novel ſounds have ſooth'd my ear,
To pariſh, pupils, ſpouſe, and children dear!
What future titles fortune may beſtow,
Anxious I wiſh—and yet I dread—to know!
Betide what may, on theſe proud walls my name,
Carv'd all in capitals, ſhall live to fame.
And if perchance ſome ſober youth peruſe,
When I am cold, this relick of my muſe,
Doom'd here whole hours to walk, and warm his toes,
And ſometimes moralize, and ſometimes doze,

Thus may he reaſon, " Now a grave contains
All of the reverend Doctor that remains,
Which, while preferment ſmil'd upon the prig,
Would ſcarcely hold his buſhel of a wig!"

SONNET.

By CHARLOTTE SMITH.

FAREWELL, ye lawns! by fond remembrance bleſt,
As witneſſes of gay unclouded hours,
Where to maternal friendſhip's boſom preſt
My happy childhood paſs'd amid your bow'rs.
Ye wood-walks wild, where leaves and fairy flow'rs
By ſpring's luxuriant hand are ſtrewn anew;
Rocks, whence with ſhadowy grace rude nature lours,
O'er glens and haunted ſtreams!—a long adieu!
—And thou! oh! promis'd *Happineſs!* whoſe voice
Deluded fancy heard in ev'ry grove,
Bidding this tender truſting heart rejoice
In the bright proſpect of unfading love,
Though loſt to me—ſtill may *thy* ſmile ſerene
Bleſs the dear lord of this regretted ſcene!

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1791.

An Hiſtorical Diſquiſition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India; *and the Progreſs of Trade with that Country, prior to the Diſcovery of the Paſſage to it by the* Cape of Good Hope. *By* William Robertſon, D. D. F. R. S. Ed. *Principal of the Univerſity, and Hiſtoriographer to his Majeſty for* Scotland.

THE writings of Dr. Robertſon poſſeſs, in the eſtimation of the public, a degree of literary eminence, which many productions of more ſplendour, but leſs ſolidity, have ſeldom been able to attain. His name has been ſo long and ſo deſervedly reſpected, his reputation is fixed on ſo permanent a foundation, that the cenſure of criticiſm, were it inclined to be ſevere, would now prove as futile as its panegyric might be deemed ſuperfluous. The earlier productions of his pen, while they were honoured with general applauſe, afforded ample ground for praiſe to the few, who withheld unqualified admiration, and but little room for captious remark to the ſtill ſmaller number who were diſpoſed to cavil.

Although we feel ourſelves happy in ſubſcribing to the propriety of that deciſion, which an unprejudiced public has long paſſed upon the merits of this celebrated writer, a deciſion from which, when clear and unequivocal, no literary appeal ſhould ever lie, we cannot but confeſs, that in the peruſal of the work before us we have not always diſcovered the ſame beauties which captivated us in his Hiſtory of Scotland, and his Charles the Fifth. To whatſoever cauſe it be imputed, whether it ariſes from a barrenneſs in the ſubject itſelf, which may perhaps be deficient in intereſting, if not novel materials, or from that diſinclination to long and laborious ſtudy ſo incidental to us all in the decline of life, there certainly appear leſs extent of reſearch, leſs patience of inveſtigation, and leſs profundity of reaſoning, in this than in Dr. Robertſon's former productions.

We truſt that we ſhall not be miſunderſtood as wiſhing to claſs the Hiſtorical Diſquiſition among the periſhable productions of the day, the generality of which may for a time indeed attract the attention of the public; ſome by the gaudineſs of their colouring, others by the prettineſs or quaintneſs of their compoſition, but are all alike, ſooner or later, condemned to ſink into total inſignificance or oblivion. The preſent volume, in fact, poſſeſſes conſiderable merit; and could we

have forgotten that it was written by the admired author of Charles the Fifth, we ſhould have been contented to have ſpoken of it in general terms of commendation. It is always amuſing, often inſtructive. It poſſeſſes, with ſome exceptions indeed, a felicity of illuſtration, a pertinence of remark, and an acuteneſs of obſervation, which betray the pen of a maſter. Although our expectations may be ſometimes baulked by the diſplay of trite or ſuperficial ſentiment, we nevertheleſs receive much delight as well as improvement from many judicious and appoſite reflections, which do honour to the character of Dr. Robertſon, as a man, a ſcholar, and a philoſopher. If we now and then meet with a diffuſion of leſs intereſting detail, a redundance rather than richneſs of compoſition, we likewiſe more frequently perceive an elegant neatneſs of narrative, which is ſparing even of chaſte and appropriate ornaments, is accurate, but not injudiciouſly minute, impreſſive without the affectation of being perpetually energetic. The ſtyle, although it cannot boaſt thoſe ſuperior graces, which Dr. Robertſon could have given it, is at all times above mediocrity, is ſeldom negligent, never ſlovenly; if it be only occaſionally ſplendid, it is generally terſe, perſpicuous, and claſſical.

This Hiſtorical Diſquiſition is divided into four ſections, with the addition of notes, and an appendix of no inconſiderable bulk. The firſt ſection treats of the intercourſe with India until the conqueſt of Egypt by the Romans: the ſecond from the eſtabliſhment of the Roman dominion in Egypt, to the conqueſt of that kingdom by the Mahomedans: the third from the laſt-mentioned period to the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and the eſtabliſhment of the Portugueſe dominion in the eaſt: and the fourth contains ſuch general obſervations, as reſult from a view of the whole. The notes are of courſe illuſtrative of the occaſional paſſages in the different ſections. The appendix is replete with obſervations on the civil policy—the laws and judicial proceedings—the arts, ſciences, and religious inſtitutions of the Indians.

In the firſt ſection, after ſlightly noticing the connexion which ſubſiſted between ancient Egypt and the Eaſt-Indies, Dr. Robertſon haſtens to the memorable expedition of Alexander into that country; of this expedition he gives the following account:

"About an hundred and ſixty years after the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpes, Alexander the Great undertook his expedition into India. The wild ſallies of paſſion, the indecent exceſſes of intemperance, and the oſtentatious diſplays of vanity, too frequent in the conduct of this extraordinary man, have ſo degraded his character, that the pre-eminence of his merit, either as a conqueror, a politician, or a legiſlator, has ſeldom been juſtly eſtimated. The ſubject of my preſent inquiry leads me to conſider his operations only in one light, but it will enable me to exhibit a ſtriking view of the grandeur and extent of his plans. He ſeems, ſoon after his firſt ſucceſſes in Aſia, to have formed the idea of eſtabliſhing an univerſal monarchy, and aſpired to the dominion of the ſea, as well as of the land. From the wonderful efforts of the Tyrians in their own defence, when left without

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out any ally or protector, he conceived an high opinion of the resources of maritime power, and of the wealth to be derived from commerce, especially that with India, which he found engrossed by the citizens of Tyre. With a view to secure this commerce, and to establish a station for it, preferable in many respects to that of Tyre, as soon as he completed the conquest of Egypt, he founded a city near one of the mouths of the Nile, which he honoured with his own name; and with such admirable discernment was the situation of it chosen, that Alexandria soon became the greatest trading city in the ancient world; and, notwithstanding many successive revolutions in empire, continued, during eighteen centuries, to be the chief seat of commerce with India *. Amidst the military operations to which Alexander was soon obliged to turn his attention, the desire of acquiring the lucrative commerce which the Tyrians had carried on with India, was not relinquished. Events soon occurred, that not only confirmed and added strength to his desire, but opened to him a prospect of obtaining the sovereignty of those regions which supplied the rest of mankind with so many precious commodities.

" After his final victory over the Persians, he was led in pursuit of the last Darius, and of Bessus, the murderer of that unfortunate monarch, to traverse that part of Asia which stretches from the Caspian sea beyond the river Oxus. He advanced towards the east as far as Maracanda †, then a city of some note, and destined, in a future period, under the modern name of Samarcand, to be the capital of an empire not inferior to his own in extent or power. In a progress of several months, through provinces hitherto unknown to the Greeks, in a line of march often approaching near to India, and among people accustomed to much intercourse with it, he learned many things concerning the state of a country ‡ that had been long the object of his thoughts and wishes §, which increased his desire of invading it. Decisive and prompt in all his resolutions, he set out from Bactria, and crossed that ridge of mountains which, under various denominations, forms the Stony Girdle (if I may use an expression of the Oriental geographers) which encircles Asia, and constitutes the northern barrier of India.

" The most practicable avenue to every country, it is obvious, must be formed by circumstances in its natural situation, such as the defiles which lead through mountains, the course of rivers, and the places where they may be passed with the greatest ease and safety. In no place of the earth is this line of approach marked and defined more conspicuously, than on the northern frontier of India; insomuch that the three great invaders of this country, Alexander, Tamerlane, and Nadir Shah, in three distant ages, and with views and talents extremely different, advanced by the same route, with hardly any deviation. Alexander had the merit of having first discovered the way. After passing the mountains, he encamped at Alexandria Paropamisana, on the same site with the modern city Candahar; and having subdued or conciliated

* Hist. of America, vol. i. p. 20.
† Arrian, iii. c. 30.
‡ Strab. xv. p. 1021. A.
§ Arrian, iv. c. 15.

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the nations ſeated on the north-weſt bank of the Indus, he croſſed the river at Taxila, now Attock, the only place where its ſtream is ſo tranquil that a bridge can be thrown over it *.

" After paſſing the Indus, Alexander marched forward in the road which leads directly to the Ganges, and the opulent provinces to the ſouth-eaſt, now comprehended under the general name of Indoſtan. But, on the banks of the Hydaſpes, known in modern times by the name of the Betah or Chelum, he was oppoſed by Porus, a powerful monarch of the country, at the head of a numerous army. The war with Porus, and the hoſtilities in which he was ſucceſſively engaged with other Indian princes, led him to deviate from his original route, and to turn more towards the ſouth-weſt. In carrying on theſe operations, Alexander marched through one of the richeſt and beſt peopled countries of India, now called the Panjab, from the five great rivers by which it is watered; and as we know that this march was performed in the rainy ſeaſon, when even Indian armies cannot keep the field, it gives an high idea both of Alexander's perſevering ſpirit, and of the extraordinary vigour and hardineſs of conſtitution which ſoldiers, in ancient times, derived from the united effects of gymnaſtic exerciſe and military diſcipline. In every ſtep of his progreſs, objects no leſs ſtriking than new preſented themſelves to Alexander. The magnitude of the Indus, even after he had ſeen the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Tigris, muſt have filled him with ſurprize †. No country he had hitherto viſited was ſo populous and well cultivated, or abounded in ſo many valuable productions of nature and of art, as that part of India through which he had led his army. But when he was informed in every place, and probably with exaggerated deſcription, how much the Indus was inferior to the Ganges, and how far all that he had hitherto beheld was ſurpaſſed in the happy regions through which that great river flows, it is not wonderful that his eagerneſs to view and to take poſſeſſion of them ſhould have prompted him to aſſemble his ſoldiers, and to propoſe that they ſhould reſume their march towards that quarter where wealth, dominion, and fame awaited them. But they had already done ſo much, and had ſuffered ſo greatly, eſpecially from inceſſant rains and extenſive inundations, that their patience as well as ſtrength were exhauſted, and with one voice they refuſed to advance farther. In this reſolution they perſiſted with ſuch ſullen obſtinacy, that Alexander, though poſſeſſed in the higheſt degree of every quality that gains an aſcendant over the minds of military men, was obliged to yield, and to iſſue orders for marching back to Perſia ‡.

" The ſcene of this memorable tranſaction was on the banks of the Hyphaſis, the modern Beyah, which was the utmoſt limit of Alexander's progreſs in India. From this it is manifeſt, that he did not traverſe the whole extent of Panjab. Its ſouth-weſt boundary is formed by a river anciently known by the name of Hyſudrus, and now by that of the Setlege, to which Alexander never approached nearer than the ſouthern bank of the Hyphaſis, where he erec-

* Rennell Mem. p. 92. † Strab. lib. xv. p. 1027. C. & note 5. Caſaub.
‡ Arrian, v. c. 24, 25.

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ted twelve ſtupendous altars, which he intended as a monument of his exploits, and which (if we may believe the biographer of Apollonius Tyanæus) were ſtill remaining, with legible inſcriptions, when that fantaſtic ſophiſt viſited India, three hundred and ſeventy-three years after Alexander's expedition *. The breadth of the Panjab, from Ludhana on the Setlege to Attock on the Indus, is computed to be two hundred and fifty-nine geographical miles, in a ſtraight line; and Alexander's march, computed in the ſame manner, did not extend above two hundred miles. But, both as he advanced and returned, his troops were ſo ſpread over the country, and often acted in ſo many ſeparate diviſions, and all his movements were ſo exactly meaſured and delineated by men of ſcience, whom he kept in pay for the purpoſe, that he acquired a very extenſive and accurate knowledge of that part of India †.

"When, upon his return, he reached the banks of the Hydaſpes, he found that the officers to whom he had given it in charge to build and collect as many veſſels as poſſible, had executed his orders with ſuch activity and ſucceſs that they had aſſembled a numerous fleet. As amidſt the hurry of war, and the rage of conqueſt, he never loſt ſight of his pacific and commercial ſchemes, the deſtination of this fleet was to ſail down the Indus to the ocean, and from its mouth to proceed to the Perſian Gulf, that a communication by ſea might be opened with India and the centre of his dominions.

"The conduct of this expedition was committed to Nearchus, an officer equal to that important truſt. But as Alexander was ambitious to acquire fame of every kind, and fond of engaging in new and ſplendid undertakings, he himſelf accompanied Nearchus in his navigation down the river. The armament was, indeed, ſo great and magnificent, as deſerved to be commanded by the conqueror of Aſia. It was compoſed of an army of a hundred and twenty thouſand men, and two hundred elephants, and of a fleet of near two thouſand veſſels, various in burden and form; on board of which one-third of the troops embarked, while the remainder marching in two diviſions, one on the right, and the other on the left, of the river, accompanied them in their progreſs. As they advanced, the nations on each ſide were either compelled or perſuaded to ſubmit. Retarded by the various operations in which this engaged him, as well as by the ſlow navigation of ſuch a fleet as he conducted, Alexander was above nine months before he reached the ocean ‡.

"Alexander's progreſs in India, in this line of direction, was far more conſiderable than that which he made by the route we formerly traced; and when we attend to the various movements of his troops, the number of cities which they took, and the different ſtates which they ſubdued, he may be ſaid not only to have viewed, but to have explored, the countries through which he paſſed. This part of India has been ſo little frequented by Europeans in later times, that neither the poſition of

* Philoſtr. Vita Apollon. lib. ii. c. 43. edit. Olear. Lipſ. 1709.
† Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. vi. c. 17.
‡ Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1014.

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places, nor their diſtances, can be aſcertained with the ſame accuracy as in the interior provinces, or even in the Panjab. But from the reſearches of Major Rennell, carried on with no leſs diſcernment than induſtry, the diſtance of that place on the Hydaſpes, where Alexander fitted out his fleet, from the ocean, cannot be leſs than a thouſand Britiſh miles. Of this extenſive region a conſiderable portion, particularly the upper Delta, ſtretching from the capital of the antient Malli, now Moultan, to Patala, the modern Tatta, is diſtinguiſhed for its fertility and population *.

"Soon after he reached the ocean, Alexander, ſatisfied with having accompliſhed this arduous undertaking, led his army by land back to Perſia. The command of the fleet, with a conſiderable body of troops on board of it, he left to Nearchus, who, after a coaſting voyage of ſeven months, conducted it ſafely up the Perſian Gulph into the Euphrates †.

"In this manner did Alexander firſt open the knowledge of India to the people of Europe; and an extenſive diſtrict of it was ſurveyed with greater accuracy than could have been expected from the ſhort time he remained in that country. Fortunately an exact account, not only of his military operations, but of every thing worthy of notice in the countries where they were carried on, was recorded in the memoirs or journals of three of his principal officers, Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, Ariſtobulus, and Nearchus. The two former have not indeed reached our times, but it is probable that the moſt important facts which they contained, are preſerved, as Arrian profeſſes to have followed them as his guides in his Hiſtory of the Expedition of Alexander ‡; a work which, though compoſed long after Greece had loſt its liberty, and in an age when genius and taſte were on the decline, is not unworthy the pureſt times of Attic literature.

"With reſpect to the general ſtate of India, we learn from theſe writers, that in the age of Alexander, though there was not eſtabliſhed in it any powerful empire, reſembling that which in modern times ſtretched its dominion from the Indus almoſt to Cape Comorin, it was even then formed into monarchies of conſiderable extent. The king of the Praſij was prepared on the banks of the Ganges to oppoſe the Macedonians, with an army of twenty thouſand cavalry, two thouſand armed chariots, and a great number of elephants §. The territory of which Alexander conſtituted Porus the ſovereign, is ſaid to have contained no fewer than two thouſand towns ‖. Even in the moſt reſtricted ſenſe that can be given to the vague indefinite appellations of *nations* and *towns*, an idea is conveyed of a very great degree of population. As the fleet ſailed down the river, the country on each ſide was found to be in no reſpect inferior to that of which the government was committed to Porus.

"It was likewiſe from the memoirs of the ſame officers that Europe derived its firſt authentic information concerning the climate, the

* Rennell Mem. 68, &c.
† Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. vi. c. 23.
‡ Arrian, lib. i. in proemio.
§ Diod. Sicul. lib. xvii. p. 232.
‖ Arrian, lib. vi. c. 2.

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ſoil, the productions, and the inhabitants of India; and in a country where the manners, the cuſtoms, and even the dreſs of the people are almoſt as permanent and invariable as the face of nature itſelf, it is wonderful how exactly the deſcriptions given by Alexander's officers delineate what we now behold in India, at the diſtance of two thouſand years. The ſtated change of ſeaſons, now known by the name of *Monſoons*; the periodical rains; the ſwelling of the rivers; the inundations which theſe occaſion; the appearance of the country during their continuance; are particularly mentioned and deſcribed. No leſs accurate are the deſcriptions which they have given of the inhabitants, their delicate and ſlender form, their dark complexion, their black uncurled hair, their garments of cotton, their living entirely upon vegetable food, their diviſion into ſeparate tribes or *caſts* the members of which never intermarry, the cuſtom of wives burning themſelves with their deceaſed huſbands, and many other particulars, in all which they perfectly reſemble the modern Hindoos."

An enquiry is made, in the ſecond ſection, into the manner in which the intercourſe with India was carried on by the Romans, into the nature of the intercourſe, and into the knowledge which that people poſſeſſed of the eaſt in general. A ſuccinct account is given of the different articles of commerce, which formed the principal traffic of the Romans.

"In order to convey an idea of their demands as complete as poſſible, I ſhall in the firſt place make ſome obſervations on the three great articles of general importation from India. 1. Spices and aromatics. 2. Precious ſtones and pearls. 3. Silk. And then I ſhall give ſome account (as far as I can venture to do it from authentic information) of the aſſortment of cargoes, both outward and homeward bound, for the veſſels fitted out at Berenice for different ports of India.

"I. Spices and aromatics. From the mode of religious worſhip in the heathen world; from the incredible number of their deities, and of the temples conſecrated to them; the conſumption of frankincenſe and other aromatics, which were uſed in every ſacred function, muſt have been very great. But the vanity of men occaſioned a greater conſumption of theſe fragrant ſubſtances than their piety. It was the cuſtom of the Romans to burn the bodies of their dead, and they deemed it a diſplay of magnificence, to cover, not only the body but the funeral pile on which it was laid, with the moſt coſtly ſpices. At the funeral of Sylla, two hundred and ten burthens of ſpices were ſtrewed upon the pile. Nero is reported to have burnt a quantity of cinnamon and caſſia at the funeral of Pappœa, greater than the countries from which it was imported produced in one year. We conſume in heaps theſe precious ſubſtances with the carcaſes of the dead (ſays Pliny): We offer them to the Gods only in grains *. It was not from India, I am aware, but from Arabia, that aromatics were firſt imported into Europe; and ſome of them, particularly franckincenſe, were productions of that country. But the Arabians were accuſtomed, together

* Nat. Hiſt. lib. xii. c. 18.

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with ſpices of native growth, to furniſh foreign merchants with others of higher value, which they brought from India, and the regions beyond it. The commercial intercourſe of the Arabians with the Eaſtern parts of Aſia, was not only early (as has been already obſerved) but conſiderable. By means of their trading caravans, they conveyed into their own country all the valuable productions of the Eaſt, among which, ſpices held a chief place. In every ancient account of Indian commodities, ſpices and aromatics of various kinds form a principal article *. Some authors aſſert that the greater part of thoſe purchaſed in Arabia were not the growth of that country, but brought from India †. That this aſſertion was well-founded, appears from what has been obſerved in modern times. The frankincenſe of Arabia, though reckoned the peculiar and moſt precious production of the country, is much inferior in quality to that imported into it from the Eaſt; and it is chiefly with the latter, that the Arabians at preſent ſupply the extenſive demands of various provinces of Aſia for this commodity ‡. It is upon good authority, then, that I have mentioned the importation of ſpices as one of the moſt conſiderable branches of ancient commerce with India.

"II. Precious ſtones, together with which pearls may be claſſed, ſeem to be the article next in value imported by the Romans from the Eaſt. As theſe have no pretenſion to be of any real uſe, their value ariſes entirely from their beauty and their rarity, and even when eſtimated moſt moderately is always high. But among nations far advanced in luxury, when they are deemed not only ornaments but marks of diſtinction, the vain and the opulent vie ſo eagerly with one another for the poſſeſſion of them, that they riſe in price to an exorbitant and almoſt incredible height. Diamonds, though the art of cutting them was imperfectly known to the ancients, held an high place in eſtimation among them as well as among us. The comparative value of other precious ſtones varied according to the diverſity of taſtes and the caprice of faſhion. The immenſe number of them mentioned by Pliny, and the laborious care with which he deſcribes and arranges them §, will aſtoniſh, I ſhould ſuppoſe, the moſt ſkilful lapidary or jeweller of modern times, and ſhews the high requeſt in which they were held by the Romans.

"But among all the articles of luxury, the Romans ſeem to have given the preference to pearls. Perſons of every rank purchaſed them with eagerneſs; they were worn on every part of dreſs; and there is ſuch a difference, both in ſize and in value, among pearls, that while ſuch as were large and of ſuperior luſtre adorned the wealthy and the great, ſmaller ones, and of inferior quality, gratified the vanity of perſons in more humble ſtations of life. Julius Cæſar preſented Servilia, the mother of Brutus, with a pearl, for which he paid forty-eight thouſand four hundred and fifty-ſeven pounds. The famous pearl ear-rings of Cleopatra were in value one hundred and

* Peripl. Mar. Eryth. p. 22. 28. Strab. lib. ii. p. 156. A. lib. xv. p. 1018. A.
† Strab. lib. xvii. p. 1129. C. ‡ Niebuhr. Deſcript. de l'Arabie, tom. i. p. 126.
§ Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxxvii.

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ſixty-one thouſand four hundred and fifty-eight pounds *. Precious ſtones, it is true, as well as pearls, were found not only in India, but in many different countries, and all were ranſacked in order to gratify the pride of Rome. India, however, furniſhed the chief part, and its productions were allowed to be moſt abundant, diverſified, and valuable.

"III. Another production of India in great demand at Rome, was ſilk; and when we recollect the variety of elegant fabrics into which it may be formed, and how much theſe have added to the ſplendour of dreſs and furniture, we cannot wonder at its being held in ſuch eſtimation by a luxurious people. The price it bore was exorbitant; but it was deemed a dreſs too expenſive and too delicate for men †, and was appropriated wholly to women of eminent rank and opulence. This, however, did not render the demand for it leſs eager, eſpecially after the example of the diſſolute Elagabalus introduced the uſe of it among the other ſex, and accuſtomed men to the diſgrace (as the ſeverity of antient ideas accounted it) of wearing this effeminate garb. Two circumſtances concerning the traffick of ſilk among the Romans merit obſervation. Contrary to what uſually takes place in the operations of trade, the more general uſe of that commodity ſeems not to have increaſed the quantity imported, in ſuch proportion as to anſwer the growing demand for it, and the price of ſilk was not reduced during the courſe of two hundred and fifty years from the time of its being firſt known in Rome. In the reign of Aurelian, it ſtill continued to be valued at its weight in gold. This, it is probable, was owing to the mode in which that commodity was procured by the merchants of Alexandria. They had no direct intercourſe with China, the only country in which the ſilk-worm was then reared, and its labour rendered an article of commerce. All the ſilk which they purchaſed in the different ports of India which they frequented, was brought thither in ſhips of the country; and either from ſome defect of ſkill in managing the ſilk-worm, the produce of its ingenious induſtry among the Chineſe was ſcanty, or the intermediate dealers found greater advantage in furniſhing the market of Alexandria with a ſmall quantity at an high price, than to lower its value by increaſing the quantity. The other circumſtance which I had in view, is more extraordinary, and affords a ſtriking proof of the imperfect communication of the ancients with remote nations, and of the ſlender knowledge which they had of their natural productions or arts. Much as the manufactures of ſilk were admired, and often as ſilk is mentioned by the Greek and Roman authors, they had not, for ſeveral centuries, after the uſe of it became common, any certain knowledge either of the countries to which they were indebted for this favourite article of elegance, or of the manner in which it was produced. By ſome, ſilk was ſuppoſed to be a fine down adhering to the leaves of certain trees or flowers; others imagined it to be a delicate ſpecies of wool or cotton; and even thoſe who had learned that it was the work of an inſect, ſhew,

* Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. ix. c. 35.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. c. 33.

by

by their deſcriptions, that they had no diſtinct idea of the manner in which it was formed. It was in conſequence of an event that happened in the ſixth century of the Chriſtian æra, of which I ſhall hereafter take notice, that the real nature of ſilk became known in Europe.

"The other commodities uſually imported from India, will be mentioned in the account, which I now proceed to give, of the cargoes ſent out and brought home in the ſhips employed in that trade. For this we are indebted to the circumnavigation of the Erythræan ſea, aſcribed to Arrian, a curious though ſhort treatiſe, leſs known than it deſerves to be, and which enters into ſome details concerning commerce, to which there is nothing ſimilar in any ancient writer. The firſt place in India, in which the ſhips from Egypt, while they followed the ancient courſe of navigation, were accuſtomed to trade, was Patala in the river Indus. They imported into it woollen cloth of a ſlight fabric, linen in chequer-work, ſome precious ſtones, and ſome aromatics unknown in India, coral, ſtorax, glaſs veſſels of different kinds, ſome wrought ſilver, money, and wine. In return for theſe, they received ſpices of various kinds, ſapphires, and other gems, ſilk ſtuffs, ſilk thread, cotton cloths, and black pepper. But a far more conſiderable emporium on the ſame coaſt was Barygaza, and on that account the author, whom I follow here, deſcribes its ſituation, and the mode of approaching it, with great minuteneſs and accuracy. Its ſituation correſponds entirely with that of Baroach, on the great river Nerbuddah, down the ſtream of which, or by land-carriage, from the great city of Tagara acroſs high mountains, all the productions of the interior country were conveyed to it. The articles of importation and exportation in this great mart were extenſive and various. Beſides theſe already mentioned, our author enumerates among the former, Italian, Greek, and Arabian wines, braſs, tin, lead, girdles or ſaſhes of curious texture, melilot, white glaſs, red arſenic, black lead, gold and ſilver coin. Among the exports he mentions the onyx, and other gems, ivory, myrrh, various fabrics of cotton, both plain and ornamented with flowers, and long pepper *. At Muſiris, the next emporium of note on that coaſt, the articles imported were much the ſame as at Barygaza; but as it lay nearer to the eaſtern parts of India, and ſeems to have had much communication with them, the commodities exported from it were more numerous and more valuable. He ſpecifies particularly pearls in great abundance and of extraordinary beauty, a variety of ſilk ſtuffs, rich perfumes, tortoiſe-ſhell, different kinds of tranſparent gems, eſpecially diamonds, and pepper in large quantities, and of the beſt quality †.

"The juſtneſs of the account given by this author of the articles imported from India, is confirmed by a Roman law, in which the Indian commodities ſubject to the payment of duties are enumerated ‡. By comparing theſe two accounts, we may form an idea, tolerably ex-

* Peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 28. † Ibid. 31, 32.
‡ Digeſt, lib. xxxix. tit. iv. § 16. De publicanis et veſtigalibus.

act, of the nature and extent of the trade with India in ancient times.

"As the ſtate of ſociety and manners among the natives of India, in the earlieſt period in which they are known, nearly reſembled what we obſerve among their deſcendants in the preſent age; their wants and demands were, of courſe, much the ſame. The ingenuity of their own artiſts were ſo able to ſupply theſe, that they ſtood little in need of foreign manufactures or productions, except ſome of the uſeful metals, which their own country did not furniſh in ſufficient quantity; and then, as now, it was moſtly with gold and ſilver that the luxuries of the Eaſt were purchaſed. In two particulars, however, our importations from India differ greatly from thoſe of the ancients. The dreſs, both of the Greeks and Romans, was almoſt entirely woollen, which, by their frequent uſe of the warm bath, was rendered abundantly comfortable. Their conſumption of linen and cotton cloths was much inferior to that of modern times, when theſe are worn by perſons in every rank of life. Accordingly, a great branch of modern importation from that part of India with which the ancients were acquainted, is in *piece-goods*; comprehending, under that mercantile term, the immenſe variety of fabricks, which Indian ingenuity has formed of cotton. But, as far as I have obſerved, we have no authority that will juſtify us in ſtating the ancient importation of theſe to be in any degree conſiderable.

"In modern times, though it continues ſtill to be chiefly a commerce of luxury that is carried on with India, yet, together with the articles that miniſter to it, we import, to a conſiderable extent, various commodities, which are to be conſidered merely as the materials of our domeſtic manufactures. Such are the cotton-wool of Indoſtan, the ſilk of China, and the ſalt-petre of Bengal. But in the accounts of ancient importations from India, raw ſilk and ſilk-thread excepted, I find nothing mentioned that could ſerve as the materials of any home-manufacture. The navigation of the ancients never having extended to China, the quantity of unwrought ſilk with which they were ſupplied, by means of the Indian traders, appears to have been ſo ſcanty, that the manufacture of it could not make an addition of any moment to their domeſtic induſtry."

At the concluſion of this ſection the introduction of the ſilk-worm into Europe is thus alluded to:

"The frequency of open hoſtilities between the emperors of Conſtantinople and the monarchs of Perſia, together with the increaſing rivalſhip of their ſubjects in the trade with India, gave riſe to an event which produced a conſiderable change in the nature of that commerce. As the uſe of ſilk, both in dreſs and furniture, became gradually more general in the court of the Greek emperors, who imitated and ſurpaſſed the ſovereigns of Aſia in ſplendour and magnificence; and as China, in which, according to the concurring teſtimony of Oriental writers, the culture of ſilk was originally known *, ſtill continued to be the only country which produced that valuable commodity; the Perſians, improving the advantages which their ſituation gave them over

* Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. artic. *Harir*.

the merchants from the Arabian Gulf, ſupplanted them in all the marts of India to which ſilk was brought by ſea from the Eaſt. Having it likewiſe in their power to moleſt or to cut off the caravans, which, in order to procure a ſupply for the Greek empire, travelled by land to China, through the northern provinces of their kingdom, they entirely engroſſed that branch of commerce. Conſtantinople was obliged to depend on a rival power for an article which luxury viewed and deſired as eſſential to elegance. The Perſians, with the uſual rapacity of monopoliſts, raiſed the price of ſilk to ſuch an exorbitant height *, that Juſtinian, eager not only to obtain a full and certain ſupply of a commodity which was become of indiſpenſable uſe, but ſolicitous to deliver the commerce of his ſubjects from the exactions of his enemies, endeavoured, by means of his ally, the Chriſtian monarch of Abyſſinia, to wreſt ſome portion of the ſilk trade from the Perſians. In this attempt he failed; but when he leaſt expected it, he, by an unforeſeen event, attained, in ſome meaſure, the object which he had in view. Two Perſian monks having been employed as miſſionaries in ſome of the Chriſtian churches, which were eſtabliſhed (as we are informed by Coſmas) in different parts of India, had penetrated into the country of the Seres, or China. There they obſerved the labours of the ſilk-worm, and became acquainted with all the arts of man in working up its productions into ſuch a variety of elegant fabrics. The proſpect of gain, or perhaps an indignant zeal, excited by ſeeing this lucrative branch of commerce engroſſed by unbelieving nations, prompted them to repair to Conſtantinople. There they explained to the emperor the origin of ſilk, as well as the various modes of preparing and manufacturing it, myſteries hitherto unknown, or very imperfectly underſtood in Europe; and encouraged by his liberal promiſes, they undertook to bring to the capital a ſufficient number of thoſe wonderful inſects, to whoſe labours man is ſo much indebted. This they accompliſhed by conveying the eggs of the ſilk-worm in a hollow cane. They were hatched by the heat of a dunghill, fed with the leaves of a wild mulberry-tree, and they multiplied and worked in the ſame manner as in thoſe climates where they firſt became objects of human attention and care †. Vaſt numbers of theſe inſects were ſoon reared in different parts of Greece, particularly in the Peloponneſus. Sicily afterwards undertook to breed ſilk-worms with equal ſucceſs, and was imitated, from time to time, in ſeveral towns of Italy. In all theſe places extenſive manufactures were eſtabliſhed, and carried on, with ſilk of domeſtic production. The demand for ſilk from the Eaſt diminiſhed of courſe, the ſubjects of the Greek emperors were no longer obliged to have recourſe to the Perſians for a ſupply of it, and a conſiderable change took place in the nature of the commercial intercourſe between Europe and India."

The third ſection commences with a brief account of the manner in which the Mahomedans ſupplied Europe with the luxuries of India;

* Procop. Hiſt. Arcan. c. 25.
† Procop. de Bello Gothic. lib. iv. c. 17.

and

and then proceeds to give an intereſting view of the commercial riſe of the Italian ſtates; until the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope threw almoſt the whole trade of the Eaſt into the hands of the Portugueſe. We ſhall quote Dr. Robertſon's relation of the laſt-mentioned event.

"When the Portugueſe, to whom mankind are indebted for opening this communication between the moſt remote parts of the habitable globe, undertook their firſt voyage of diſcovery, it is probable that they had nothing farther in view than to explore thoſe parts of the coaſt of Africa which lay neareſt to their own country. But a ſpirit of enterpriſe, when rouſed and put in motion, is always progreſſive; and that of the Portugueſe, though ſlow and timid in its firſt operations, gradually acquired vigour, and prompted them to advance along the weſtern ſhore of the African continent, far beyond the utmoſt boundary of ancient navigation in that direction. Encouraged by ſucceſs, it became more adventurous, deſpiſed dangers which formerly appalled it, and ſurmounted difficulties which it once deemed inſuperable. When the Portugueſe found in the torrid zone, which the ancients had pronounced to be uninhabitable, fertile countries, occupied by numerous nations; and perceived that the continent of Africa, inſtead of extending in breadth towards the Weſt, according to the opinion of Ptolemy, appeared to contract itſelf, and to bend Eaſtwards, more extenſive proſpects opened to their view, and inſpired them with hopes of reaching India, by continuing to hold the ſame courſe which they had ſo long purſued.

"After ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts to accompliſh what they had in view, a ſmall ſquadron ſailed from the Tagus, under the command of Vaſco de Gama, an officer of rank, whoſe abilities and courage fitted him to conduct the moſt difficult and arduous enterpriſes. From unacquaintance, however, with the proper ſeaſon and route of navigation in that vaſt ocean through which he had to ſteer his courſe, his voyage was long and dangerous. At length he doubled that promontory, which, for ſeveral years, had been the object of terror and of hope to his countrymen. From that, after a proſperous navigation along the ſouth-eaſt of Africa, he arrived at the city of Melinda, and had the ſatisfaction of diſcovering there, as well as at other places where he touched, people of a race very different from the rude inhabitants of the Weſtern ſhore of that continent, which alone the Portugueſe had hitherto viſited. Theſe he found to be ſo far advanced in civilization, and acquaintance with the various arts of life, that they carried on an active commerce, not only with the nations on their own coaſt, but with remote countries of Aſia. Conducted by their pilots, who held a courſe (with which experience had rendered them well acquainted) he ſailed acroſs the Indian ocean, and landed at Calecut, on the coaſt of Malabar, on the twenty-ſecond of May, one thouſand four hundred and ninety-eight, ten months and two days after his departure from the port of Liſbon.

"The Samorin, or Monarch of the country, aſtoniſhed at this unexpected viſit of an unknown people,

whoſe aſpect, and arms, and manners, bore no reſemblance to any of the nations accuſtomed to frequent his harbours, and who arrived in his dominions by a route hitherto deemed impracticable, received them, at firſt, with that fond admiration which is often excited by novelty. But in a ſhort time, as if he had been inſpired with foreſight of all the calamities now approaching India by this fatal communication opened with the inhabitants of Europe, he formed various ſchemes to cut off Gama and his followers. But from every danger to which he was expoſed, either by the open attacks or ſecret machination of the Indians, the Portugueſe admiral extricated himſelf with ſingular prudence and intrepidity, and at laſt ſailed from Calecut with his ſhips loaded, not only with the commodities peculiar to that coaſt, but with many of the rich productions of the Eaſtern parts of India.

"On his return to Liſbon, he was received with the admiration and gratitude due to a man, who, by his ſuperior abilities and reſolution, had conducted to ſuch an happy iſſue an undertaking of the greateſt importance, which had long occupied the thoughts of his ſovereign, and excited the hopes of his fellow-ſubjects *. Nor did this event intereſt the Portugueſe alone. No nation in Europe beheld it with unconcern. For although the diſcovery of a new world, whether we view it as a diſplay of genius in the perſon who firſt conceived an idea of that undertaking which led mankind to the knowledge of it, whether we contemplate its influence upon ſcience by giving a more complete knowledge of the globe which we inhabit, or whether we conſider its effects upon the commercial intercourſe of mankind, be an event far more ſplendid than the voyage of Gama, yet the latter ſeems originally to have excited more general attention. The former, indeed, filled the minds of men with aſtoniſhment; it was ſome time, however, before they attained ſuch a ſufficient knowledge of that portion of the earth now laid open to their view, as to form any juſt idea, or even probable conjecture, with reſpect to what might be the conſequences of communication with it. But the immenſe value of the Indian trade, which both in ancient and in modern times had enriched every nation by which it was carried on, was a ſubject familiar to the thoughts of all intelligent men, and they at once perceived that the diſcovery of this new route of navigation to the Eaſt, muſt occaſion great revolutions, not only in the courſe of commerce, but in the political ſtate of Europe."

As the author conceived, that at the concluſion of his third ſection, when he had brought down his account to the diſcovery of a new route of navigation by the Cape of Good Hope, he was arrived at that point, whence a line might be drawn, which would mark the chief diſtinction between the manners and political inſtitutions of ancient and modern times, the fourth ſection conſiſts of ſome general obſervations which he thought naturally aroſe from a ſurvey of both, and a compariſon of one with the other.

* Aſia de João de Barros, dec. i. lib. iv. c. 11. Caſtagneda, Hiſt. de l'Inde trad. en François, liv. i. c. 2—28.

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We ſhall conclude our account of this work with the following quotation, which contains remarks on the peculiarity of the times, during the period in which the Portugueſe engroſſed a monopoly of the Indian trade.

"Lucrative as the trade with India was, and had long been deemed, it is remarkable that the Portugueſe were ſuffered to remain in the undiſturbed and excluſive poſſeſſion of it, during the courſe of almoſt a century. In the ancient world, though Alexandria, from the peculiar felicity of its ſituation, could carry on an intercourſe with the Eaſt by ſea, and circulate its productions through Europe with ſuch advantage, as gave it a decided ſuperiority over every rival; yet various attempts (which I have deſcribed in their proper places) were made, from time to time, to obtain ſome ſhare in a commerce ſo apparently beneficial. From the growing activity of the commercial ſpirit in the ſixteenth century, as well as from the example of the eager ſolicitude with which the Venetians and Genoeſe exerted themſelves alternately to ſhut out each other from any ſhare in the Indian trade, it might have been expected that ſome competitor would have ariſen to call in queſtion the claim of the Portugueſe to an excluſive right of traffic with the Eaſt, and to wreſt from them ſome portion of it. There were, however, at that time, ſome peculiar circumſtances in the political ſtate of all thoſe nations in Europe, whoſe intruſion, as rivals, the Portugueſe had any reaſon to dread, which ſecured to them the quiet enjoyment of their monopoly of Indian commerce during ſuch a long period. From the acceſſion of Charles V. to the throne, Spain was either ſo much occupied in a multiplicity of operations in which it was engaged by the ambition of that monarch, and of his ſon Philip II. or ſo intent on proſecuting its own diſcoveries and conqueſts in the New World, that, although, by the ſucceſsful enterprize of Magellan, its fleets were unexpectedly conducted by a new courſe to that remote region of Aſia which was the ſeat of the moſt gainful and alluring branch of trade carried on by the Portugueſe, it could make no conſiderable effort to avail itſelf of the commercial advantages which it might have derived from that event. By the acquiſition of the crown of Portugal, in the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty, the kings of Spain, inſtead of the rivals, became the protectors of the Portugueſe trade, and the guardians of all its extenſive rights. Throughout the ſixteenth century, the ſtrength and reſources of France were ſo much waſted by the fruitleſs expeditions of their monarchs into Italy, by their unequal conteſt with the power and policy of Charles V. and by the calamities of the civil wars which deſolated the kingdom upwards of forty years, that it could neither beſtow much attention upon objects of commerce, nor engage in any ſcheme of diſtant enterprize. The Venetians, how ſenſibly ſoever they might feel the mortifying reverſe of being excluded, almoſt entirely, from the Indian trade, of which their capital had been formerly the chief ſeat, were ſo debilitated and humbled by the league of Cambray, that they were no longer capable of engaging in any undertaking of magnitude. England, weakened (as I formerly obſerved) by the long conteſt be-

tween the houſes of York and Lancaſter, and juſt beginning to recover its proper vigour, was reſtrained from active exertion, during one part of the ſixteenth century, by the cautious maxims of Henry VII. and waſted its ſtrength, during another part of it, by engaging inconſiderately in the wars between the princes on the continent. The nation, though deſtined to acquire territories in India more extenſive and valuable than were ever poſſeſſed by any European power, had no ſuch preſentiment of its future eminence there, as to take an early part in the commerce or tranſactions of that country, and a great part of the century elapſed before it began to turn its attention towards the Eaſt.

"While the moſt conſiderable nations in Europe found it neceſſary, from the circumſtances which I have mentioned, to remain inactive ſpectators of what paſſed in the Eaſt, the Seven United Provinces of the Low Countries, recently formed into a ſmall ſtate, ſtill ſtruggling for political exiſtence, and yet in the infancy of its power, ventured to appear in the Indian ocean as the rivals of the Portugueſe; and, deſpiſing their pretenſions to an excluſive right of commerce with the extenſive countries to the eaſtward of the Cape of Good Hope, invaded that monopoly which they had hitherto guarded with ſuch jealous attention. The Engliſh ſoon followed the example of the Dutch, and both nations, at firſt by the enterprizing induſtry of private adventurers, and afterwards by the more powerful efforts of trading companies, under the protection of public authority, advanced with aſtoniſhing ardour and ſucceſs in this new career opened to them. The vaſt fabric of power which the Portugueſe had erected in the Eaſt (a ſuperſtructure much too large for the baſis on which it had to reſt) was almoſt entirely overturned, in as ſhort time, and with as much facility, as it had been raiſed. England and Holland, by driving them from their moſt valuable ſettlements, and ſeizing the moſt lucrative branches of their trade, have attained to that pre-eminence in naval power and commercial opulence, by which they are diſtinguiſhed among the nations of Europe."

The Statiſtical Account of Scotland, *drawn up from the Communications of the Miniſters of the different Pariſhes. By* Sir John Sinclair, Bart. *Vols. I. and II.*

EVERY attempt to elucidate the natural and political hiſtory of any country, upon a plan ſo rational as that of the work before us, cannot fail of obtaining the cordial approbation of all who wiſh well to the improvement of mankind. We are in general too apt to condemn or extol nations, as well as individuals, without ſufficient diſcrimination; though perhaps there are but few of either deſcription entitled to unqualified cenſure or unqualified praiſe; few in whom we may not find much to commend, as well as much to ſtigmatize.

The people of Scotland are confeſſedly not ſo far advanced in all the arts which tend to promote the comforts and luxuries of life as their wealthier neighbours of England, but are certainly much more in a ſtate of civilization than ſome partial writers, biaſſed by the littleneſs of national prejudice, wiſh us to conceive. We muſt not, however, imagine,

ſmagine, that the patriotic compiler of the preſent publication undertook his laborious taſk from the ſecret influence of any local attachments; from a hope of raiſing his native country to a more important rank among ſurrounding nations, by a literary monument to her merits, as ſplendid as it is likely to prove bulky; from a wiſh to convince the world that Scotland is in an actual ſtate of progreſſive improvement, and that if ſhe has not hitherto rivalled her ſiſter kingdom in every excellence which conſtitutes the wealth, the reſources, and the pride of modern nations, the deficiency ought to be conſidered rather as her misfortune than her fault. The motives of Sir John Sinclair are of a higher kind. He publiſhes, not for the gratification of Scotchmen, but for the inſtruction of the world. Every real philoſopher, who wiſhes to ſpeculate on facts, to accommodate his ſyſtem, whether it be of a moral, commercial, or political nature, not to any preconceived idea of fancied perfection, but to the exiſting ſtate of men and things, will readily pay him that tribute of applauſe which he ſo richly deſerves.

It was the intention of Sir John Sinclair to draw up, from the anſwers to the queries which he circulated among the clergy of Scotland, a general view of the natural hiſtory and political ſtate of that country, without any particular reference to parochial diſtricts. But he found, as he obſerves in his preface, "ſo much merit and ability, and ſo many uſeful facts and important obſervations in the anſwers which were ſent him, that he could not think of depriving the clergy of the credit they were entitled to from ſuch laborious exertions; whence he was induced to give the work to the public in its preſent ſhape."—Without detracting from the merits of the Scottiſh clergy, whoſe compoſitions in general do credit to their heads as well as hearts, we cannot help regretting that the latter plan was purſued. As it is, the preſent work muſt be conſidered rather as a rich ſtore-houſe of materials for ſome future hiſtory, than as a hiſtory itſelf. Had a more ſyſtematical arrangement been adopted, many of the obſervations which are now publiſhed would in that caſe have been ſuppreſſed, not becauſe they were in themſelves unimportant, but becauſe the ſame, or at leaſt ſimilar ones, had been repeated before; and much of that ſpecies of information would have been abridged, if at all given, which had been previouſly detailed with ſufficient accuracy and minuteneſs.

Among the advantages to be derived from this laudable undertaking, we ſhall point out one, of inferior conſideration indeed, but of ſome little moment, which the curſory reader may not, the prejudiced one will not, perceive. It is this, that while a publication of ſo reſpectable a nature reflects immortal honour on the clergy of the church of Scotland, (a publication which, as Sir John Sinclair obſerves, by giving more authentic information regarding the internal ſtructure of political ſociety than ever was known before, in all likelihood will very materially contribute to the general happineſs of the ſpecies) it may tend to convince ſuperficial ſpeculators in politics that there may be ſome utility in eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments.

The following analyſis of the ſtatiſtical account of a parochial diſtrict, was propoſed as a guide to the clergy in drawing up the ſurvey of their reſpective pariſhes:—

The name, and its origin.
Situation and extent of the pariſh.
Number of acres.
Deſcription of the ſoil and ſurface.
Nature and extent of the ſea-coaſt.
Lakes, rivers, iſlands, hills, rocks, caves, woods, orchards, &c.
Climate and diſeaſes.
Inſtances of longevity.
State of property.
Number of proprietors.
Number of reſiding proprietors.
Mode of cultivation.
Implements of huſbandry.
Manures.
Seed-time and harveſt.
Remarkable inſtances of good and bad ſeaſons.
Quantity and value of each ſpecies of crop.
Total value of the whole produce of the diſtrict.
Total real and valued rent.
Price of grain and proviſions.
Total quantity of grain and other articles conſumed in the pariſh.
Wages and price of labour.
Services, whether exacted or aboliſhed.
Commerce.
Manufactures.
Manufacture of kelp, its amount, and the number of people employed in it.
Fiſheries.
Towns and villages.
Police.
Inns and ale-houſes.
Roads and bridges.
Harbours.
Ferries, and their ſtate.
Number of ſhips and veſſels.
Number of ſeamen.
State of the church.
Stipend, manſe, glebe, and patron.
Number of poor.
Parochial funds, and the management of them.
State of the ſchools, and number of ſcholars.
Antient ſtate of population.
Cauſes of its increaſe or decreaſe.
Number of families.
Exact amount of the number of ſouls now living.
Diviſion of the inhabitants.
1. By the place of their birth.
2. By their ages.
3. By their religious perſuaſions.
4. By their occupations and ſituation in life.
5. By their reſidence, whether in town, village, or in the country.

Number of houſes.
——— uninhabited houſes.
——— dove-cots, and to what extent they are deſtructive to the crops.
——— horſes, their nature, and value.
——— cattle, and ditto.
——— ſheep, and ditto,
——— ſwine, and ditto.
Minerals in general.
Mineral ſprings.
Coal and fuel.
Eminent men.
Antiquities.
Parochial records.
Miſcellaneous obſervations.
Character of the people.
Their manners, cuſtoms, ſtature, &c.
Advantages and diſadvantages.
Means by which their ſituation could be meliorated.

In the account of the pariſh of Jedburgh, in Roxburghſhire, the effects of the Union on the borders are thus detailed:

" The Union of the parliaments of England and Scotland, has in ſome reſpects produced an effect very

very different from what might have been expected from it. Inſtead of promoting the increaſe, it has contributed to the diminution, of the people upon the borders. Beſides, the influence of various natural propenſities, which induced men to flock to the ſcene where active talents were conſtantly employed, honour acquired, and the ſtrongeſt national antipathies gratified, there were obvious conſiderations of intereſt, which rendered the ſituation of the borders more eligible, after violence and hoſtility were repreſſed, by the union of the two crowns, and the conſequent interpoſition of the legiſlature of both kingdoms. The inhabitants of the borders, while the taxes and the commercial regulations of the two kingdoms were different, enjoyed the opportunity of carrying on a very advantageous contraband trade, without danger to their perſons or fortunes. Into England they imported ſalt, ſkins, and malt, which, till the Union, paid no duties in Scotland; and from England they carried back wool, which was exported from the Frith of Forth to France, with great profit. The veſtiges of forty malt-barns and kilns are now to be ſeen in the town of Jedburgh, while at preſent there are only three in actual occupation; and the corporation of ſkinners and glovers, formerly the moſt wealthy in that town, have, ſince the Union, greatly diminiſhed, both in regard to opulence and number. The proprietors of eſtates upon the borders were well aware of the detriment which their property would ſuffer by the incorporating Union, and in general ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it; and the commiſſioners for carrying on that treaty, were ſo ſenſible of the loſs they would ſuſtain, that they agreed to appropriate part of the equivalent money, as it was called, to their indemnification and benefit *.

"The Union has alſo been the cauſe of the depopulation of the border country, by enlarging the ſphere, and facilitating the means of emigration. While the two countries were in a hoſtile ſtate, there was neither inducement nor opportunity to move from the one to the other. The inhabitants often made inroads upon one another; but when the incurſion was over, they returned to their own homes. Their antipathy and reſentments were a rampart which excluded all ſocial intercourſe, and mixture of inhabitants. In this ſituation, miſconduct and infamy at home were the only motives to emigration, and while this was the caſe, the exchange of inhabitants would be nearly at a par: But after the Union of the two kingdoms, and the decline or extinction of national antipathies, the balance ariſing from the interchange of inhabitants would run much in favour of the more wealthy country. Artificers and labourers would naturally reſort where wages were higher, and all the accommodations of life were more plentiful, eſpecially if this could be effected without the unpleaſing idea of relinquiſhing home. To paſs from the borders of Scotland into Northumberland, was rather like going into another pariſh than into another kingdom."

The miniſter who deſcribes the pariſh of Linton, in the county of Tweeddale, gives a remarkable ac-

* See Defoe's Hiſtory of the Union, minute 47, obſervation 47.

count of a harveſt froſt, not unfrequent in the highlands.

" The high lands of Tweeddale and Lanarkſhire are all ſubject to harveſt froſts, which often damage the crop. Theſe froſts are generally dreaded about the latter end of Auguſt and during the month of September. Rainy weather about this time generally terminates in this kind of froſt, which, in the year 1784, deſtroyed the whole barley crop in the month of Auguſt. The higheſt land is always the laſt in ſuffering by this kind of froſt; the loweſt is in greateſt danger. In a calm evening after rain this froſt is always apprehended; when it ſets in, a low white thick creeping vapour is obſerved to ariſe, after ſunſet, from the running waters and low lying moſſes, which gradually ſpreads to a certain diſtance, and to a certain height, on the lands in the neighbourhood. Theſe froſt miſts are obſerved to attract each other; and, wherever they reſt, they deſtroy vegetation when in a certain ſtate, or where their baleful influence is not counteracted by particular circumſtances. The half of a field contiguous to the running water or moſs is often deſtroyed, while the more remote half, on the ſame level, or part equally near, but more elevated, remains ſafe. In part of a field of potatoes in the line of the attraction of two miſts, the ſtems became black and ſoft like ſoap, while the neighbouring drill remained green and vigorous. Theſe froſt miſts manifeſt their noxious quality firſt on the potatoe ſtems, ſecond crop of clover, and peaſe. It requires a greater degree of intenſity in the froſt to hurt other crops: It ſcarcely affects turnips. The ſtems of the potatoes and clover grow black and ſoft, and fall down; the leaves, and the pods of the pea, are ſpotted with white ſpots. The potatoe is ſuppoſed to grow no more, though the roots are ſafe; the peaſe, in proportion to their greenneſs, are ſoft, wrinkled, and watery, become of the colour of a pickled olive, and acquire a diſagreeable ſweetiſh taſte: When threſhed the froſt-bitten are diſtinguiſhed from the ſound by throwing them into water; the ſound ſink, the others ſwim. A field of oats, when froſt-bitten, acquires in a few days a blueiſh caſt; and barley, if early froſted, as in 1784, remains erect in the head, which acquires a reddiſh brown colour, or, if later, a deadiſh whiteneſs. The kernels, when unhuſked immediately after the froſt, are wrinkled, ſoft, and watery, and, after a while, grow ſhrivelled and dry. The kernel of froſted oats, even if threſhed in ſpring, when examined between the eye and the light, appears cloudy, and not of that uniform tranſparency which ſound grain poſſeſſes.

" In the morning after the froſt the vegetables are ſtiffened; but its effects are not obſervable till after ſun-riſe. If wind ariſes through the night to prevent the miſt from ſettling, or if the next day is cloudy, and eſpecially if it rains before ſun-riſe, or if the field be ſo ſhaded by hills from the riſing ſun that the crop may be gently thawed by the increaſing heat of the atmoſphere before the ſun's rays ſhine directly on it, no danger is to be apprehended. In conformity to this experience, a ſmall field of potatoes has been known to be ſaved by ſprinkling them with well water before ſun-riſing. But this can never be executed on a large ſcale. Attempts

tempts have alſo been made, though without ſucceſs, to ſave oats and barley, by dragging ſomething over them, before ſun-riſe, to ſhake off the hoar froſt, or *ryme* or *cranreuch*, as it is called, which is depoſited wherever the miſt ſettles. This froſt affects the vegetation of corn only at a certain period of its progreſs. Peaſe are froſted however green in the grain, and the greener the more readily; they are not killed by it when hard ripe; but to this ſtate they ſeldom arrive at Linton. Barley and oats are not hurt by this froſt when hard ripe, and fit for the hook; and it is probable that they are not hurt by it even though they are ſhot, and the ear beginning to fill, as long as the juices are watery, and have not yet come to the conſiſtency of thickiſh milk. It is certainly the caſe with oats. In the year 1784, the froſt was on the 17th and 18th Auguſt. The uppermoſt grains of the oats, which always fill ſooneſt, had thick milk in them, and were froſted four or five grains down the head. The grains below theſe all ripened well. The barley, which might be about equally forward with the top grains of the oats, was totally deſtroyed. Probably the upper grains had ſheltered the under ones from the froſt, the crop being very thick and ſtrong; and this might have been the reaſon why the undermoſt grains ripened: But as a proof, above all exception, *that the froſt does not greatly hurt oats while the juices in the ear are watery*, there were ſeveral contiguous fields ſown with late ſeed oats, whoſe beſt ripened grains were no further advanced than the undermoſt grains in the field above mentioned, and they all ripened very well, though equally expoſed to the froſt.

"Dr. Roebuck's experiments on oats in 1782, correſponds with this obſervation; for, even the laſt parcel he cut *was not ripe when cut*: of courſe, it may be probably conjectured, that, in the time of the froſt, none of the oats in queſtion had thick milk in the ear.

"Crops cut and ſtacked before the froſt are ſafe, except peaſe, the upper ſurface of which will froſt till they be thoroughly ripe. To ſave them, it is uſual to turn the expoſed ſide downwards, to thaw gradually before ſun-riſe.

"This froſt affects only low grounds, and only hardens a very thin cruſt on the ſurface of the earth. In 1782, the froſt penetrated ſeveral inches into the ground, ſo as to deſtroy the roots of the potatoes."

A very picturesque deſcription is given of a rock called Craig-grande, or the *ugly rock*, ſituated in the pariſh of Kiltearn, in Roſsſhire:—

"The natural curioſity that chiefly deſerves notice, is the rock called Craig-grande, or the *ugly rock*. This is a deep chaſm or abyſs, formed by two oppoſite precipices, that riſe perpendicularly to a great height, through which the Aultgrande runs for the ſpace of two miles. It begins at the diſtance of four miles from the ſea, by a bold projection into the channel of the river, which it diminiſhes in breadth by at leaſt one half. The river continues to run with rapidity for about three quarters of a mile, when it is confined by a ſudden jutting out of the rock. Here, the ſide view from the ſummit is very ſtriking. The courſe of the ſtream being thus impeded, it whirls, and foams, and beats with violence againſt the oppoſing rock, till, collecting ſtrength, it ſhoots up perpendicularly with great

great fury, and, forcing its way, darts with the swiftness of an arrow through the winding passage on the other side. After passing this obstruction, it becomes in many places invisible, owing partly to the increasing depth and narrowness of the chasm, and partly to the view being intercepted by the numerous branches of trees which grow on each side of the precipice. About a quarter of a mile farther down, the country people have thrown a slight bridge, composed of trunks of trees covered with turf, over the rock, where the chasm is about 16 feet wide. Here the observer, if he has intrepidity enough to venture himself on such a tottering support, and can look down on the gulph below without any uneasy sensations, will be gratified with a view equally awful and astonishing. The wildness of the steep and rugged rocks; the gloomy horror of the cliffs and caverns, "inaccessible by mortal's "trod," and where the genial rays of the sun never yet penetrated; the water-falls which are heard pouring down in different places of the precipice, with sounds various in proportion to their distance; the hoarse and hollow murmuring of the river, which runs at the depth of near 130 feet below the surface of the earth; the fine groves of pines, which majestically climb the sides of a beautiful eminence, that rises immediately from the brink of the chasm; all these objects cannot be contemplated, without exciting emotions of wonder and admiration in the mind of every beholder! The appearance of this singular and picturesque scene, will naturally bring to the recollection of the classical spectator those beautiful lines of Virgil, in which he describes the gulph, through which his Alecto shoots herself into the infernal regions:

——— densis hunc frondibus atrum
Urget utrimque latus nemoris, medioque fragosus
Dat sonitum saxis et torto vortice torrens.
Hic specus horrendum, et sævi spiracula Ditis
Monstrantur; ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago
Pestiferas aperit fauces: ———

Critics may labour to convey the force and meaning of the author's words; and travellers may, by their ingenious descriptions, give us a still more lively idea of their beauty and propriety; but he who would see a living commentary on this noble passage, must visit the rock of Aultgrande."

As the writer of this elegant quotation seems to labour only at giving a faithful description of real objects possessed of peculiar grandeur and sublimity, not to display the refinement of his taste in sketching ideal scenery, which exists no where but in his own imagination, the picture is the more valuable, as it bears a minuter resemblance to truth and nature.

The following calculation is founded on incontrovertible facts; and proves, that in spite of emigration, Scotland is still increasing, not decreasing in population.

"It appears, on the whole, that in 50 country parishes in Scotland, taken indiscriminately, from one end of the kingdom to the other, there is an increase since the year 1755, of 10,517 souls; which is at the rate of 210 to a parish, or 189,000 in the 900 country parishes of North Britain: and, as the great towns (Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley,

Paiſley, Aberdeen, Dundee, &c.) have probably increaſed to the amount of 210,000 the total increaſe in Scotland, in leſs than 40 years, will be about 400,000, and the total population about 1,700,000 ſouls."

A curious mode of courtſhip, and as curious a mode of terminating the nuptial rejoicings, prevail in the neighbourhood of Galſton, in Ayrſhire.

"When a young man wiſhes to pay his addreſſes to his ſweet-heart, inſtead of going to her father's, and profeſſing his paſſion, he goes to a public-houſe; and, having let the land-lady into the ſecret of his attachment, the object of his wiſhes is immediately ſent for, who never almoſt refuſes to come. She is entertained with ale and whiſky, or brandy; and the marriage is concluded on. The ſecond day after the marriage, *a creeling*, as it is called, takes place. The young wedded pair, with their friends, aſſemble in a convenient ſpot. A ſmall creel or baſket is prepared for the occaſion, into which they put ſome ſtones: The young men carry it alternately, and allow themſelves to be caught by the maidens, who have a kiſs when they ſucceed. After a great deal of innocent mirth and pleaſantry, the creel falls at length to the young huſband's ſhare, who is obliged to carry it generally for a long time, none of the women having compaſſion upon him. At laſt, his fair mate kindly relieves him from his burden; and her complaiſance, in this particular, is conſidered as a proof of her ſatisfaction with the choice ſhe has made. The creel goes round again; more merriment ſucceeds, and all the company dine together, and talk over the feats of the field *."

The miniſter of the pariſh of Fortingal, in Perthſhire, draws a ſtriking compariſon between the ſtate of that part of the country in 1754, and its preſent ſituation.

"In the year 1754, the country was almoſt impaſſable. There were no roads, nor bridges. Now, by the ſtatute-labour, we have got excellent roads, and 12 bridges. In a few years, we ſhall have other two, which is all that could be deſired. The people contribute chearfully and liberally to build them, and this preſerves many lives.

"At the above period, the bulk of the tenants in Rannoch had no ſuch thing as beds. They lay on the ground, with a little heather, or fern, under them. One ſingle blanket was all their bed-cloaths, excepting their body-cloaths. Now they have ſtanding-up beds, and abundance of blankets. At that time, the houſes in Rannoch were huts of, what they called, "Stake and Riſe." One could not enter but on all fours; and after entering, it was impoſſible to ſtand upright. Now there are comfortable houſes built of ſtone. Then the people were miſerably dirty, and foul-ſkinned. Now they are as cleanly, and are clothed as well, as their circumſtances will admit of. The rents of the pariſh, at that period, were not much above 1500 l. and the people were ſtarving. Now they pay 4660 l. *per annum*, and upwards, and the people have fulneſs of bread.

* Perhaps the French phraſe, "*Adieu paniers, vendanges ſont faites*," may allude to a ſimilar cuſtom.

"It

"It is hardly poſſible to believe, on how little the Highlanders formerly lived. They bled their cows ſeveral times in the year, boiled the blood, eat a little of it like bread, and a moſt laſting meal it was. The preſent incumbent has known a poor man, who had a ſmall farm hard by him, by this means, with a boll of meal for every mouth in his family, paſs the whole year.

"The circumſtances, which have occaſioned the greater wealth and abundance of the preſent times, are, the planting of ſo many potatoes, the advance in the price of cattle and ſheep, the greater induſtry of the people, the ſtop that has been put to the depredations of thieves, and the people, inſtead of rearing black cattle, having turned their farms into ſheep-walks, which they find much more profitable. Theſe are likewiſe the cauſes of the great riſe of rent. In 1754, the tenants planted perhaps one lippie or two of potatoes. Now they plant a boll, two bolls, or more. They keep the potatoe ground very clean. The general increaſe is 12 bolls or more. Few ſowed any lintſeed at that time. Perhaps there were not two hogſheads ſown in the pariſh. Now there are perhaps 24 hogſheads ſown yearly, every tenant and crofter having from one to four lippies. The increaſe is about one ſtone from the lippie. The wives and maids ſpin the flax; the yarn is purchaſed by dealers, who travel over the country for that purpoſe, and by whom it is ſent to Perth or Glaſgow."

As a whimſical compound of oddity, libertiniſm, and philanthropy, perhaps nothing can exceed the following letter from Sir Hew Dalrymple to Sir Lawrence Dundas, written to ſolicit a living in the Orkneys for a Mr. Diſhington:

"Dear Sir,

"Having ſpent a long life, in purſuit of pleaſure and health, I am now retired from the world in poverty, and with the gout; ſo, joining with Solomon, that "all is vanity and vexation of ſpirit," I go to church, and ſay my prayers.

"I aſſure you, that moſt of us religious people reap ſome little ſatisfaction, in hoping, that you wealthy voluptuaries have a fair chance of being damn'd to all eternity; and that Dives ſhall call out for a drop of water to Lazarus, one drop of which he ſeldom taſted, when he had the twelve Apoſtles, (*twelve hogſheads of claret*) in his cellar.

"Now, Sir, that doctrine being laid down, I wiſh to give you, my friend, a loop-hole to creep through. Going to church laſt Sunday, as uſual, I ſaw an unknown face in the pulpit, and riſing up to prayers, as others do upon like occaſions, I began to look around the church, to find out if there were any pretty girls there; when my attention was attracted by the foreign accent of the parſon. I gave him my attention, and had my devotion awakened, by the moſt pathetic prayer I ever heard. This made me all attention to the ſermon: a finer diſcourſe never came from the lips of a man. I returned in the afternoon, and heard the ſame preacher exceed his morning work, by the fineſt chain of reaſoning, conveyed by the moſt eloquent expreſſions. I immediately thought of what Agrippa ſaid to Paul, "Almoſt thou perſuadeſt me to be a Chriſtian." I ſent to aſk the man of God to honour my roof, and dine

dine with me. I aſked him of his country, and what not: I even aſked him, if his ſermons were his own compoſition, which he affirmed they were. I aſſured him, I believed it, for never man had ſpoke or wrote ſo well. "My name is "Diſhington," ſaid he. "I am an "aſſiſtant to an old miniſter in "the Orkneys, who enjoys a fruit-"ful benefice of 50l. a year, out "of which I am allowed 20l. for "preaching and inſtructing 1200 "people, who live in two ſeparate "iſlands; out of which I pay 1l. 5s. "to the boatman who tranſports "me from the one to the other. I "ſhould be happy, could I continue "in that terreſtrial paradiſe; but we "have a great Lord, who has many "little people ſoliciting him, for "many little things, that he can do "and that he cannot do; and if my "miniſter dies, his ſucceſſion is too "great a prize, not to raiſe up many "powerful rivals, to baulk my hopes "of preferment."

"I aſked him, if he poſſeſſed any other wealth. "Yes," ſays he, I "married the prettieſt girl in the "iſland; ſhe has bleſſed me with "three children, and as we are "both young, we may expect "more. Beſides, I am ſo beloved "in the iſland, that I have all my "peats brought home carriage-"free."

"This is my ſtory,—now to the prayer of my petition. I never be-fore envied you the poſſeſſion of the Orkneys, which I now do, only to provide for this eloquent, innocent apoſtle. The ſun has refuſed your barren iſles his kindly influence;—do not deprive them of ſo pleaſant a preacher:—let not ſo great a trea-ſure be for ever loſt to that damn'd inhoſpitable country; for I aſſure you, were the archbiſhop of Canter-bury to hear him, or hear of him, he would not do leſs than make him an archdeacon. The man has but one weakneſs, that of preferring the Ork-neys to all the earth.

"This way, and no other, you have a chance for ſalvation.—Do this man good, and he will pray for you. This will be a better purchaſe, than your Iriſh eſtate, or the Ork-neys. I think it will help me for-ward too, ſince I am the man, who told you of the man ſo worthy and deſerving; ſo pious, ſo eloquent, and whoſe prayers may do ſo much good. Till I hear from you on this head,

"Your's, in all meekneſs,
"Love, and benevolence,
"H. D."

"*P. S.* Think what an unſpeakable pleaſure it will be, to look down from heaven, and ſee Rigby, Maſ-terton, all the Campbells and Na-bobs, ſwimming in fire and brim-ſtone, while you are ſiting with Whitefield, and his old women, looking beautiful, friſking, and ſing-ing; all which you may have by ſettling this man, after the death of the preſent incumbent."

Sir John Sinclair concludes his ſecond volume with ſome reflec-tions of importance to the commu-nity, the candour of which is only exceeded by their juſtice.

"The conſtitution of the borough of Newton upon Ayr is certainly, *in theory*, the pureſt and beſt repub-lican ſyſtem, any where to be met with. Nothing, at firſt ſight, can yield more ſatisfaction, to a mind capable of feeling for the happineſs of the ſpecies, than to find, that a commu-

community actually exists, whose government is founded on the generous principles of equality and independence. In the whole course of this investigation, nothing gave me more satisfaction, than the account of this district, as returned by the minister.—Upon farther inquiry, from various quarters in the neighbourhood, I learnt, however, with regret, that beautiful theories do not always answer in practice; and, in particular, that no beneficial consequences could be traced from this constitution; — that the freemen were, in no respect, superior to the inhabitants of other little boroughs; that, in general, little attention was paid to their education, and that some of them could not read;—that no funds were allotted for the maintenance of the poor brethren;—that the place was reckoned almost a century behind other towns in point of improvement.—In regard to their property, that a considerable tract of ground, belonging to them, remained in common;—and, that no favourable presage could be drawn, from the manner in which their small possessions were cultivated;—for, that in a much inclosed country, their acres remained open, were kept constantly in tillage, and consequently, in a state greatly inferior to the lands of those who held a larger extent of ground in their possession, and whose rights were not liable to the same system of restrictions.

" These cursory observations are thrown out on a subject of great political importance, which will afterwards be more fully inquired into, and, which the statistical survey of Scotland will probably be the means of ascertaining, namely, " What is " the best mode of holding the land-" ed property of a nation, and of " cultivating it to the best advan-" tage?"

Sacontala, *or the Fatal Ring: an Indian Drama*; *by* Calidas. *Translated from the original* Sanscrit *and* Pracrit.

WE have received too much pleasure from the perusal of this splendid production of Oriental genius, to pass it by unnoticed. Sir William Jones, the reputed translator of the work, gives in the preface the following account of the manner in which he first became acquainted with this dramatic curiosity.

" In one of the letters which bear the title of EDIFYING, though most of them swarm with ridiculous errors, and all must be consulted with extreme diffidence, I met, some years ago, with the following passage: " In the north of India " there are many books, called " Nátac, which, as the Bráhmens " assert, contain a large portion of " ancient history without any mix-" ture of fable;" and having an eager desire to know the real state of this empire before the conquest of it by the savages of the north, I was very solicitous, on my arrival in Bengal, to procure access to those books, either by the help of translations, if they had been translated, or by learning the language in which they were originally composed, and which I had yet a stronger inducement to learn from its connection with the administration of justice to the Hindûs; but when I was able to converse with the Bráhmens, they assured me that the Nátacs were not histories, and abounded

abounded with fables; that they were extremely popular works, and consisted of conversations in prose and verse, held before ancient Rájás in their publick assemblies, on an infinite variety of subjects, and in various dialects of India. This definition gave me no very distinct idea; but I concluded that they were dialogues on moral or literary topicks; whilst other Europeans, whom I consulted, had understood from the natives that they were discourses on dancing, musick, or poetry. At length a very sensible Bráhmen, named Rádáhcánt, who had long been attentive to English manners, removed all my doubts, and gave me no less delight than surprize, by telling me that our nation had compositions of the same sort, which were publickly represented at Calcutta in the cold season, and bore the name, as he had been informed, of plays. Resolving at my leisure to read the best of them, I asked which of their Nátacs was most universally esteemed; and he answered without hesitation, Sacontalá, supporting his opinion, as usual among the Pandits, by a couplet to this effect: "The "Ring of Sacontalá, in which the "fourth act, and four stanzas of "that act, are eminently brilliant, "displays all the rich exuberance "of Cálidása's genius." I soon procured a correct copy of it; and, assisted by my teacher Rámalóchan, began with translating it verbally into Latin, which bears so great a resemblance to Sanscrit, that it is more convenient than any modern language for a scrupulous interlineary version: I then turned it word for word into English, and afterwards, without adding or suppressing any material sentence, disengaged it from the stiffness of a foreign idiom, and prepared the faithful translation of the Indian drama, which I now present to the publick, as a most pleasing and authentick picture of old Hindû manners, and one of the greatest curiosities that the literature of Asia has yet brought to light.

"By whomsoever or in whatever age this species of entertainment was invented, it is very certain that it was carried to great perfection in its kind, when Vicramáditya, who reigned in the first century before Christ, gave encouragement to poets, philologers, and mathematicians, at a time when the Britons were as unlettered and unpolished as the army of Hanumat: nine men of genius, commonly called the nine gems, attended his court, and were splendidly supported by his bounty; and Cálidás is unanimously allowed to have been the brightest of them."

This pleasing publication cannot fail of affording a delicious treat to those who have the least relish for Oriental composition. Although labouring under the great disadvantages of a prose translation, it retains the spirit and brilliance of genuine poetry. The genius of Calidas darts around so bright a blaze, that even the dense medium of prose, through which its rays are conveyed to us, although it may diminish, cannot destroy their splendour.

As it would be unreasonable to expect in the Indian drama an attention to the unities of the Grecian theatre, so would it be not much less unreasonable to bring the exuberant graces of Asiatic composition to the test of that chaster model of writing which the severity of European taste approves. We may most admire the appropriate embellish-

ments of the artificial pleaſure-ground; yet can we behold, without delight, the incongruous charms, the bold but beautiful irregularities of luxuriant nature?

The general conduct of the piece, and the maſterly developement of the fable, allowing for the ſingular cuſtoms and opinions of the people among whom it was written, convince us that the Indian drama is of higher antiquity than the period at which Calidas is ſaid to have flouriſhed. Accuſtomed to a total diſſimilarity of manners, and proud of diſplaying a ſovereign contempt for every thing which bears the name of ſuperſtition, the Engliſh reader may feel indeed, but faintly, the peculiar beauties of many intereſting touches, which appeal moſt forcibly to the feelings of an Hindoo. In ſpite however of prejudice, that critic muſt be as void of ſenſibility as taſte, who cannot diſcover in almoſt every page the hand of no vulgar writer.

The prominent beauties of this drama are, a dignified morality of ſentiment, a warmth of expreſſion, and glow of colouring, a ſimplicity in the conception, and delicacy in the delineation of character. Of theſe the laſt-mentioned are the moſt ſtriking, ariſing, perhaps, more from the peculiarity of Oriental manners, than from any ſtudied ſenſe of propriety in the writer.

The ſtyle, as might be expected, riots in all the luxury of licentious metaphor. The irreſiſtible graces, which in rapid ſucceſſion obtrude themſelves on our view, ſtrike ſo powerfully on our imagination, ſo imperceptibly win upon our affections, that we poſſeſs neither time nor inclination to conſider what it is of which we are enamoured. It is only when the effects of the ſpell have ceaſed, that our reaſon returns, and that we are enabled to form a judgment, of which in our leſs impaſſioned moments we can approve. We then too frequently perceive a confuſed aſſemblage of extravagant conceptions, where at firſt we ſaw nothing but the brighteſt ornaments of fancy; we grieve, to find the genuine charms of eaſe and nature overwhelmed by a tawdry load of cumbrous imagery. But in juſtice to the genius of Calidas, we muſt confeſs, that his ideas are ſeldom loſt under a cloud of bombaſtical expreſſions; to ſurprize he does not think it always neceſſary to exaggerate. We never remember to have read an Aſiatic production of equal length more animated or leſs turgid.

The drama is divided into ſeven acts. The fable is briefly this: Duſhmanta, emperor of India, hunting in a ſacred foreſt, meets with Sacontalá, the daughter of a king, by a celeſtial nymph, placed by her father under the care of Canna, a hermit. He there marries her; and on being ſuddenly called to his court, gives her at his departure a ring, on which the name Duſhmanta is engraved. During his abſence, Sacontalá, loſt in a reverie, falls under the diſpleaſure of a holy ſtranger, who ſolicits from her the cuſtomary rights of hoſpitality, by not attending to his addreſs. This pious, but choleric man, who is deſcribed as having power to conſume, like a raging fire, whatever offends him, utters the following imprecation, ſtill unattended to by Sacontalá, but heard by her attendants: "He, on whom thou art meditating, on whom alone thy heart is now fixed, while thou neglecteſt

neglecteſt a pure gem of devotion, who demands hoſpitality, ſhall forget thee when thou ſeeſt him next, as a man reſtored to ſobriety forgets the words which he uttered in a ſtate of intoxication." He is afterwards perſuaded, at the entreaty of one of the attendants, to conſent "that the ſpell ſhall be removed when her lord ſhall ſee his ring." Sacontalá, kept in ignorance of the whole affair, from motives of female tenderneſs, proceeds to the capital, and appears before the emperor, who, being under the influence of the ſpell, denies all knowledge of her. At this moment, remembering that her attendants had earneſtly requeſted her, if Duſhmanta ſhould not immediately recollect her, to ſhew him his ring, ſhe haſtens to produce it, but, on looking at her finger, finds it gone. She is afterwards ſnatched away by "a body of light, in a female form." The ring is at laſt accidentally found, and delivered to the emperor, who now perfectly recollecting every paſt tranſaction, becomes inconſolable for the loſs of his Sacontalá; but, by the intervention of ſupernatural aſſiſtance, ſhe is at length reſtored to him.

The following is an elegant ſpecimen of that ſpecies of rich deſcription, intermixed with moral reflections, in which this drama abounds.

"*A pupil of Canna enters.*

Pupil. I am ordered by the venerable Canna, who is returned from the place of his pilgrimage, to obſerve the time of the night, and am, therefore, come forth to ſee how much remains of it.——[*Walking round, and obſerving the heavens.*] —On one ſide, the moon, who kindles the flowers of the Oſhadhì, has nearly ſunk in his weſtern bed; and, on the other, the ſun, ſeated behind his charioteer Arun, is beginning his courſe: the luſtre of them both is conſpicuous, when they riſe and when they ſet; and by their example ſhould men be equally firm in proſperous and in adverſe fortune. —The moon has now diſappeared, and the night-flower pleaſes no more: it leaves only a remembrance of its odour, and languiſhes like a tender bride whoſe pain is intolerable in the abſence of her beloved.—The ruddy morn impurples the dew-drops on the branches of yonder Vadarí; the peacock, ſhaking off ſleep, haſtens from the cottages of hermits interwoven with holy graſs; and yonder antelope, ſpringing haſtily from the place of ſacrifice, which is marked with his hoofs, raiſes himſelf on high, and ſtretches his graceful limbs.—How is the moon fallen from the ſky with diminiſhed beams! the moon who had ſet his foot on the head of Suméru, king of mountains, and had climbed, ſcattering the rear of darkneſs, even to the central palace of Viſhnu!—Thus do the great men of this world aſcend with extreme labour to the ſummit of ambition, but eaſily and quickly deſcend from it."

Similes of various degrees of brilliancy are ſcattered with an unſparing hand over every part of the work. One of theſe ſtruck us as peculiarly happy. "While I am doubtful (exclaims Duſhmanta, under the influence of his delirium) while I am doubtful, whether this unblemiſhed beauty, which is diſplayed before me, has not been poſſeſſed by another, I reſemble the bee, fluttering at the

close of day over a bloſſom filled with dew; and in this ſtate of mind I neither can enjoy nor forſake her."

In the third act there is a love ſcene between Duſhmanta and Sacontalá, ſingular indeed in its kind; but which, in the opinion of moſt readers, may appear to poſſeſs conſiderable merit.

"*Sacontalá.* Leave me, oh! leave me. I am not, indeed, my own miſtreſs, or——the two damſels were only appointed to attend me. What can I do at preſent?

Duſhmanta. [*aſide.*] Fear of diſpleaſing her makes me baſhful.

Sacontalá. [*overhearing him.*] The king cannot give offence. It is my unhappy fate only that I accuſe.

Duſhmanta. Why ſhould you accuſe ſo favourable a deſtiny?

Sacontalá. How rather can I help blaming it, ſince it has permitted my heart to be affected by amiable qualities, without having left me at my own diſpoſal?

Duſhmanta. [*aſide.*] One would imagine that the charming ſex, inſtead of being, like us, tormented with love, kept love himſelf within their hearts, to torment him with delay. [Sacontalá *going out.*]

Duſhmanta [*aſide.*] How! muſt I then fail of attaining felicity?

[*following her, and catching the ſkirt of her mantle.*]

Sacontalá. [*turning back.*] Son of Puru, preſerve thy reaſon; oh! preſerve it.—The hermits are buſy on all ſides of the grove.

Duſhmanta. My charmer, your fear of them is vain. Canna himſelf, who is deeply verſed in the ſcience of law, will be no obſtacle to our union. Many daughters of the holieſt men have been married by the ceremony calle Gándharva, as it is practiſed by Indra's band, and even their fathers have approved them.—[*looking round*]—What ſay you? are you ſtill inflexible? Alas! I muſt then depart. [*going from her a few paces, then looking back.*]

Sacontalá. [*moving alſo a few ſteps, and then turning back her face.*] Though I have refuſed compliance, and have only allowed you to converſe with me for a moment, yet, O ſon of Puru——let not Sacontalá be wholly forgotten.

Duſhmanta. Enchanting girl! ſhould you be removed to the ends of the world, you will be fixed in this heart, as the ſhade of a lofty tree remains with it even when the day is departed.

Sacontalá. [*going out, aſide.*] Since I have heard his proteſtations, my feet move, indeed, but without advancing. I will conceal myſelf behind thoſe flowering Curuvacas, and thence I ſhall ſee the reſult of his paſſion. [*ſhe hides herſelf behind the ſhrubs.*]

Duſhmanta. [*aſide.*] Can you leave me, beloved Sacontalá; me who am all affection? Could you not have tarried a ſingle moment? Soft is your beautiful frame, and indicates a benevolent ſoul; yet your heart is obdurate: as the tender Siríſha hangs on a hard ſtalk.

Sacontalá. [*aſide.*] I really have now loſt the power of departing.

Duſhmanta. [*aſide.*] What can I do in this retreat, ſince my darling has left it?—[*muſing and looking round.*]—Ah! my departure is happily delayed.—Here lies her bracelet of flowers, exquiſitely perfumed by the root of Uſíra which had been ſpread on her boſom: it has fallen from her delicate wriſt,

and is become a new chain for my heart. [*taking up the bracelet with reverence.*]

Sacontalá. [*aſide, looking at her hand.*] Ah me! ſuch was my languor, that the filaments of lotos ſtalks which bound my arm dropped on the ground unperceived by me.

Duſhmanta. [*aſide, placing it in his boſom.*] Oh! how delightful to the touch!—From this ornament of your lovely arm, O my darling! though it be inanimate and ſenteleſs, your unhappy lover has regained confidence—a bliſs which you refuſed to confer.

Sacontalá. [*aſide.*] I can ſtay here no longer. By this pretext I may return. [*going ſlowly towards him.*]

Duſhmanta. [*with rapture.*] Ah! the empreſs of my ſoul again bleſſes theſe eyes! After all my miſery I was deſtined to be favoured by indulgent heaven.—The bird Châtac, whoſe throat was parched with thirſt, ſupplicated for a drop of water, and ſuddenly a cool ſtream poured into his bill from the bounty of a freſh cloud.

Sacontalá. Mighty king! when I had gone half way to the cottage, I perceived that my bracelet of thin ſtalks had fallen from my wriſt; and I return becauſe my heart is almoſt convinced that you muſt have ſeen and taken it. Reſtore it, I humbly entreat, leſt you expoſe both yourſelf and me to the cenſure of the hermits.

Duſhmanta. Yes, on one condition I will return it.

Sacontalá. On what condition? Speak——

Duſhmanta. That I may replace it on the wriſt to which it belongs.

Sacontalá. [*aſide.*] I have no alternative. [*approaching him.*]

Duſhmanta. But in order to replace it, we muſt both be ſeated on that ſmooth rock. [*both ſit down.*]

Duſhmanta. [*taking her hand.*] O exquiſite ſoftneſs! This hand has regained its native ſtrength and beauty, like a young ſhoot of Cámalatá: or it reſembles rather the god of love himſelf, when, having been conſumed by the fire of Hara's wrath, he was reſtored to life by a ſhower of nectar ſprinkled by the immortals.

Sacontalá. [*preſſing his hand.*] Let the ſon of my lord make haſte to tie on the bracelet.

Duſhmanta. [*aſide, with rapture.*] Now I am truly bleſſed.—That phraſe, the ſon of my lord, is applied only to a huſband.—[*Aloud*] —My charmer, the claſp of this bracelet is not eaſily looſened: it muſt be made to fit you better.

Sacontalá. [*ſmiling.*] As you pleaſe.

Duſhmanta. [*quitting her hand.*] Look, my darling: this is the new moon which left the firmament in honour of ſuperior beauty, and, having deſcended on your enchanting wriſt, has joined both its horns round it in the ſhape of a bracelet.

Sacontalá. I really ſee nothing like a moon: the breeze, I ſuppoſe, has ſhaken ſome duſt from the lotos flower behind my ears, and that has obſcured my ſight.

Duſhmanta. [*ſmiling.*] If you permit me, I will blow the fragrant duſt from your eye.

Sacontalá. It would be a kindneſs; but I cannot truſt you.

Duſhmanta. Oh! fear not, fear not. A new ſervant never tranſgreſſes the command of his miſtreſs.

Sacontalá. But a ſervant over aſſiduous deſerves no confidence.

Duſhmanta. [*aſide.*] I will not let ſlip this charming occaſion.——[*attempting to raiſe her head*—Sacontalá *faintly repels him, but ſits ſtill.*]——O damſel, with an antelope's eyes! be not apprehenſive of my indiſcretion.——[Sacontalá *looks up for a moment, and then baſhfully drops her head*—Duſhmanta, *aſide, gently raiſing her head.*]——That lip, the ſoftneſs of which is imagined, not proved, ſeems to pronounce, with a delightful tremour, its permiſſion for me to allay my thirſt.

Sacontalá. The ſon of my lord ſeems inclined to break his promiſe.

Duſhmanta. Beloved, I was deceived by the proximity of the lotos to that eye which equals it in brightneſs. [*he blows gently on her eye.*]

Sacontalá. Well; now I ſee a prince who keeps his word as it becomes his imperial character. Yet I am really aſhamed that no deſert of mine entitles me to the kind ſervice of my lord's ſon.

Duſhmanta. What reward can I deſire, except that which I conſider as the greateſt, the fragrance of your delicious lip?

Sacontalá. Will that content you?

Duſhmanta. The bee is contented with the mere odour of the water-lily.

Sacontalá. If he were not, he would get no remedy.

Duſhmanta. Yes, this and this——[*kiſſing her eagerly.*]

[*Behind the ſcenes.*] Hark! the Chacraváca is calling her mate on the bank of the Málini: the night is beginning to ſpread her ſhades.

Sacontalá. [*liſtening alarmed.*] O ſon of my lord! the matron Gautamí approaches, to enquire after my health. Hide yourſelf, I entreat, behind yon trees.

Duſhmanta. I yield to neceſſity, [*he retires*]."

At the period of Sacontalá's departure from the conſecrated foreſt, the ſcene of her paſt delights, ſhe is thus deſcribed bidding farewel to the former objects of her innocent affections, and commending them to the care of her foſter-father Canna, and her beloved companions Anuſúyá and Priyamvadá.

" *Sacontalá* [*aſide to Priyamvadá.*] Delighted as I am, O Priyamvadá, with the thought of ſeeing again the ſon of my lord, yet, on leaving this grove, my early aſylum, I am ſcarce able to walk.

Priyamvadá. You lament not alone.——Mark the affliction of the foreſt itſelf when the time of your departure approaches!——The female antelope browſes no more on the collected Cuſa graſs; and the pea-hen ceaſes to dance on the lawn; the very plants of the grove, whoſe pale leaves fall on the ground, loſe their ſtrength and their beauty.

Sacontalá. Venerable father! ſuffer me to addreſs this Mádhaví creeper, whoſe red bloſſoms inflame the grove.

Canna. My child, I know thy affection for it.

Sacontalá. [*embracing the plant.*] O moſt radiant of twining plants, receive my embraces, and return them with thy flexible arms: from this day, though removed to a fatal diſtance, I ſhall for ever be thine.—O beloved father! conſider this creeper as myſelf.

Canna. My darling! thy amiable qualities have gained thee a huſband equal to thyſelf: ſuch an event has been long, for thy ſake, the chief object of my heart; and now, ſince my ſolicitude for thy marriage is at an end, I will marry

thy

thy favourite plant to the bridegroom Amra, who ſheds fragrance near her.——Proceed, my child, on thy journey.

Sacontalá. [*approaching the two damſels.*] Sweet friends! let this Mádhaví creeper be a precious depoſit in your hands.

Anuſúyá and Priyamvadá. Alas! in whoſe care ſhall we be left?

[*they both weep.*]

Canna. Tears are vain, Anuſúyá: our Sacontalá ought rather to be ſupported by your firmneſs, than weakened by your weeping.

[*all advance.*]

Sacontalá. Father! when yon female antelope, who now moves ſlowly from the weight of the young ones with which ſhe is pregnant, ſhall be delivered of them, ſend me, I beg, a kind meſſage, with tidings of her ſafety.——Do not forget.

Canna. My beloved! I will not forget it.

Sacontalá, [*advancing, then ſtopping.*] Ah! what is it that clings to the ſkirts of my robe, and detains me? [*ſhe turns round, and looks.*]

Canna. It is thy adopted child, the little fawn, whoſe mouth, when the ſharp points of Cuſa-graſs had wounded it, has been ſo often ſmeared by thy hand with the healing oil of Ingudì; who has been ſo often fed by thee with a handful of Syámáka grains, and now will not leave the footſteps of his protectreſs.

Sacontalá. Why doſt thou weep, tender fawn, for me, who muſt leave our common dwelling-place?—As thou waſt reared by me when thou hadſt loſt thy mother, who died ſoon after thy birth, ſo will my foſter-father attend thee, when we are ſeparated, with anxious care.—Return, poor thing! return—we muſt part. [*ſhe burſts into tears.*]

Canna. Thy tears, my child, ill ſuit the occaſion: we ſhall all meet again: be firm: ſee the direct road before thee, and follow it.—When the big tear lurks beneath thy beautiful eye-laſhes, let thy reſolution check its firſt efforts to diſengage itſelf.—In thy paſſage over this earth, where the paths are now high, now low, and the true path ſeldom diſtinguiſhed, the traces of thy feet muſt needs be unequal; but virtue will preſs thee right onward."

THE

CONTENTS.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retrospective view of the affairs of the Netherlands in the years 1789 *and* 1790. *Emperor abolishes all the ancient privileges and immunities of Brabant, which increases the emigration of the principal inhabitants to the neighbouring countries in a prodigious degree. Several decrees at length issued against emigration, and the nobility and clergy charged to return, under the penalty of forfeiture; but this proclamation produces no effect. City and lordship of Breda seem to become the head-quarters of the emigrants. Various causes which induced the neighbouring governments, as well as their subjects at large, to be much interested in favour of the Netherlanders. Emperor sequestrates all the abbeys in Brabant, and appoints civil officers for the administration of their revenues. Impolicy of this measure. Conspiracy in Brussels for blowing up the houses of the Counts Dalton and Trautmansdorff, and the seizure of that city, fortunately discovered. States of Brabant, assembled at Breda, vote themselves a regular and legal assembly, and pass a strong remonstrance to the Emperor, which they send by express to Vienna. Letter from the Archbishop of Malines to the Pope. Insurgents commence hostilities on the borders of Dutch Flanders, where they take the forts Lillo, &c. General Count Schroeder dispatched with a strong body of Imperial troops to repress the insurgents, who retreat to the small town of Turnhout. Action at Turnhout, in which the Austrians are defeated with much loss. Faults charged upon Schroeder's conduct, who is stripped of his military commands, and recalled to Germany. Indignation of the Emperor at this defeat. Savage cruelties charged upon the Austrians at Turnhout This success serves as a general signal for the recal of the exiles, who now burst into the frontiers on every side, and assume the name of the Patriotic Army. Causes why the great exertions of the Generals Dalton and Bender produce no suitable effect. Extreme cowardice and profligacy of the veteran soldiers*

ſoldiers in the Netherlands, to be attributed entirely to the laxity of diſcipline in which they had been long indulged, through the miſtaken policy, and by the abſolute command of Joſeph. Auſtrians continually defeated, and the actions very bloody. General Bender's unſucceſsful attack upon Tirlemont, where great ſlaughter and many cruelties are ſaid to have taken place. Great caution to be obſerved in receiving as facts the horrible accounts of cruelty now publiſhed. Severe encounter in the open field, in which General d'Arberg is defeated by the Patriots. Army ſaved by the gallantry of the regiment of Bender. Prince of Anhalt Deſſau killed. Ghent recovered from the Auſtrians, after a courſe of ſevere conflicts which laſted ſome days, by a handful of the Patriotic troops. Conciliatory declaration iſſued by the Emperor to the inhabitants of the Low Countries. Sovereign authority aſſumed by the States of Flanders; who declare the Emperor to have forfeited all right and title to it. Signal and unaccountable expulſion of General Dalton and the Auſtrians from Bruſſels by a body of the burghers. That general obliged to capitulate, and to evacuate the town directly with the remainder of his troops. Moderation, good temper, and excellency of conduct, obſerved by the inhabitants of Bruſſels in this revolution. General Dalton abandons Namur, and retires with the remains of his baffled troops towards Luxemburgh. Count Cobentzel ſent from Vienna to endeavour to reconcile matters. Ultimatum of the States of Brabant. Act of union offenſive and defenſive between the States of Flanders and Brabant; which is ſoon acceded to by all the other provinces, except Limbourg. Ill effects produced in the Netherlands by the example of France, and the induſtry of the diſciples to its new doctrines. Fœderal union formed between the provinces; the confederacy to be diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the United Belgic States. Ill ſucceſs of the Brabanters in their unjuſt attack upon Limbourg. Citadel of Antwerp taken. Engliſh volunteers, and a Britiſh legion formed. Diſcord and faction appear early in the new commonwealth, and ſoon diſtract all the operations of government. Loſe by their ill conduct and diſſentions the friendſhip and protection of the allied powers. Luſt of power, and the contention for it, the great ſources of diſcord, and of all the evils that fell upon the country. Some account of the principal parties. Patriotic aſſembly in Bruſſels bears no ſmall reſemblance to the Jacobin Society in Paris. Death of the Emperor. Memorial from Leopold on his acceſſion, produces no effect. Some account of General Vander Merſch: he is appointed Generaliſſimo by his officers, but Congreſs refuſe to confirm the nomination. Vander Merſch arreſts the deputies who are ſent to the army by the Congreſs; and iſſues a declaration to the people. Violent reſolves of the officers. Appearances of a civil war. Army abandons their general, who is ſent priſoner to the caſtle of Antwerp. Diſcontents increaſe to the higheſt pitch. Government loſe all reputation, and fail in raiſing money at home and abroad. Towns of Flanders refuſe to aid Brabant in an expedition againſt the Auſtrians. Conſternation of Congreſs on receiving notice that the King of Pruſſia had acknowledged Leopold as Duke of Brabant. Propoſals for raiſing a great patriotic army come to nothing. Manifeſto of the Emperor. Speedy downfal of the Congreſs evident; yet they obſtinately perſevere in carrying on a fruitleſs

fruitleſs war on the borders, notwithſtanding all the repreſentations of the mediating powers. Convention at the Hague between the mediating powers and the Emperor, by which a new conſtitution is granted to the Auſtrian Low Countries. Obſtinacy of the Congreſs ſtill continuing, General Bender advances to Bruſſels, at whoſe approach they diſperſe, and fly, in the utmoſt terror, to the neighbouring countries. Inauguration of Leopold as Duke of Brabant. [1

CHAP. II.

Meeting of the new parliament. Speech from the throne. Addreſs voted by the houſe of commons. Mr. Fox's remarks on the addreſs. Addreſs voted by the houſe of lords. Lord Stanhope's ſpeech upon the occaſion. Copies of the declaration and counter-declaration ſigned at Madrid, and of the convention with Spain, laid before both houſes. Debates upon this ſubject in the houſe of commons. Addreſs to his Majeſty, congratulating him upon the ſucceſs of the late negociations. Objections of Mr. Fox to this addreſs; anſwered by Mr. Pitt. Houſe of Lords.—Marquis of Lanſdowne. Committee of ways and means to defray the expences of the late armament. Debates in the houſe of commons upon the queſtion, whether an impeachment abated by a diſſolution of parliament.—In the houſe of lords. Mr. Burke's motion for the limitation of Mr. Haſtings's impeachment. [35

CHAP. III.

Reſumed account of Mr. Burke's motion for the limitation of the impeachment. Cauſes aſſigned by him for the delay in the progreſs of the trial. Various adverſe motions made, and negatived. Original motion carried without a diviſion. Progreſs of the trial. Mr. Loveden's motion for the continuation of the ſeſſion until the impeachment ſhould be concluded. Mr. Haſtings's ſpeech at the cloſe of the trial of the year. Obſervations on the great queſtion decided this ſeſſion, 'That impeachments do not abate by a diſſolution of parliament.' Dangerous tendency of the opinions, that this deciſion was according to the principles of the conſtitution, but contrary to the practice of parliament. Digreſſion to the hiſtory of the firſt impeachments on record in the "Good Parliament" of Edward the Third. Our beſt modern hiſtorians deficient in their accounts of this intereſting period. State of political parties in that parliament. Condition of the kingdom under the duke of Lancaſter's adminiſtration. Preparatory ſteps and actual impeachments of the duke's party. Return of that party to power, after the diſſolution of parliament. Their violent proceedings againſt Sir Peter de la Mare and their other political opponents. New parliament under the direct influence of the duke of Lancaſter. Proceedings of that parliament relative to the impeachments. Authority of Selden. Nature of the proof anciently admitted, ſhewn from the Paſton papers. Argument drawn from it. Acceſſion of Richard the Second.—Concluſion of this important ſubject. [59

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. IV.

War with Tippoo Sultan. General view of our policy towards the Mahommedan powers of India. Our conduct towards Hyder Ally and his son Tippoo Sultan. Immediate cause of the war. Mr. Hippesley's motion on this subject. Debates. Mr. Dundas's resolutions approving the conduct of lord Cornwallis. Unsuccessful attempt to procure an abolition of the slave trade. Mr. Wilberforce's speech. Summary of arguments on both sides. Bill for the relief of protesting Roman Catholics introduced by Mr. Mitford. Mr. Fox objects to it, as including Roman Catholics only of a particular description. The Bench of Bishops support it in the house of lords. Speech of the bishop of St. David's. [81

CHAP. V.

Two messages from the king; one relative to the government of Canada, and the other to the war between Russia and the Porte. State of the question relative to the cession of Oczakow demanded by the empress. Debates on this subject in parliament. Renewed on different days by several motions made on the part of opposition. Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox introduce the praises of the French revolution. Mr. Burke rises in great emotion immediately after Mr. Fox, but is stopped by a call for the question. Debates on the same message in the house of lords. Message respecting Canada taken into consideration in the house of commons. Mr. Pitt fully opens the outlines of his intended bill, forming a new constitution for the province. Mr. Fox appears to acquiesce in the principle of the proposed measure. Quebec bill not opposed till the farther consideration of the report. Re-commitment moved by Mr. Hussey. Seconded by Mr. Fox, who objects to most of the leading principles of the bill: he expresses a satisfaction at the present diffusion of knowledge and liberty in the world, and alludes to Mr. Burke's book on the affairs of France. Answered by Mr. Pitt, who agrees to the re-commitment. Co-incidence of the declarations relative to the French revolution, made by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox in the debates on the armament against Russia. Mr. Burke shews no disposition to introduce the subject previous to Mr. Fox's remarkable panegyric. Great alarm of opposition at the prospect of the discussion by Mr. Burke. Motion to adjourn the re-commitment of the Quebec bill till after the Easter recess. A member of opposition declares his intention of calling any person to order, who on this question shall involve general principles of government, and the constitutions of other countries. Mr. Fox admits that he had so alluded in his former speech on this bill, and re-asserts his opinions. Mr. Burke professes a sense of public duty in stating his principles, when the occasion shall present itself again. General expectation of this discussion. Easter recess. [98

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. VI.

Tranſactions during the receſs. Re-commitment of the Quebec bill. Queſtion put that the bill be read paragraph by paragraph. Mr. Burke immediately riſes, and ſpeaks to its general principle. States the nature of the act, which the houſe is going to do, and their authority to do it. Conſiders the conſtitutions moſt proper to be models for the government of a province in America colonized from France. Touches on the conſtitution of the United States in North America. Proceeds to diſcuſs the new French conſtitution. After ſome time, is called to order from the oppoſition bench. Long and violent altercation on the point of order. Mr. Burke attacked by the oppoſition. Lord Sheffield's motion to declare Mr. Burke's ſpeech diſorderly. Mr. Fox, in ſpeaking on this motion, goes into a perſonal accuſation againſt Mr. Burke of political inconſiſtency. Mr. Burke's defence. Mr. Fox riſes to reply in great agitation of mind. Mr. Burke complains of having received a ſecond and a deeper wound under the maſk of friendſhip. Mr. Pitt propoſes the withdrawing of lord Sheffield's motion. Debate reſumed on the 11th of May. Mr. Fox declares his attachment to ariſtocracy. Mr. Burke conſiders himſelf as abjured by his party. Reflections on this diſpute. Probable policy of Mr. Fox. Real cauſe of this diſunion, and the ſubſequent ſeparation of the party. [119

CHAP. VII.

Queſtion as to the rights of juries in caſes of libel, a diſputed point of long ſtanding. Warmly agitated in the year 1771. Bill then moved by Mr. Dowdeſwell: drawn by Mr. Burke. Mr. Fox now takes up the buſineſs. He moves for a grand committee on courts of juſtice. Mr. Erſkine ſeconds the motion. At the ſuggeſtion of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox withdraws his motion, and obtains leave to bring in a bill for the removal of all doubts reſpecting the rights and functions of jury. Firſt reading of the bill. Its preamble rejected at the ſecond reading. The conſideration of the bill in the houſe of lords poſtponed on the motion of the lord chancellor. Finance committee. Budget. Mr. Sheridan moves forty reſolutions relative to the public income and expenditure in a committee of the whole houſe. Report of the committee. India budget. Sir Gilbert Elliot moves for a repeal of the teſt act, in favour of the church of Scotland. Royal burghs of Scotland. Sierra Leona bill. King's ſpeech. Prorogation of parliament. [138

CHAP. VIII.

General pacification of the North during the years 1790 and 1791. Some particulars of the death and character of the Emperor Joſeph the Second. Haughty memorial from the Hungarian nobility, a few weeks before the death of the Emperor. Their requiſitions in general granted; heſitation as to the reſtitution

reſtitution of the royal crown of Hungary; which, however, is reſtored a few days before the death of the Emperor, and received with an extravagance of joy. Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuſcany, who ſucceeds to the Auſtrian hereditary dominions, arrives at Vienna. Critical ſtate of Germany. Difficulties and embarraſſments of Leopold, through the miſconduct of his predeceſſor. States liable to be more immediately prejudiced or endangered by a partition of the Ottoman dominions. Great objects in view with the Pruſſian alliance, to bring Auſtria to a ſeparate peace with the Porte. Obſtinacy of Joſeph, on this head, had been on the point of drawing on an immediate war. Leopold under a neceſſity of appearing for ſome time to perſevere in the ſame ſyſtem. King of Pruſſia's conduct with reſpect to Poland. Leopold ſhackled, in his conduct with Pruſſia, by many peculiar circumſtances, from which his predeceſſor had been free. Offenſive and defenſive alliance between Pruſſia and the Porte increaſes Leopold's difficulties. Campaign opened on the Danube. Orſova taken. Giurgewo beſieged, and Widdin menaced. Gen. Thurn defeated and killed, and the ſiege of Giurgewo precipitately abandoned. Armiſtice on the Danube. Congreſs at Reichenbach, and conventional treaty concluded between the Kings of Hungary and Pruſſia, under the mediation and guarantee of Great Britain and Holland. Some particulars of this treaty, which relieves Leopold from all his difficulties. Death of the celebrated Marſhal Laudohn. Intermarriages between the royal houſes of Auſtria and Naples; Ferdinand, Leopold's ſecond ſon, having previouſly obtained the grand duchy of Tuſcany. Diſſentions, factions, and diſtractions in Hungary, with their cauſes. Deſigns to throw off the Auſtrian dominion. Firm, temperate, and judicious conduct of Leopold. Refuſes to ſign 24 articles preſented to him. Diet, ſitting at Buda, repreſent their conſtitutional right to be conſulted, and the neceſſity of their concurrence, to render valid any queſtions of war or peace. Leopold conſents to their ſending deputies to aſſiſt at their negociations with the Porte. Unuſual concurrence of circumſtances which tended to fruſtrate the deſigns of the malcontents in Hungary. Farther account of the factions and parties which divided that country. New diploma preſented to Leopold for his acceptance previous to the coronation, firmly rejected by him. Leopold elected King of the Romans, and crowned Emperor at Frankfort. Armiſtice under the mediation of the Pruſſian miniſter, concluded in the Grand Vizir's camp at Siliſtria; and congreſs appointed at Siſtowia for negociating a peace. New Emperor arrives at Preſburgh. Met by the diet. States chooſe the Arch-duke Leopold to be Palatine of the kingdom. Coronation. The Emperor grants, as favours, thoſe conditions which he rejected as demands; and gains the affections of the whole nation. Extraordinary change, within a few months, in Leopold's circumſtances. Emperor reſtores the rights, privileges, and conſtitution of the Milaneſe, of which they were deprived by Joſeph. Enlarges the immunities granted to the Jews. Definitive treaty of peace concluded at Siſtowia with the Ottoman Porte, under the mediation of the three allied powers. [156

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. IX.

Preparations made by the king of Sweden for renewing the war against Russia with vigour in the campaign of 1790. *Adopts new and extraordinary, but successful measures, for gaining the affection and support of the commons, and of the people at large, independently of the nobles; and calls in some members of the clergy, and some of the burghers, to sit in his council, and to assist in the principal departments of government. Extreme danger of the consequences which this rash innovation was liable to produce. Gustavus obtains great and unusual supplies from the states for the prosecution of the war. Campaign opened unusually early in Finland; where the Swedes penetrate the Russian frontier, and possess themselves of several strong and advantageous posts. Bloody action at Karnankoski, where a small body of Swedes, being attacked by* 10,000 *Russians under General Inglestrom and the prince of Anhalt, the former are repulsed and defeated with great loss; that prince, with other principal officers, being among the number who fell in the conflict. Success of the king in person, in the desperate attack upon Valkiali; takes Wilmanstrand and other places; fixes his head quarters at Borgo, to form a junction with his galley fleet. Russian grand fleet being divided, and still in their winter stations at Cronstadt and Revel, the duke of Sudermania becomes master of the sea. Desperate and unfortunate attempt made by the duke to destroy the Russian squadron in the port of Revel, in which he loses two ships of the line. Gustavus, in person, at the head of his flotilla, suddenly appears before Fredericsham, where he forces all the defences of the harbour, and takes or destroys a large division of the Russian galley fleet, which was there stationed; burning and destroying all the naval arsenals, stores, and magazines. Russians having collected their force, the tide of success by land and sea begins to turn against the Swedes; who lose every thing which they had gained in Carelia, and are obliged to repass the Kymene with loss. Sea-fights on the third and fourth of June. Rash attempt upon Wybourg. Deplorable situation of the Swedes; enclosed by all the united fleets of Russia in the bay of Wybourg; and no communication open with the sea, but by a narrow strait, which is strongly guarded by the enemy; and scarcely any means of deliverance left. Desperate and bloody fights on the third and fourth of July; the Swedes endeavouring to force their way through the narrow inlet, and then to evade the superior force of the enemy in the open sea. Prodigious loss of men and ships sustained by the Swedes in their escape. Duke of Sudermania, with the remainder of his ruined fleet, arrives at Sweabourg. Gustavus, with his light fleet, involved in similar danger; but though sustaining great loss, it is not quite in proportion to that of his brother. Sudden and extraordinary reverse of fortune. The king arriving at Swenk Sound, meets there the Pomeranian division of galleys under colonel Cronstadt. Puts again immediately to sea, in order to intercept the Russian light fleet under the prince of Nassau, which are on their way to Fredericsham.*

Glorious

CONTENTS.

Glorious and decisive victory obtained by Gustavus over the prince of Nassau, on the 9th and 10th of July. Sudden and unexpected peace between Russia and Sweden. Some observations on the causes and consequences of that event. King loaded with obloquy and reproach by his European allies for this defection. Defends himself successfully against their invectives; but finds it much more difficult to vindicate himself from the charge of violating all faith and treaty in his conduct with respect to the Ottoman Porte. Russian piratical squadron in the Archipelago destroyed by the Algerines. Scheme for a winter campaign on the Danube formed by the Russian generals, which affords them prodigious advantages over their enemy. Batal Bey routed, and his army totally ruined, on the side of Asia. Russian armies are put in motion in the month of October. Some account of the state, condition, and strength of Ismailow. Taken by storm by general Suwarow, after a long and most noble defence. Dreadful and unequalled massacre. Account of the members who are said to have perished on both sides. Some succeeding actions between the Russians and Turks during the summer. Treaty of peace suddenly concluded at Galatz. Behaviour of the empress to the British court. Terms of peace. Close of 1791 an epoch of reflection. New leagues and confederacies in this year. New constitutions of Poland and France this year. Short contrast of the revolutions in those two countries from their origin in 1789. Invasions of those two countries ascribed to unjust and ambitious combinations of the neighbouring sovereigns. Treaty for the partition of Poland and France, pretended to have been signed at Pavia, a coarse and clumsy forgery. Congress at Pilnitz. Paper purporting to contain the secret articles agreed at Pilnitz unauthenticated and disavowed; utterly inconsistent with the pretended treaty of Pavia as to the affairs of Poland, and both inconsistent with the fact. Uninterrupted narrative of the Polish revolution to the end of 1792, will be given in the next volume. Congress of Pilnitz did relate to France. General state of the question raised upon it by the opposite partizans. To judge fairly of it, necessary to take a connected view of the preceding and subsequent events, from the beginning of 1791 to the declaration of war by France against Austria, in April 1792. That subject reserved to the next year. Preparatory observations on the state of Europe, when the French revolution broke out in 1789, compared with the close of 1791. French revolution the hinge of all the politics of Europe from this period.—General conclusion. [177

MUSEUM BRITANNICUM

